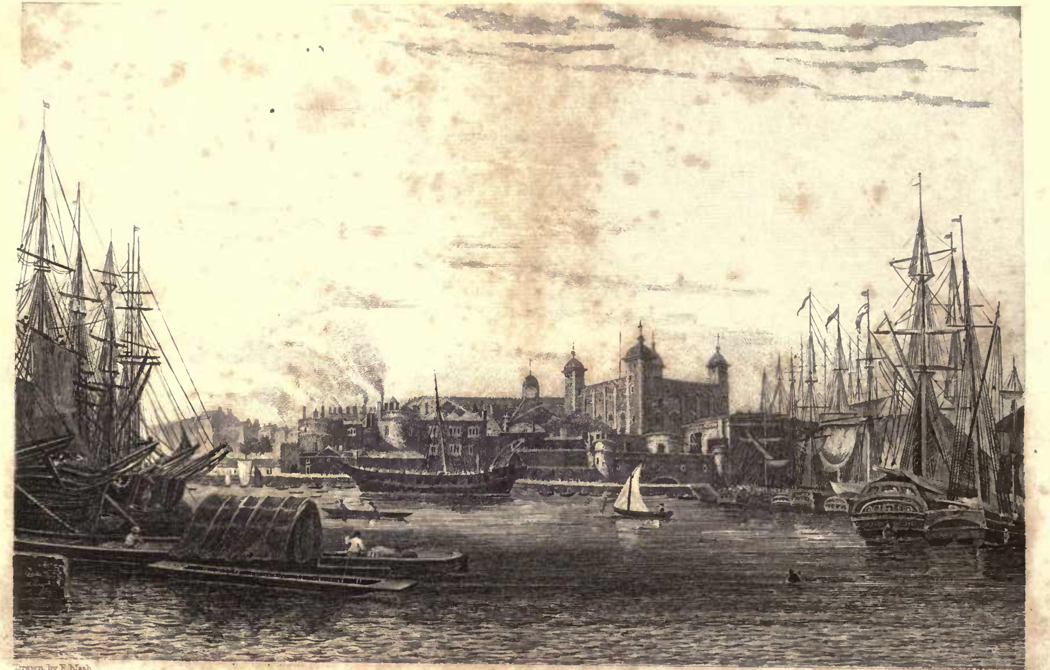
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00680306 8



Drawn by F. Nash.

Engraved & Printed by Fenner.

VIEW OF THE TOWER OF LONDON, FROM THE RIVER THAMES.

Published May. 15 1830. by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin. 62, Cheapside.

~~35831~~

45

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

TOWER OF LONDON,

WITH

MEMOIRS

OF

ROYAL AND DISTINGUISHED PERSONS,

DEDUCED FROM

Records, State-Papers, and Manuscripts,

AND FROM

OTHER ORIGINAL AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY

JOHN Whitcomb BAYLEY, F.R.S. F.S.A. M.R.I.A.

&c. &c.

322938
3.1.36.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY JENNINGS & CHAPLIN,
62. CHEAPSIDE.
1830.

DA
687
T7B3
1830

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

TO

JOHN CALEY, ESQ.

F.R.S. F.S.A. M.R.I.A. F.L.S. F.R.S.L.

KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN THE AUGMENTATION OFFICE,

AND IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER;

SECRETARY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS ON

THE PUBLIC RECORDS,

&c. &c.

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED,

WITH

SINCERE RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

DEAR SIR,

As one of the first and greatest promoters of research into the records and hidden treasures of antiquity in this kingdom, you have contributed much to that extensive knowledge of our history, laws, and institutions, which, to the national honor, has now so generally diffused itself throughout the country; and, while your long and zealous labours in reducing the valuable muniments under your care from a state of chaos to order, security, and general usefulness, justly entitle you to public gratitude and public reward, your unlimited readiness to communicate information from those vast sources have gained you the respect and esteem of almost every one engaged in exploring the history and antiquities of his country.

Of that liberality, in the original compilation of this work, I had the full advantage, and I know of no one under the protection of whose name I can with more gratification commit the present volume to the world.

Very heartily wishing you many more years of health and happiness, to enjoy the pleasing society in which you move,

I remain,
My dear Sir,
very respectfully and sincerely yours,

J. Bayley.

May 13, 1830.

PREFACE.

THE flattering manner in which the first edition of this work has been received induces me to venture on reprinting it, in a form more suited to the general reader, without detracting from the value of the original publication. Another reason also influences me, which is, to check the system that so generally and discreditably prevails in the present day, of getting up small and cheap books, on almost every popular or important subject, by taking advantage of the labours and research of others — a system which must effectually discourage the undertaking of any great and expensive works, and destroy the literary character of the country.

This volume will be found to contain, with little variation, the text of the large and original edition, the plates of which are destroyed; but, in order to bring it into a single octavo, it has been necessary to omit or shorten the notes and appendix.

LIST OF PLATES.

General View of the Tower - - - *to face Title.*
View of the White Tower - - - - - - - p. 102
Chapel in Ditto - - - - - - 107
Chamber in Ditto - - - - - - - - 111
Interior of the Chapel of St. Peter - - - - 115
Vaulted Room in the Bell Tower - - - - - - 130
Prison Room in the Beauchamp Tower - - - 132
Interior of Bowyer's Tower - - - - 175
Gateway of the Bloody Tower - - - 257
View of the Bloody Tower - - - - - - 258

THE

TOWER OF LONDON.

Foundation and General History.

THIS celebrated monument of antiquity stands on the bank of the river Thames, at the eastern extremity of the city of London, and occupies the brow of that noted eminence called Tower-Hill; the spot on which so many distinguished persons have fallen by the axe of the executioner. It seems probable, from its situation, that the Tower was originally designed rather to defend the maritime approach to the capital, than for the purposes to which it became appropriated in after-ages. Considered in the present day, as a place of strength, there can be attached to it but little importance; but when viewed as the scene of many of the most important events in our history,—regarded as one of the ancient palaces of our sovereigns,—or contemplated in its character as a state prison, it excites, as a building, a degree of unrivalled interest.

It has been a common opinion that the Tower owes its foundation to the Romans, or at least, that its site was once occupied by a fortification, whose origin is attributed to that brave and enterprizing people; and this idea, though unsupported by historical evidence, or by any local discovery of a satisfactory nature, has been confidently adopted by men of rank and of literary reputation. The authority, however, of many of our early writers on subjects of antiquity, must not be received without careful examination; for they appear too frequently to have indulged in hypothetical calculations, instead of being guided solely by plain and unalterable matters of fact: their zeal was not sufficiently tempered by experience, or their ardor was too great to admit of that cool and patient investigation, which will allow no favorite notion to implant itself, unless founded on a basis that cannot be overturned by future inquiry.

Dr. Stukeley, in his account of Stonehenge,[a] tells us, that *the Tower of London was erected about the time of Constantine the Great;* and in his Itinerary there is a plan of the city as it is supposed to have existed in the time of the Romans, in which a considerable fort is represented as standing on the site of the present citadel.[b] Other writers[c] also favor the opinion, that a fortress was constructed here before the extinction of the imperial sway in Britain; and, in 1778, Dr. Milles, dean of Exeter, and president of the Society of Antiquaries, in describing to that learned body some antiquities which were found within the walls of the Tower in the latter part of the preceding year, stated, that *the Tower of London was undoubtedly the capital fortress of the Romans; it was their treasury as well as their mint: in that place therefore was deposited whatever was necessary for the support of their establishment, and the payment of their troops!*[d]

The discovery whereon the learned president grounded this bold hypothesis was made on the south side of the White Tower, in preparing to lay foundations for a new office of Ordnance; where, "having sunk to a great depth, and broken through foundations of ancient buildings," the workmen found, in the natural soil, a silver ingot, three gold coins, and some other antiquities. The ingot was a piece of silver, in the form of a double wedge, four inches long, two inches and three quarters broad, in the broadest part, and one inch and three quarters, in the narrowest. In the middle it was one inch thick, and weighed eleven ounces, seven pennyweights, and six grains avoirdupois. It is probable that this curious piece of metal was at first cast in a square or oblong shape, but had afterwards been beaten into broader superficies, and sharpened towards the ends, where marks of the hammer were clearly discernible. In the centre of its area was an impression in Roman characters, consisting of two lines; and these letters, excepting the two last in each row, were perfectly legible; but the others, either from having been in the first instance only faintly impressed, or since flattened with the hammer, represented rather a doubtful relief; the traces of them, however, connected with the letters preceding, justify their being read EX OFFIC. HONORII, *ex officinâ Honorii*, from the office or mint of Honorius.

---

[a] See Archæologia, vol. iv. p. 96. *note.*

[b] Stukeley's Itin. edit. 1776.

[c] See Pennant's and other Accounts of London; Leland's Itin. vol. viii. p. 32. edit. Hernei, &c.

[d] Archæologia, vol. v. p. 295.

Dr. Milles considered it in some degree questionable, whether *Honorius* was here meant for an officer in the mint where this piece of metal was refined and stamped, or whether it applied to the emperor of that name: many reasons, however, induce us to adopt the latter signification: the form of the letters and the style of the mark unite in giving it antiquity coeval with Honorius's reign, and the peculiar circumstance of its being found with the three gold coins above mentioned, one of which was of that emperor, satisfactorily identifies it with his person. We may therefore conclude, that the impression was made with the stamp of the imperial mint, as soon as the metal had been assayed; and was intended to certify its standard purity and weight; and also, perhaps, to give it currency.

The three aurei, or gold coins, (one of Honorius, and the other two of his brother Arcadius,)[e] were found in a perfect state of preservation; and, from their great similarity in almost every particular, there can be scarcely any doubt that they were struck in the same mint; the principal variation between them being in the name, and a slight difference in the features of the two emperors. On the coin of Honorius is his head, with a diadem, and the words DN. HONORIVS PF. AVG. The reverse represents a warrior, bearing down a captive with his left foot, holding in his right hand a sign of victory, and in his left a labarum. The legend of the contour is VICTORIA AVGGG. In the area is the letter N. on one side of the figure, on the other side D., and below it CONOB.

---

[e] Arcadius and Honorius succeeding to the empire on the death of their father Theodosius, commonly called The Great, in the year 395, the government of the eastern division was allotted to Arcadius, and that of the western to his brother and colleague Honorius, the last of the Roman emperors that preserved any authority in Britain.

The two coins of Arcadius correspond with that of his brother in every particular, except in the name of the emperor, and in one of them the letters R. N. in the area being substituted for N. D.

There is every reason for believing that these coins, or those of Arcadius at least, were struck at Constantinople, where the chief imperial mint was established from the time that Constantine the Great made that city the seat of his empire: the resemblance, also, in the device, legends, and workmanship, and the letters CONOB. being under the figure on the reverse, are circumstances which render it extremely probable that that of Honorius was coined in the same place.

The most reasonable idea that presents itself respecting these pieces of money, is, that they form a small remain of some of the last treasures sent into Britain for the payment of the Roman forces, engaged in protecting her defenceless inhabitants against the ravages of the Picts and Scots; and the silver ingot, whether intended to pass in its state of bullion, or meant for coinage in this country, was, most likely, imported at the same period, and designed for the same end.

At some distance from the spot where the gold coins and piece of silver were dug up, and near to an old well, was found a stone, two feet eight inches high, by two feet four inches broad, and inscribed in Roman characters, D$\overset{\text{I}}{\text{I}}$S MA$\overset{\text{I}}{\text{N}}$B. T. LICINI ASCANIVS F. which may either be read *Diis manibus Titi Licinii Ascanius fecit*, or *Diis manibus Titus Licinius Ascanius fecit;* but, as Dr. Milles justly observes, the first is best supported by the authority of the inscription itself; for, by putting the name of Licinius genitively, the stone is dedicated to his manes, and in this form many inscriptions may be seen in Gruter. There seems to be no reason for abbreviating the name of Licinius, nor does Ascanius appear to have been a person of sufficient consequence to be honoured with a prænomen and a cognomen; as there are but four instances wherein that name occurs in the Gruterian collection; in one of which he appears as a slave, in another, as a freeman to the emperor; and in the remaining two, Ascanius is used as an agnomen.

A small glass crown, designed, perhaps, for an ornament to some little statue or image; and a ring, apparently made of a shell, with letters obscurely marked on it, and inlaid with a small piece of silver, were also found on the same occasion, together with various coins and jettons of base metal, some Nurembergh tokens, and other pieces of money, evidently the spurious currency of the second race of French kings.[f]

The spot on which most of these curiosities were found, was formerly occupied by the buildings of the ancient palace, and it was undoubtedly the foundations of these that are spoken of as having been broken through on the above occasion. How, therefore, the learned president could have grounded so confident an assertion merely on the finding of these antiquities, is difficult to imagine; for, as to the gold coins, the silver ingot, and other articles above described, they were discoveries incidental to any part of the Roman city or its suburbs, and afford of themselves no proof of the existence of an anterior structure.

Before, however, we entirely reject the opinion that a fortification was raised here, while this island was under the dominion of the Romans, it will be but fair to observe that the nature and situation of the spot render such a conjecture at least plausible; for, the boundary of the ancient city having had its eastward termination at or near the place where the Tower now stands, and this being naturally elevated, and commanding the course of the river Thames, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Romans, when fortifying the town, might have constructed some kind of fortress here as a greater protection against those predatory hordes which, towards the decline of the imperial power, began to make successful incursions on the British coasts. But merely because a thing is possible, or even probable, is not sufficient to justify the assertion or belief that it was so: a castle or fortress might have been constructed on the spot in question; but we have no knowledge of foundations or other remains having ever been discovered which can lead us to regard it as a fact; nor does any historian, whose authority can be relied on, furnish us with the slightest ground for supposing that any fortification of importance ever did exist here till some years after the Norman Conquest, when we have satisfactory evidence of the principal structure, now called the White Tower, having been built by command of King William the First, under the superintendence of that celebrated military architect, Gundulph, bishop of Rochester.[g]

---

[f] Archæologia, vol. v. p. 305.

Whether any other buildings than the great tower, or keep, were erected in the time of the Conqueror, we are not informed: it seems probable, however, that it would not have been left in a state so open and unprotected, but that other fortifications were also raised; and to these, several additions were made by William Rufus, and by his successor King Henry the First. The former in 1097, the year in which he built the Great Hall at Westminster, surrounded the Tower with a wall of stone; by which, as we are told, he increased the murmurs and discontents of his subjects, particularly the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties, who were bound to aid in the king's works.[h]

Whether either of our monarchs before King Stephen ever made the Tower a place of their residence, is quite uncertain; we know, however, that he, in the gloomy state of his affairs in the year 1140, retired to it with but a slender retinue, and kept his court there during the festival of Whitsontide.[i]

It appears that the custody of the Tower, probably not long after its erection, was conferred, as an hereditary office, on the family of De Mandeville;[k] and thus, in the year 1140, it came to the hands of Geffrey, grandson of the great Geffrey de Mandeville, who accompanied the Conqueror into England, and so bravely fought under his banners at the battle of Hastings.[l] As this great baron inherited the influence and valour, as well as the wealth of his ancestors, to attach him to his cause, was an object which promised too many advantages to be overlooked by King Stephen, and he therefore confirmed him in his office, and also raised him to the dignity of earl of Essex;[m] but that monarch being soon afterwards taken prisoner in the battle of Lincoln, the Empress Matilda, during his captivity, gained De Mandeville over to her party by more extended munificence. The successes, however, which had recently attended her cause, and which seemed to promise its final triumph, were suddenly followed by reverse of fortune. Having offended the Londoners by refusing to abolish the laws of her father, and restore to them those of King Edward the Confessor, she was driven out of the capital by an insurrection; and Stephen was soon afterwards released in exchange for the earl of Gloucester, who had been taken prisoner at Winchester.

---

[g] Textus Roffensis, edit. Hern. p. 212.

[h] Chron. Saxon. sub anno 1097.

[i] Will. Malmesbur. in Script. post Bedam, page 186.

[k] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 201.

[l] Ibid. p. 202.

[m] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. page 18. N. E.

Between De Mandeville and the Londoners there appears to have existed an implacable animosity,[n] and no sooner had they taken up arms against the empress, and frightened her away from the metropolis, then they closely besieged him in the Tower; but, having fortified it,[o] we are told by Hollinshed, that he made a valiant and successful defence, and that, "issuing forth at one tyme, he came to Fulham, where he took the bishop of London, as then lodged there in his own manor place, being one of the contrary faction."

We may infer that at the period to which we are now alluding, the Tower was a place of such strength that any attempt to reduce it, if properly garrisoned, was deemed hopeless; for after King Stephen's release, we do not find that he took any measures to gain possession of it, or to punish the treachery of De Mandeville, till that nobleman, in 1143, ventured to appear at his court, which was then holden at St. Albons, when he ordered him to be arrested; and compelled him to surrender that fortress, as well as his two great castles of Walden and Plesshey.[p]

From this time the Tower remained in the hands of Stephen, till the final treaty between him and Henry duke of Normandy, in 1153, when it was delivered in trust, together with the castle of Windsor, to Richard de Lucy, the chief justiciary, whose son was taken as a pledge for the immediate surrender of these fortresses to the duke on King Stephen's decease.[q]

---

[n] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 201.

[o] Mat. Paris, p 105. edit. 1571. Ord. Vital. in Hist. Normann. Script. p. 786.

[p] Ord. Vital. page 786. Roger Hoveden, page 488. Henr. Huntingdon, page 393.

Whether King Henry the Second ever kept his court at the Tower, or made any additions to its buildings, we are not informed; and history is silent as to any interesting particulars respecting it, during his long and prosperous reign. Fitz-Stephens, indeed, a curious writer of that age, speaks of it in his description of London, as being then "arcem palatinam maximam et fortissimam, cujus areæ muri à fundamento profundissimo exurgunt, cemento cum sanguine animalium temperato;" and we are also told that, among the many favours which King Henry unworthily conferred on Thomas à Becket in the early part of his reign, was to commit the Tower to his custody:[r] but this information must either be incorrect, or it should seem that he was deprived of that office before his advancement to the see of Canterbury: for one of the first causes of the memorable quarrel between that arrogant prelate and his sovereign, is said to have been his requiring to have the custody of that fortress, and also of the castle of Rochester.[s]

In the year 1189, when King Richard the First undertook his expedition to the Holy Land, he constituted Longchamp, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, the governors and guardians of the kingdom during his absence; and to the former he also gave the charge of the Tower of London,[t] an appointment which excited the jealousy of his weak and ambitious colleague,[u] and was instrumental in producing those animosities which, shortly after the king's departure, broke out between the rival prelates.

The possession of this important citadel was not less gratifying to Longchamp's haughty nature, than useful to support his tyranny; and no sooner had he returned from France, whither he had accompanied Richard on his way towards Palestine, than he strengthened its fortifications and surrounded it with a deep ditch:[x] he also garrisoned it with his own retainers, and there sought refuge when the incensed nobility took up arms to hurl him from the summit of his unmerited greatness.[y] Longchamp, by assuming an absolute and tyrannical sway, both in church and state, had raised the disgust and resentment of the whole nation, and afforded the king's brother just pretext for interfering in the government, and opposing the torrent of his violence and oppression. The prince summoned the prelates and nobility to meet at Reading on the Saturday after Michaelmas;[z] and before this assembly the regent was cited to appear at Loddon Bridge on the following Monday, to answer for his maladministration:[a] but Longchamp, who had taken up a position in the neighbourhood of Windsor, with a considerable body of foreign troops,[b] not chusing to trust himself in the hands of his adversaries, decamped in all haste to the capital, and shut himself up in the Tower.[c] Thither, however, he was instantly pursued by the confederates, who straightly besieged him in that fortress;[d] and the humbled tyrant, finding himself beset on all sides and without hopes of relief, held a parley with the confederated nobility from the eastern part of the fortress,[e] and submitted to the terms proposed to him. He yielded in the first place the Tower of London,[f] which was immediately entered by prince John, and the rest of the confederated nobles, and given in charge to the archbishop of Rouen, in whose custody it remained till King Richard's return into England.

---

[q] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 18.

[r] Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 384.

[s] Chronica Gervasii, col. 1384.

[t] Chronicon Joh. Bromton, col. 1170. Mat. Paris, p. 209.

[u] Chron. Joh. Bromton, ut supra.

[x] Chron. Joh. Brompton, col. 1170. Mat. Paris, p. 217.

It appears from various notices in coeval records that considerable additions and repairs were made to the fortifications of the Tower during the time of King John,[g] and that that unhappy monarch frequently kept his court there, especially towards the latter part of his reign;[h] but it is observable that he seldom confined his residence long to any particular spot, being generally, when unoccupied by his wars in France, removing from one castle to another in different parts of his kingdom;[i] a circumstance which may account for the various places which still retain the name of King John's palaces.

---

[y] Hoveden, p. 701. 703. Diceto, col. 664. Bromton, col. 1226. Mat. Paris, p. 223. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 530. [z] Diceto, col. 664. Mat. Paris, p. 222.

[a] Hoveden, Diceto, and Bromton, ut supra.

[b] Chron. W. Hemingford, in Hist. Brit. Script. vol. ii. p. 530.

[c] Hoveden, p. 7013. Diceto, col. 664. Bromton, col. 1226. Mat. Paris, p. 223.

[d] Chronica Gervasii in Decem Script. col. 1571.

[e] Diceto, col. 664. Mat. Paris, p. 223. [f] Hoveden, p. 704.

[g] Rot. Claus. 14 Joh. m. 2. Ibid. 15 Joh. p. 2. m. 5. 9. Ibid. 16 Joh. m. 7. Ibid. 17 Joh. m. 23, &c.

[h] Rot. Pat. et Claus. de annis 14, 15, et 16 Regis Johannis.

In the year 1215 the flames of discord broke out between John and his barons; and at the very commencement of hostilities, the latter took possession of the capital at the invitation of the citizens, and laid siege to the Tower; but, although there were only few within to defend it,[k] it held out until the signing of the Great Charter; when, as a security for the performance of certain conditions exacted with that celebrated code, the king was obliged to agree that the city of London should remain in the possession of the rebels, and the Tower be delivered in trust to the archbishop of Canterbury till the fifteenth of August, or the fulfilling of this agreement; when both were to be restored to the royal authority.[l] Engagements, however, which were obtained by force, John thought himself but little bound to observe; and, aided by the terrific power of the Pope, he had no sooner the means than he employed them in recovering his kingly prerogatives, and endeavouring to shake off the yoke which had been thus imposed upon him: civil war ensued; the barons remained masters of the city, and the archbishop continued in charge of the Tower till after the arrival of the French in the following year, when it was given up to Prince Lewis,[m] who had been invited into England to take possession of the crown.

The French seem to have regarded the acquisition of the Tower, as an object of still higher importance than it was looked upon in the several political transactions already noticed; for we are informed by Hollinshed that after they became possessed of it, " their captains and gentlemen thinking themselves assured of the realm, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred towards the Englishmen; and, forgetting all former promises, did many excessive outrages, in spoiling and robbing the people of the country without pity or mercy."

[i] Vide Rot. Pat. et Claus. regn. Regis Joh. in Turr. Lond.

[k] Stow's Annals.

[l] Fœdera, vol. i. pars i. p. 133.

[m] Chron. de Dunstaplo, vol. i. p. 73. 75.

That spirit, however, of turbulence and faction which had induced the barons to take up arms against King John, and to sacrifice the interests and independence of their country, began to be allayed on the death of that weak and misguided monarch; and the returning loyalty and obedience of the English to their young sovereign, and a series of other disasters which attended his cause, induced Prince Lewis to surrender this as well as the other fortresses in his possession, and to abandon the iniquitous design of paving his way to a throne, by feeding the flames of discord which had unhappily arisen betwixt a people and their king.

The Tower having thus come into the hands of Henry the Third in the year 1217, that monarch, for several years after he ascended the throne, was almost constantly employed in repairing the injuries which it appears to have sustained during the late troubles, and in increasing and strengthening its fortifications:[n] indeed, to him the Tower owed much of the splendor and importance which it possessed in early ages: to his time may be ascribed the erection of some of the most interesting of the buildings that are now extant; and the records of that era, which abound with curious entries evincing Henry's great and constant zeal for the promotion of the fine arts, contain many interesting orders which he gave for works of that kind to be executed in different parts of the Tower. The royal chapels there, as well as the great hall, and the king's chamber of state, are subjects of frequent and curious mention. The former were repaired and adorned with paintings and pieces of sculpture: on the great hall considerable pains and expense appear to have been bestowed; and it was directed that the king's chamber should be painted with the story of Antiochus.

Henry the Third appears very frequently to have resided in the Tower,[o] particularly during his minority, and to have kept in it some of those religious festivals, for the pompous celebration of which his reign is so peculiarly distinguished.[p] In 1220, he kept his court there during the solemn period of Lent;[q] and we find that on that occasion he borrowed two hundred marks of Pandulf the Pope's legate,[r] and one hundred of Henry of St. Albans,[s] to defray the expenses of his household; and also received of the bailiffs of Gloucester part of a fine of three hundred lampreys,[t] which they had agreed to render to his father in lieu of providing for the hostages of Jersey, who had been placed under their custody.

---

[n] Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. III. m. 17. 2 Hen. III. m. 14, 15. 3 Hen. III. m. 2. 4 Hen. III. m. 1. 5 Hen. III. m. 1. 3, 4, 5. 13. 6 Hen. III. m. 4. 7 Hen. III. m. 23. 9 Hen. III. pars 2. m. 6. 10 Hen. III. m. 3.

[o] Vide Rot. Claus. et Pat. temp. ejusdem reg.

[p] Ibid.

In the year 1232, the keeping of the Tower, with a fee of fifty pounds per annum,[u] was granted for life to the famous Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent; but being soon afterwards undermined in the king's favor by his great rival and enemy, Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, he was deprived of this as well as his other offices and honors, and the Tower became his prison! The conduct of Henry towards this great man in his fallen fortune, presents a striking picture of his weak and capricious character. De Burgh had been a faithful servant to King Richard; to John he had constantly adhered through all the vicissitudes of his life; and the eminent services which he had rendered to Henry himself, deserved every gratitude which human nature could feel, and every favour which a sovereign could bestow on his subject: yet at the mere instigations of his enemies, he could pursue him with the most malignant fury, and, not content with depriving him of his employments in the state, and the merited rewards of his fidelity, he consigned his person to a dungeon, and charged his memory with crimes, the vilest that wickedness could imagine, or baseness perpetrate.

In 1233, the Tower was appointed for the residence of the princess Isabel, King Henry's sister;[x] and she remained there under unaccounted-for restraint till her marriage with the Emperor Frederick in 1235.[y]

In the year 1236, a parliament or great council was summoned to meet at London on the fourth kalends of May, and on the day of its assembling, the king removed from Westminster to the Tower,[z] with the intention of holding it within that fortress;

---

[q] Rot. Claus. 4 Hen. III. m. 12. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid. m. 13. [t] Ibid. m. 14.
[u] Rot. Cart. 16 Hen. III. m. 5. [x] Rot. Claus. 18 Hen. III. m. 2. 19 Hen. III. m. 16. [y] Mat. Paris, p. 554. edit. 1571. [z] Ibid. p. 574.

but so far had Henry lost the confidence and respect of his subjects that the barons unanimously refused to attend him there,[a] suspecting that, surrounded as he then was by foreign relations and favorites, some evil designs were formed against their persons or liberties; and he was in consequence obliged to return to his palace,[b] the usual place of holding these assemblies.

In the year 1239, Henry secretly laid up a great mass of treasure in the Tower, and began to give a more formidable character to that fortress,[c] by surrounding it with an additional line of fortifications,—measures which were, probably, suggested by that spirit of turbulence which had begun to manifest itself among the barons, with a view to secure a retreat in case of any imminent danger. His design, however, was frustrated for a time by a series of extraordinary disasters which attended the undertaking. The works were scarcely completed, when, on the night of St. George in the following year,[d] the foundations gave way, and a noble portal, with the walls and bulwarks, on which so much pains and expense had been bestowed, all fell down, as if by the effect of an earthquake; and, strange to relate, no sooner were these works restored, than in 1241, the whole again fell down on the very night, and, as we are told, at the selfsame hour that had proved destructive to them in the year preceding. This extraordinary circumstance, embellished with much of the superstition of the time, is related by an otherwise faithful historian of that period,[e] who informs us that the king had expended upwards of twelve thousand marks upon the work, and that its disastrous fate proved a source of great joy and satisfaction to the Londoners, who would fain have had it believed that their great guardian saint, Thomas à Becket, in the plenitude of his zeal for their preservation and interest, had taken a nocturnal trip from his tomb at Canterbury, and, by the magic of his archiepiscopal staff, had effected all this mischief.

---

[a] Mat. Paris, p. 574. edit. 1571. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. p. 651.

[d] "Eodemque anno, structura lapidea cujusdam nobilis portæ, quam sumptuoso nimis labore rex construxerat, quasi quodam terræ motu concussa, cum suis antemuralibus et propugnaculis nocte sancti Georgii corruit. Quo audito, rex multiplicatis sumptibus, jussit illud opus ruinosum restaurari et in melius redintegrari."—*Mat. Paris, edit. Lond. anno* 1571, *p.* 733.

[e] "Mane autem facto, per totam civitatem Londinensem rumor increbuit, quod mœnia circa Turrim ædificata, pro quibus construendis rex plusquam duodecim millia marcarum effunderat, irrestaurabiliter corruerunt, multis admirantibus, et quasi pro malo prænostico conantibus, quòd eadem nocte, imò eadem hora noctis anno præterito, scilicet, nocte sancti Georgii, ipsa muralia cum suis propugnaculis corruerunt. Pro quo casu cives Londinenses minime dolentes, vehementer obstupuerunt: Erant autem eis quasi spina in oculo."—*Vide Mat. Paris, edit. Lond.* 1571, *p.* 739, 740.

It is highly probable that the successive misfortunes which had thus attended the king's designs to enlarge and secure the Tower, were chiefly owing to the badness of the ground on which the works were founded; and after this second accident which befel them, the undertaking seems to have been suspended for several years; nor was it, till impelled by the desperate state of his affairs, that Henry was encouraged to make another attempt at their restoration.

In the year 1244, Griffin, son of Lewellin, late prince of Wales, came to a miserable and untimely end in attempting to escape from the Tower, where with his son and several Welsh hostages, he had long been kept a prisoner.[f] He deceived his keepers, and having made a rope with his bedclothes, attempted to let himself down from a high tower in which he was confined; but it broke, and the following morning he was found with his head thrust in between his shoulders, a frightful spectacle ![g]

In the history of the latter part of the life and reign of King Henry the Third, the Tower forms a prominent and interesting feature. The errors and abuses of Henry's government having occasioned the famous parliament at Oxford in 1258, that assembly wrested the sceptre from the weak and irresolute hand that swayed it, and committed the whole legislative authority to the direction of twenty-four barons. By this supreme council were all the principal offices of the crown and royal household either enjoyed or disposed of; they seized the royal castles and fortresses, and entrusted them to their friends and dependents; and, though one of the king's palaces, they also took possession of the Tower of London, and gave it to the charge of Hugh le Bigod,[h] one of the most powerful of their adherents. By these, however, and other arbitrary and unjust proceedings, the reformers soon began to lose the popularity to which they owed their power, and which marked the commencement of their usurpation. It became manifest that self-interest was disguised under the cloak of patriotism; that the whole fabric of the constitution was subverted or endangered by their innovations; and, that the confusion and distresses of the kingdom were rather increased than diminished by their authority. These circumstances, favoured by jealousies and dissensions which arose among the rulers themselves, at length afforded the king a no very distant prospect of recovering the prerogatives of his throne. After keeping his Christmas at Windsor[i] with the queen, his daughter the queen of Scots, and some of his most faithful supporters, he dispatched messengers to the court of Rome to obtain absolution from his oath to observe the provisions of Oxford, and in the beginning of February, 1261, secretly departed to London, and entering the Tower, established his residence in that fortress.[k]

---

[f] Lewellin prince of Wales, who died in 1240, left two sons, Griffin and David, the latter of whom having treacherously got possession of his brother's person, detained him a prisoner, until King Henry, at the solicitation of Griffin's wife, the bishop of Bangor, and several of the Welsh nobility, raised an army and marched into Wales; when David procured his own peaceable possession of the principality by making concessions, and delivering his brother into the hands of the king, who immediately sent him to the Tower of London.—*Mat. Paris, p.* 703. 764.

[g] Mat. Paris, p. 830, 831.

As if roused from a lethargy, Henry now began to adopt the most vigorous measures for the re-establishment of his authority: he used extraordinary diligence in fortifying the Tower:[l] he caused the gates of the city to be strictly guarded, and all its inhabitants of the age of twelve years and upwards, to take an oath of fidelity:[m] he wrote to the most steady of his friends to attend him with horse and armour;[n] and he commanded the lords, who, in conformity with the ordinances of Oxford, were to meet on the twenty-first of February,[o] that they should come to him in the Tower, there to hold the parliament; but this they refused to do, replying, that if it were his pleasure, they would come to Westminster, the accustomed place of holding these assemblies, but not elsewhere.[p]

---

[h] Annales Monast. Burton. vol. i. p. 416.

[i] Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 22. in Turr. Lond.

[k] Cont. Mat. Paris, A.D. 1261. Mat. Westm. p. 305. Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 347.

[l] Rot. Claus. et Liberat. 45 Hen. III. Mat. Westm. Chron. Dunst. Cont. Mat. Paris, &c.

[m] Chron. Dunst. Cont. Mat. Paris. Mat. Westm. Chron. T. Wykes.

[n] Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 19. dors.

[o] Rot. Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 17.

Henry remained at the Tower from the beginning of February till about the twentieth of April, and during that time was incessantly employed in restoring its fortifications:[q] he also surrounded it with a deep ditch; established a trusty garrison, and took every precaution to secure that important citadel against any attack from the barons: he thence dispatched conciliating letters to the several counties of his kingdom; and there kept the solemn festival of Easter with his wonted hospitality and benevolence.[r]

Henry's measures had now fully evinced a determination to free himself from the ignominious conditions to which he had been reduced by the ordinances of Oxford: but these, like most of the actions of his life, proved unsuccessful. It was not to be expected that the barons would resign the sweets of power without a struggle: they flew to arms; drew together their friends and retainers from all parts of the kingdom; and the unfortunate monarch, although supported by the authority of the court of Rome,[s] was obliged to submit to an accommodation.[t]

This agreement, which was effected shortly after Easter,[u] proved of no long duration: the king had no sooner extricated himself from the danger of being besieged in the Tower, than he retired into Kent, and, animated with a promise of support from France, again proceeded to the exercise of his regal authority.[x] Coming to Dover, on the second of May, he displaced Hugh le Bigod from the custody of the castle,[y] and appointed one of his own friends in his stead:[z] he gave orders for the reception of the earl of St. Paul, Gerard de Rhodes, and other allies from France;[a] he appointed justices itinerant to go their circuits;[b] and directed the sheriff of Kent to impose an oath of fidelity on all the inhabitants of that county.[c] About the middle of May, Henry returned to London,[d] and having committed the Tower to the charge of John Mansel,[e] one of his most confidential ministers, soon afterwards proceeded to Winchester, to celebrate the feast of Whitsontide;[f] and, while occupied there in his devotions and festivities, the barons formed the bold design of seizing his person by surprise:[g] but Mansel, getting knowledge of the plot, hastened privately to the king;[h] and Henry, with a small retinue, left the castle of Winchester in the dead of night, and secretly came back to the Tower.[i] He then discharged Hugh le Despenser, and Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely,[k] the chief justiciary and chancellor appointed by the barons, and constituted Philip Basset and Walter de Merton[l] in their place; he removed the sheriffs, escheators, constables of castles, and other officers, and substituted new ones;[m] and he thence addressed an impressive and conciliating appeal to his subjects, setting forth the treachery, ambition, and abuse of power manifest in the proceedings of the barons, and declaring his resolution thenceforward to exercise his regal authority for the welfare and happiness of his subjects.[n]

---

[p] Chron. Dunstaple, vol. i. p. 347.

[q] The outer ward of the Tower was finally erected at this period.

[r] By a mandate, dated at the Tower on the seventeenth of April, the bailiffs of Waltham were directed to cause sixty shillings worth of good and fine bread to be made in their town in loaves of four for a penny, and to be brought and delivered to the king's panterer at the Tower on Easter-eve, to be given away to the poor; and similar orders were also directed to the bailiffs of Barking for sixty shillings worth; to the mayor and sheriffs of London for twenty pounds worth; to the bailiffs of Dartford for sixty shillings worth; to the bailiffs of St. Albans for an hundred shillings worth; and to the bailiffs of Kingston and Watford for forty shillings worth, to be delivered at the same time and place.—*Claus.* 45 *Hen. III. m.* 14. *d.*

An order was also issued for cloth sufficient to make one hundred and sixty four tunics to be delivered to the king's almoner at the Tower six days before the feast of Easter, for the use of the poor, by command of king and queen; and enough more to make twenty-one tunics for the use of the poor, at the command of the king's children, according to custom.—*Ibid. m.* 13.

[s] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 405, 406.

[t] Mat. Westm. p. 307.

[u] Ibid.

Although the popular voice, which now began to be raised against the barons, enabled the king to proceed in the full exercise of his prerogatives, the greatest disorder still prevailed throughout the kingdom; for, notwithstanding that the earl of Leicester soon afterwards retired into France,[o] the rest of the conspirators continued to oppose the sheriffs and other officers of the crown, and so far succeeded in re-inflaming the minds of the people, that in the month of October, the unhappy monarch was obliged once more to seek refuge in the Tower.[p] In this perplexing state of his affairs, Henry summoned his military tenants,[q] resolved on striking a decisive blow in defence of his throne; and so well was he attended, that the confederates in their turn found it adviseable to sue for an accommodation.

---

[x] Continuatio Mat. Paris. [y] Rot. Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 13. [z] Ibid.
[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. m. 12. [d] Rot. Claus. et Pat. 45 Hen. III.
[e] Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 11. 4. [f] Mat. Westm. p. 308.
[g] Continuatio Mat. Paris. [h] Mat. Westm. p. 309. Contin. Mat. Paris.
[i] Contin. Mat. Paris, et Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. —Hume erroneously states that this took place at Winchester. [k] Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 8.
[l] Ibid. et Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 10. dors. [m] Ibid. m. 7, 8.
[n] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 408.

Henry, being thus released from his dangers, removed with his court from the Tower to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas,[r] and, about the middle of the following year, went over into France with the queen and a splendid retinue, and there imprudently trifled away a large portion of time, which should have been employed in regaining the affections of his people, and securing the re-establishment of a tottering throne. After celebrating the feast of St. Edward, at Paris,[s] in the height of prodigality and splendor, he was attacked by a fever which carried off several of his suite, and prevented his own return into England till the close of the year. He landed at Dover on the twentieth of December,[t] but in so debilitated a state, that he was obliged to keep his Christmas at Canterbury,[u] not being able to proceed to Westminster, where great preparations had been making for his celebration of that festival. This long and ill-judged absence proved fatal to the royal cause. When Henry arrived in England, he found the kingdom in a state far more distracted than ever: the hidden sparks of rebellion had rekindled; the Welsh had made a formidable invasion on the English marches, and were laying waste the territories of prince Edward[x] and other adherents of the crown; and the arrival of Leicester from France, which happened shortly afterwards, was the signal for general revolt. While one party of the rebels assembled on the borders of Wales, with that daring conspirator at its head, another was raised in the southern parts of the kingdom; and the weak and misguided monarch, after a fruitless effort to collect an army at Worcester,[y] and prevent the junction of his enemies by breaking down the bridges across the Severn,[z] hastily retired to London, and shut himself up with the royal family, his council, and household, in the Tower.[a]

---

[o] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 409. [p] Mat. Westm. p. 311. et Rot. Pat. et Claus. 45 Hen. III. [q] Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. dors. Mat. Westm. p. 311.

[r] Rot. Claus. 46 Hen. III. m. 17. [s] Ibid. p. 2. m. 3, &c.—He had two hundred head of deer salted and sent to him at Paris from England against this feast.

[t] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 423. [u] Rot. Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 15. d.

[x] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 423; et Rot. Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 13, 14, 15. d.

The barons, after committing the most wanton excesses on the possessions of those who adhered to the royal cause, advanced towards the capital; and, as they drew near to it, sent a letter, under Leicester's seal, to the mayor and aldermen of the city, together with a copy of the provisions of Oxford, desiring to know their determination respecting them; which copy, says Fabian, "the mayre bare unto the kynge, then beyng at y^e^ Toure accompanyed with the quene, the kyng of Almayne, which lately was retourned from beyonde y^e^ see, and Sir Edwarde his sone, with other of his counsayll;" and, "then the king, intending to know the mind of the city, asked the mayor what he thought of those ordinances and acts," to which he boldly answered, "that before-times he and his brethren and the communalty of the city were sworn to maintain all acts made to the honour of God, to the faith of the king, and profit of the realm; which oath, by his most gracious favor, they meant to observe and keep: and moreover, to avoid all variance that might arise between him and his barons within the city, they would keep out all aliens and strangers, if it were his will:" with which answer the king was contented, and the mayor permitted to depart. The barons, however, soon afterwards entered the city, and the king, seeing himself in danger of being besieged, and without resources or hopes of relief, appointed commissioners to treat of peace.[b] Leicester and his traitorous associates were admitted into the Tower,[c] and there the unfortunate king had the mortification of subscribing to conditions still more humiliating than those originally imposed upon him by the ordinances of Oxford. He agreed that all the royal castles and fortresses should be delivered to the barons; that the provisions of Oxford should be inviolably observed; and that all foreigners who were obnoxious to this supreme council, should be banished; and the twenty-four barons thus reinstated in the sovereignty of the kingdom, replaced the archdeacon of Ely in the office of chancellor; appointed new sheriffs and other officers in all the counties of England, and they committed the Tower of London to the charge of Hugh le Despenser,[d] who was also restored to the office of chief justiciary.

---

[y] Rot. Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 7. d.

[z] Rot. Pat. 47 Hen. III.

[a] Chron. Dunst. Mat. Westm. Rot. Pat. et Claus. 47 Hen. III.

[b] Rot. Pat. 47 Hen. III. m. 7.

[c] Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 358.

From this period the Tower remained in the hands of the barons till the battle of Evesham, in 1265; when the flames of civil discord were allayed by the traitorous blood of Leicester, and the king again restored to his regal authority.

Scarcely, however, had this storm subsided, when the country was once more thrown into confusion by the earl of Gloucester. While the king was employed in reducing a party of the late faction who had fortified themselves in the isle of Ely, that nobleman raised an army on the borders of Wales; and, marching to London, was received by the citizens, many of whom, "as men without drede of God or of theyr kynge," were ready again to join the standard of rebellion.[e] Having got possession of the city, the earl summoned Otho the pope's legate, who had then his residence in the Tower, to surrender to him that fortress;[f] and, on being refused, he in the first place cut off every means of the inhabitants being supplied with provisions,[g] and afterwards adopted the most vigorous measures to reduce it by siege;[h] but the garrison, assisted by a number of Jews who had been allowed to shelter themselves there from the dangers to which that persecuted race was generally exposed in times of commotion, made a long and successful defence.

On the news of this formidable insurrection, prince Edward marched with thirty thousand men from the north,[i] and, joining his father at Cambridge,[k] the royal army moved thence to

[d] Hollinshed.
[e] Fabian.
[f] Contin. Mat. Paris. Mat. Westm. p. 345.
[g] Ibid.
[h] Mat. Westm. p. 346. Chron. Thomæ Wykes.
[i] Mat. Westm. p. 346.
[k] Ibid.

Windsor,[l] where it was greatly augmented.[m] In the beginning of May the king advanced towards London, and taking up his abode in the abbey of Stratford, there celebrated the festival of Whitsontide, his forces being encamped at Ham and other villages adjacent to the capital.

The earl of Gloucester, having in the mean time thrown up works round about the Tower,[n] was pressing the garrison to extremities; and it was, therefore, the king's first care, on coming to the neighbourhood of London, to relieve that fortress, and provide for the safety of the legate. He accordingly moved his army in the night-time to assault the city; and, while the attention of the enemy was drawn to the defence of its walls, he threw succours into the Tower, and safely brought Otho away to Stratford.[o] Soon after this a large fleet of Gascoigns arrived in the Thames and lay before the Tower waiting the king's orders,[p] and the royal army being also joined by the earls of Bologne and St. Paul, with a considerable force from France,[q] the rebels were struck with dismay and sued for peace;[r] and on the seventeenth of June the king entered the city,[s] after having invested it for upwards of six weeks with an army of more than three score thousand men.

This rebellion being suppressed, and the country once more restored to tranquillity and order, prince Edward assumed the cross, and undertook an expedition to the Holy Land; and his father dying while he was abroad, the Tower of London was committed to the care of the archbishop of York[t] till his return into England.

King Edward the First, soon after his accession to the throne, considerably improved the fortifications of the Tower, by completing works which were begun by his father, and by greatly enlarging the moat or ditch by which they were surrounded;[u] he also erected some strong outworks towards the west, as a defence to the principal entrance; and these may be regarded as the last additions of any importance that ever were made to the fortress.

---

[l] Mat. Westm. p. 346. [m] Ibid. [n] Fabian. Hollinshed.

[o] "Per posticum quod de Turri plagam meridionalem respicit et fluvio contignatur, legatum potenter eduxit, et ejus loco defensores idoneos intromisit, eductoque legato occupatores urbis non immeritò deridebat, et procedens usque Stratford ad tria milliaria propè London sine quolibet obice castra fixit.—*Chron. Thomæ Wikes.*

[p] Mat. Westm. p. 347. Hollinshed.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Ibid. Rot. Pat. 51 Hen. III. m. 16.

[s] Rot. Claus. 51 Hen. III. in Turr. Lond.

[t] Rot. Liberat. 1 Edw. I. m. 4.

It does not appear that this monarch ever kept his court at the Tower for any length of time; and indeed, the principal interest that is attached to it during his reign is derived from its character as a state-prison — the purpose to which it was chiefly appropriated through that active and glorious period. Of the multitudes of Jews who were apprehended in 1278, on suspicion of clipping and adulterating the coin of the realm, no less than six hundred were confined at once in the Tower;[x] and the conquest of Wales, and Edward's ambitious attempts to add Scotland to his dominions, provided these prisons with a succession of illustrious tenants, who lost their liberty in a brave but unequal struggle for their country's freedom.

King Edward the Second, like his father, evinced no partiality for the Tower, yet he occasionally retired to it as a place of safety; and in 1322, left the queen there with her children and household for security, when he marched towards the borders of Wales to take vengance on his unruly barons: his queen was also brought to bed there of her eldest daughter, who, from that circumstance, was called Jane of the Tower;[y] like as their youngest son, John, acquired the cognomen of Eltham, from having had that favorite spot for his birth-place.

The powerful confederacies formed among the nobility during the reign of Edward the Second, first against Piers de Gaveston, and afterwards against the Despensers, the successive favorites of that unhappy monarch, caused the issuing of frequent orders for putting the Tower in a state of defence; particularly in the year 1312,[z] when engines were constructed, and every diligence used to make it impregnable in case of attack by the barons, who were then in a state of open rebellion.

---

[u] Rot. Liberat. 3 Edw. I. m. 7. Rot. Claus. 3 Edw. I. m. 8. 10. Ibid. 4 Edw. I., m. 16. Rot. Lib. 13 Edw. I. m. 3. Ibid. 18 Edw. I. et 20 Edw. I. m. 5, &c.

[x] Vide Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. I. m. 5.

[y] Hollinshed's Chronicle.

[z] Vide Rot. Claus. anno 5 Edw. II. m. 14. 13. 11, &c. in Turr. Lond.

In the year 1324, the two lords Mortimer, of Wigmore and Chirk, being confined in the Tower of London, and several other of the rebel barons in the castles of Wallingford and Windsor,[a] a plot was laid for surprising each of these fortresses, and setting all the prisoners at liberty.[b] The attempt was made on Wallingford, but failed, and the whole scheme was in consequence frustrated: lord Mortimer of Wigmore, however, found means soon afterwards to escape out of the Tower;[c] and, although every exertion was made to apprehend him,[d] got over into France; where in conjunction with the queen, the infamous queen Isabel, he afterwards brought about that vile and unnatural conspiracy which deprived the unhappy Edward of his throne and life.

In the early part of the year 1326, when the queen, with Mortimer and their traitorous associates, were preparing to invade the kingdom, King Edward greatly fortified the Tower, reinforced the garrison, and provided it with every necessary for defence.[e] As the danger drew nearer, the unhappy monarch retired thither with his court; and it was there that he adopted most of the measures which proved so unsuccessful in opposing the designs of his enemies. On the twentieth of June, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, appeared before the king in his presence-chamber in the Tower, and took his commands for preserving the tranquillity of the capital.[f] There also Edward received the appalling intelligence that the queen and the rest of the conspirators, with an hostile force, had effected a landing on the coast of Suffolk; and thence he issued his ill-obeyed proclamation for opposing them, and offering a price for the head of the traitor Mortimer.[g] The rebels, with increasing power, advanced towards the capital, and the unfortunate king, after having tried in vain to rouse the Londoners to a sense of duty, committed the city to the charge of the Bishop of Exeter, and leaving his young son, John of Eltham, in the Tower,[h] quitted that fortress on the second of October,[i] in hopes of finding greater loyalty in the western parts of his kingdom.

---

[a] In 1321-2, a singular circumstance gave the king an opportunity to redeem his person and authority from the state of degradation to which both had been reduced by the power and insolence of his barons. He had gone to Canterbury with the queen, to perform their devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and her majesty, in returning towards London, desired a night's lodging at the castle of Leeds, in Kent, which belonged to Lord Badlesmere; but in his absence she was denied admittance, and some of her servants were killed as they presented themselves at the gates. So general was the indignation excited by this affront, that the king found no difficulty in raising an army and reducing the castle; after which he hanged the governor, and sent Lady Badlesmere a prisoner to the Tower of London. Edward was now induced to pursue his advantage, and take like vengeance on his more powerful but equally deserving enemies. He hastened with his forces towards the borders of Wales, and falling upon the barons before they were prepared for resistance, several of the most potent submitted themselves, or were taken, and sent prisoners to the Tower, and to the castles of Wallingford and Windsor.

[b] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 1. p. 514. 537. N. E.

[c] He owed his escape to the imprudence of Sir Stephen Segrave, the constable, and other officers of the Tower, whom Mortimer invited to a banquet and made intoxicated; for which Segrave was removed from his office and imprisoned, and the bishop of Exeter substituted in his room.—*Rot. Claus. anno* 17 *Edw. II. m.* 39.

[d] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 1. p. 530.

[e] Claus. 19 Edw. II. m. 16. 13.

No sooner had Edward left the metropolis than the rebel spirit of its inhabitants broke out with all its wonted fury: they seized and beheaded that amiable and loyal prelate, the Bishop of Exeter;[k] others, who were suspected of attachment to the king, shared a similar fate:[l] they took the Tower by surprise; liberated the prisoners,[m] and having turned out all the king's officers, appointed others in the name of the young prince, John of Eltham.[n]

These events having been followed by the dethroning and murder of the king, and the succession of his son prince Edward, policy dictated to the queen and Mortimer, that their sway, and safety in the country, must now chiefly depend on the power and influence they retained over the young monarch: and they accordingly took care, that when in the neighbourhood of London, a great portion of his time should be passed in the Tower,[o] where they could effectually seclude him from public affairs, and from intercourse with those who were suspected of being unfavourable to their proceedings. But young Edward's brave and noble spirit broke through this control; and Mortimer, being by his command arrested at Nottingham, 1330, was conveyed once more to the Tower,[p] and thence to the gallows, the merited reward of his crimes.

---

[f] Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 631. N. E.

[g] Ibid. p. 643, 644.

[h] Rot. Claus. 20 Edw. II. m. 4.

[i] Ibid. 20 Edw. II.

[k] Walsingham, p. 124.

[l] Hollinshed.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Vide Rot. Pat. et Claus. anno 1 et 2 Edw. III.

In 1336, by virtue of a commission issued out of chancery, a minute survey was taken of the Tower, and of all its buildings;[q] and in the following year various orders were given, as well for repairing and strengthening the fortress, as for its safe custody:[r] in one of these in particular, the king directs that, "on account of certain news which had lately come to his ears, and which sat heavy at his heart; the gates, walls, and bulwarks should be kept with all diligence, lest they should be surprised by the cunning of his enemies:"[s] he also commanded that, for its defence, all his officers and other men within the Tower, should be provided with arms according to their respective conditions,[t] and moreover gave orders, that the gates of the fortress should be closed from the setting till the rising of the sun; that all the officers and others therein should be sworn to well and faithfully defend it; and that none should go out, either by day or night, without special permission.[u]

During the year 1337, and the early part of 1338, King Edward spent a large portion of his time at the Tower,[x] making preparations for the expedition, with which he was about to maintain his pretensions to the crown of France; and, on his departure, directions were given for placing a strong garrison in that fortress, and furnishing it with every thing necessary to render it a fit and secure residence for his son, prince Edward, whom he had appointed to govern the kingdom during his absence.[y] In 1340, the king secretly returned into England. He landed unexpectedly at the Tower about midnight, on the thirtieth of November,[z] accompanied by the earl of Northampton, sir Walter Manny, and other great men; and finding that fortress but badly guarded, he imprisoned the governor and other officers, and treated them with exemplary rigour.[a] The king now took up his residence at the Tower; and, on the morrow after his arrival, he there discharged the lord chancellor,[b] the lord treasurer, and other of his ministers, in consequence of the many disorders and abuses which had crept into the kingdom during his absence.[c]

---

[p] Hollinshed.
[q] See Appendix.
[r] Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. m. 8. 12. 14. 26.
[s] Ibid. m. 26. dors.
[t] Ibid. in dorso, m. 7.
[u] Ibid. m. 20.
[x] Rot. Claus. et Pat. 11 et 12 Edw. III.
[y] Rot. Claus. 12 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 22.
[z] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 2. N.E. p. 1141.
[a] Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 513. Hollinshed.

From the period of Edward's second return into England in 1340, till he sailed with his army into Britanny in the month of October 1342, he chiefly kept his court at the Tower,[d] where the queen, in the mean time, was brought to bed of a princess,[e] who died in her infancy and was buried at Westminster.[f]

Towards the middle of the reign of King Edward the Third, the brilliant successes which attended the arms of England in almost every enterprize in which they were engaged, rendered the Tower peculiarly celebrated as the prison of illustrious captives. In 1346, the taking of Caen, one of the richest and most flourishing towns in Normandy, doomed the counts of Eu[g] and Tankerville, with three hundred of the most opulent citizens to suffer confinement in that dreaded fortress:[h] the many succeeding victories which crowned the valour and discipline of the English, brought others to a similar fate; and whilst Europe thus resounded with the din of Edward's triumphs abroad, successes attended his arms at home, which still increased their numbers. At this period France and Scotland were bound by the strongest ties to oppose the ambition of the English monarch, and check the progress of his victorious arms. The former by procuring an invasion of England, hoped to baffle an enemy which she was unable to control; whilst the latter, in order to revenge past injuries and secure her future independence, was easily induced to avail herself of so favourable an opportunity to renew her incursions on the English territories. While, therefore, Edward was engaged in the siege of Calais, King David Brus assembled his forces to the amount of fifty thousand men, and, marching into England, laid waste the country, and carried devastation to the very walls of Durham. There, however, his career terminated. Being met by a small body of English commanded by lord Percy, his whole army was routed at Neville's Cross, near that city, and himself, the earls of Fife and Monteith, and several other of the Scottish chiefs, were taken prisoners, and carried to the Tower of London.[i] The King was conveyed from York under an escort of twenty thousand men,[k] and the day of his entering the capital was one of as great joy and satisfaction to the people, as that was to the Romans on which the brave Caractacus was brought in chains to the imperial city. David was seated on a high black courser;[l] at the entrance to the metropolis, he was met by all the crafts, clad in their respective liveries,[m] and with a great shew of honor was conducted from street to street, till he came to the Tower;[n] where, on the second of January, 1347, in the presence of the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer, he was delivered into the charge of Sir John Darcy, the constable of that fortress.[o]

---

[b] Robert, bishop of Chichester, the Chancellor, delivered up the great seal on the first of December; and on the fourteenth of the same month, "in superiori camerâ juxta magnam aulam infra Turrim London;" the king delivered it to Robert Bourghchier, whom he made chancellor.—*Fœdera, vol.* ii. *pars* 2. *p.* 1141, 1142.

[c] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 2. p. 1142. N. E.

[d] Rot. Claus. 15 et 16 Edw. III.

[e] Hollinshed.—She was named Blanche.

[f] Ibid.

[g] The count d'Eu, constable of France, was taken by Sir Thomas Holland, and as a reward for that service the king granted him eighty thousand florins to be received out of the subsidy of wool, &c., granted by parliament.—*Rot. Cart. et Pat. fact. apud Cales.* 21 *Edw. III. m.* 15.

[h] Knyghton, in Decem Script. col. 2586.

This brilliant victory over the Scots was shortly succeeded by other triumphs which still increased the glory of the English arms, and added to the number of illustrious captives already confined in the Tower of London. In the year 1347, the famous Charles of Blois, one of the competitors for the duchy of Britanny, taken by Sir Thomas Dagworth before the fortress of Roche de Rien, was conducted a prisoner to that fortress;[p] and thither also, on the surrender of Calais, were brought the valiant John of Vienne, the governor, and twelve of the bravest defenders of their native city.[q]

The battle of Poictiers, in 1358, having destined John, King of France, and his son Philip, to captivity in England, they were at first lodged at the Savoy, the palace of the Duke of

[i] Rot. Scot. anno 20 Edw. III. m. 3. in Turr. Lond. Froissart, liv. i. chap. 139.

[k] Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2592.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Claus. anno 20 Edw. III. pars 2. m. 1.

[p] Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2596. Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 134.

[q] Knyghton, col. 2595.

Lancaster, where he "kept his house a long season, and thyder came to se hym the kyng and quene often tymes, and made hym gret feest and chere."[r] From the Savoy he was removed to the castle of Windsor, and all his household, "and went a huntyng and a haukyng ther about at his pleasure, and the lord Philypp his son with hym: and all the other prisoners abode styll at London, and went to se the kyng at their pleasure, and were receyved all onely on their faythes;"[s] but in 1359, when King Edward carried his victorious arms again into France; before he left England "he made all the lordes of France, suche as were prisoners, to be put into dyvers places and stronge castelles, to be the more sure of them, and the Frenche kynge was set in the Towre of London, and his yonge sonne with hym, and moche of his pleasure and sport restrayned; for he was then straytlyer kept than he was before."[t] From this time the captive monarch and his son spent their hours of confinement in the Tower, where they had enough of consolation, if having companions in affliction could afford it; for although the king of Scots had lately been ransomed, after a tedious imprisonment of eleven years, there still remained many distinguished heroes, both of that and the French nation, whom Edward's successful arms had brought to captivity in that noted fortress.

The treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, having restored the French monarch to his native country, and put an end to those wars which had yielded so much glory to the English name, we find no important particulars respecting the Tower till after the death of King Edward the Third, and the accession of his unfortunate grandson to the throne; when, from its having been the scene of most of the sad events of his reign, it again assumes its interest. Hence, surrounded with all the pomp and pageantry of state, Richard proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation: here at one time he was obliged to seek refuge from his miscreant commons, and at another to flee for safety from his factious nobles: hither he was led a prisoner by his rebellious subjects: here he was forced to resign into the hands of an usurper, the rightful crown and scepter of his kingdom; and this was the resting-place of his murdered corpse previous to its exposure and burial!

---

[r] Froissart, by Lord Berners, liv. i. chap. 173.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Ibid. chap. 206.

Soon after the decease of his grandfather,[u] King Richard the Second removed from Westminster to the Tower, where he established his abode for a short time previous to his coronation. The sixteenth of July was appointed for that ceremony, and on the preceding day, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, and a great body of citizens and others assembled on an open space adjoining the Tower,[x] and the young king, clad in white robes, came forth with a vast multitude of peers, knights, and esquires in his suite,[y] accompanied with the sound of trumpets, and all kinds of music; and rode solemnly through the public ways till he came "to the noble street called the Chepe," and thence to Fletestrete, and so direct to the royal palace at Westminster.[z] Before the king, rode his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Percy; sir Simon Burley bore the sword, and sir Nicholas Bonde led the king's horse by the bridle on foot.[a] The inhabitants of London on this interesting occasion, vied with each other in their demonstrations of loyalty and affection: the streets through which their sovereign was to pass, were hung with tapestry and cloth of arras; temples and triumphal arches were erected; and nothing seemed wanting which ingenuity could devise, or expense procure, to testify the joy and respect of a people who looked for prosperity and happiness from the government of a prince, whose father was endeared to them by so rare a combination of virtues.

Such was the splendid, the glittering commencement of Richard's career of royalty: but how short, how visionary was its duration. Scarcely had he assumed the reins of government, when those who had joined in hailing his accession took up arms to subvert his throne and demolish the whole fabric of the constitution. The breaking out of that memorable insurrection, best known by the name of Wat Tyler's rebellion, was so sudden, its progress so rapid, and the consternation occasioned by it so great and awful, that all seemed appalled: no one had energy to oppose its torrent; and the young king, with his mother, the duchess of Britanny, and many other ladies, with several of the nobility, his council and household, sought refuge in the Tower.[b]

---

[u] King Edward III. died at his manor of Shene, on the twenty-first of June, 1377.

[x] Rymer, vol. vii. p. 157. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. [a] Walsingham, p. 139. Hollinshed.

The first sparks of this rebellion are supposed to have been kindled in the county of Kent; and the insurgents in their way towards the capital having entered the castle of Rochester, and taken sir John Newton, the governor, they forced him to join their company;[c] and on their arrival at Blackheath, determined to send him to the Tower of London with a message to the king. The knight accordingly came up the river Thames, and, as those who were in the fortress desired to hear tidings of the rebels, he was immediately admitted, and brought before the king; with whom were "the princess his mother, and his two brothers, the earl of Kent and the lord John Holland, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord of St. John's, sir Robert of Namur, the lord of Vertaigne, the lord of Gomegynes, sir Henry Sauselles, the mayor of London, and divers other notable burgesses."[d] The knight threw himself at the king's feet and implored his pardon for being the bearer of such a message, as it was by force and against his will. "Sir John," said the king, "say what ye will, I hold you excused." 'Sire, the commons of your realm assembled on Blackheath, have sent me to desire that you will come and speak with them, and to assure your majesty that you need not doubt of your personal safety, as they hold and will you for their king; but, sir, they say that they will point out to you many things necessary for you to take heed of; the which I have no charge to shew you; but, my redoubted lord, may it please you to give me an answer that may appease them, and make it known that I have fulfilled their mandate; for they have my children as hostages, and unless I return again they will fall victims to their fury.'[e]

Then the king took counsel what was best for him to do; and it was at length determined that the next morning he should go down the river and speak with them; and he accordingly sent word to the rebels. On the morrow, after hearing mass in the

---

[b] Knyghton, col. 2634. Froissart. [c] Ibid [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid.

Tower with all his lords, he embarked in a barge, with the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Suffolk, and other attendants, and went down the Thames to Rotherhithe, where great multitudes of the rebels were assembled on the banks to speak with him; but, as soon as they beheld the king approaching, they began to shout and cry, says Froissart, "as though all the devylles of hell had been been amonge them:" and the king, alarmed at these symptoms of tumult, was induced to return to the Tower without a conference.[f] At this disappointment the insurgents became more infuriated than ever, and immediately set out for London, burning and destroying houses, breaking open the prisons, and committing every species of barbarity and outrage. Favored by the lower orders of the citizens, the gates on London bridge were thrown open to them, and they carried murder and devastation throughout the capital. While one party invested the Tower and prevented any supplies being obtained by the besieged,[g] another was more actively employed in carrying on the work of spoil, and imbruing their hands in blood: proceeding towards Westminster, they entered the Savoy, the noble palace of the duke of Lancaster; to which, says Hollinshed, "in beauty and stateliness of building, with all maner of princely furniture, there was not any other in the realm to be compared:" and this they pillaged and burnt; the Temple, the famous hospital of the knights of Rhodes, and the houses of lawyers and rich merchants shared in a similar fate; and towards night, wearied and intoxicated, they drew together, and lay with their companions before the Tower, occasionally vociferating the most hideous yells.[h] The king was still there, and terror and dismay oppressed the hearts of all: the night was spent in council, and how to avert the impending ruin was the great, the momentous question. William Walworth, the intrepid mayor of London, proposed that they should rush out of the fortress, and joining with their friends whom he had prepared in the city, fall upon these miscreant wretches in the dead of night; who, unnerved by drunkenness and fatigue, "and out of twenty there being scant one in harness," might have fallen an easy prey to the valour and discipline of a small but well-armed band: this measure, however, was deemed too desperate: for, although the principal citizens had secretly in their houses their friends and servants ready armed, and though there were in the Tower an hundred and sixty knights,[i] besides inferior soldiers, it was doubted lest the large body of the Londoners would also rise, and increase a mob which already consisted of three score thousand men[k] — considerations which induced the king to adopt a different course. At break of day the rebels began to stir, shouting and crying, that unless the king would come out and speak with them, they would assail the Tower, and slay all that were within; and it was therefore proclaimed, that if they would peaceably withdraw to Mile-end,[l] the king would come there and grant them whatever they wished. This had its desired effect: a great portion of the insurgents retired; and Richard, after hearing mass in the Tower, went out to meet them: before, however, the gates could be closed, a band of the rebels rushed into the fortress and committed the most barbarous cruelties: that worthy prelate, Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, whom they found in the chapel, were dragged from their sacred refuge, and led to instant execution:[m] others shared in their unhappy fate,[n] and the villains then proceeded to lesser enormities: they broke open and pillaged the royal apartments; and entering the chamber of the king's mother, treated her with the most wanton brutality.[o] The princess sunk under the weight of her misfortunes, and in an almost lifeless state, was conveyed by water to the Tower Royal, where she remained in anxiety for the safety of her son till he returned from treating with the rebels at the place appointed.[p]

---

[f] Froissart. [g] Hollinshed. [h] Froissart.

The fortunate end of this great commotion is well known. After communing with the multitude at Mile-end, and granting them the phantom of their wild imaginations, many returned to their homes; and Tyler and his followers being met the next day by the king in Smithfield, Walworth, the renowned mayor of London, struck that daring leader to the ground, and thus happily extinguished the flames of an insurrection, the most sudden, and, perhaps, the most dangerous that ever assailed the state.

---

[i] Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2634.

[k] Froissart.

[l] Mile-end was an open plain, and from a very early period a great resort of the citizens, who used to exercise themselves there in wrestling, archery, and their numerous other sports.

[m] Walsingham, p. 251. Knyghton, col. 2635. Froissart. Hollinshed.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Froissart, Hollinshed, &c.

[p] Ibid.

King Richard, who appears scarcely ever to have kept his court at the Tower, but when compelled by the troubles which disturbed his reign, was again obliged to seek refuge there from his uncle the duke of Glocester, and his factious partisans, in the year 1387. This rebellion had its origin in the preceding year. The parliament, having made complaints against the lord chancellor and other of the king's ministers, succeeded not only in removing them from their offices, but also in changing the whole frame of the constitution; it placed the legislative power in the hands of commissioners of its own selection; and Richard, who could ill brook a measure which reduced him to such perfect insignificance, resolved to attempt at least the recovery of his authority. He held a council at Nottingham, and there took the opinion of the judges on the legality of the late proceedings, which was given entirely in his favour; but this first step was no sooner known, than Glocester and his adherents flew to arms, and assembled at Harringay-park, to the number of forty thousand men. The duke of Ireland on the news of this proceeding retired into Cheshire and raised an army, with which he began his march towards London, in hopes of rescuing his royal master from the grasping hands of those who had arrogated to themselves his power; but he was met by some of the confederates at Radcot-bridge, where his troops were routed, and himself narrowly escaped by crossing the river Isis on horseback at the hazard of his life.[q] After this the lords united their forces at Oxford, and proceeded thence on Christmas-eve to St. Alban's, where they celebrated that festival. The king and queen kept their Christmas in the Tower of London,[r] whither they had retired for safety; and on the following day his opponents, in three divisions of well appointed troops, encamped under the walls of the capital.[s] At first their admission to the city was denied; but the popular voice being soon raised in their favor, the gates were opened, and they immediately blockaded the Tower to prevent the king's escape.[t]

---

[q] Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2703.

[r] Hollinshed.

In this melancholy state of affairs the archbishop of Canterbury interposed his good offices, and brought about at least the appearance of a reconciliation. After a conference with the duke of Glocester, and the earls of Derby and Nottingham, in the Tower,[u] Richard departed to Westminster, and was there obliged patiently to submit to all the tyrannical proceedings which ensued. Several of his ministers were accused and condemned for high treason;[x] others were banished the court; the judges who had attended the council at Nottingham, and many others, whose crime was only that of possessing the king's favor, were sent prisoners to the Tower;[y] and the accomplished sir Simon Burley, although the queen, the good queen Anne, implored his life upon her knees, before the inexorable Glocester, was beheaded on that fatal hill, which, in after-times, was so frequently the scene of these horrid executions.

In 1389, Charles the Sixth of France had given a splendid fete at Paris, on his marriage with Isabel, daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and King Richard, in order that the glitter of his court should not be out-shone by that of a rival prince, soon afterwards proclaimed a feast and tournament to be given at London; and these martial pastimes having been formally published through France and Germany, and other countries, were resorted to by many distinguished foreigners; the Englishmen challenging all comers. This spectacle, which commenced on the Sunday after Michaelmas in the year 1390, was begun by a splendid cavalcade from the Tower, where all the preparations were made on the part of the king. The first day was termed the feast of challenge, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, says Froissart,[z] "there issued out of the Towre of London, first, threscore coursers apparelled for the justes, and on every one an esquier of honour ridyng a softe pace; and then issued out threscore ladyes of honour mounted on fayre palfreys, ridyng on the one syde, richely apparelled; and every lady ledde a knight with a cheyne of sylver, which knights were apparelled to just; and thus they came ridynge alonge the stretes of London with great number of trumpettes and other mynstrelles, and so came to Smythfelde, where the king and queen and many ladies and damoiselles were redy in chambers richely adorned to se the justes." Then came the earl of St. Paul accompanied by knights and esquires; and, after the usual proclamations were made by the heralds, the exercises began, "and many commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, recreation, and comfort of the king and queen, and all other beholders."[a] During these fashionable amusements of the time, which continued for several days, the king and queen lodged at the bishop of London's palace, where they kept open household for all the court, especially every night after the justs were ended, "a right sumptuous and princely supper was prepared for the straungers and others;" and afterwards "there was goodly daunsyng in the queene's lodgyng in the presence of the kynge and his uncles, and other barons of England, and ladyes and damoiselles, contynuyng till it was daye, whiche was tyme for every persone to drawe to their lodgynges."[b]

---

[s] Hollinshed. [t] Ibid.

[u] The confederated leaders at first refused to attend the king in the Tower, because, as they said, "it was a place to be suspected, for that they might be surprised by some guileful practice devised to entrap them;" but Richard dispelled their fears by sending them the keys of the gates, and of all the strong turrets and chambers, and offering to admit two hundred armed men to make search and clear up their suspicions. The king received them seated in a pavilion richly arrayed, and, "after their salutations done," conducted them into his chamber. *See Knyghton, Walsingham.*

[x] Rot. Parl. 11 Rich. II. [y] Ibid.

In 1396, King Richard married his second wife,[c] Isabel, daughter of Charles the Sixth of France; and on the young queen's coming to London, she was first lodged in the Tower, and thence conducted in great pomp through the city to Westminster to be crowned.[d]

---

[z] Lord Berners' translation, chap. clxxii.

[a] Hollinshed.

[b] Froissart, by Lord Berners, chap. clxxii.

[c] His former wife, who was justly called *the good queen Anne*, died at the palace at Shene, in 1394.

[d] Froissart, Fabian, Hollinshed, &c.

In the following year, on the night that Richard assisted in arresting his turbulent uncle, the duke of Glocester, at Pleshey, he came and lodged at the Tower;[e] and the next day the duke's factious adherents, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, were brought there prisoners.[f] They remained in confinement till the meeting of parliament, when they were both arraigned and found guilty of treason. Warwick continued for some time a prisoner in the Tower, and was finally banished to the isle of Man;[g] but the earl of Arundel was instantly led from the place of trial to that of execution:[h] he was beheaded on the very spot, to which, but a few years before, he had been a principal instrument in bringing the innocent sir Simon Burley!

The most important occurrence in king Richard's life, as connected with the history of the Tower, was his being conveyed thither a prisoner, and his there abdicating the throne in favor of Henry, duke of Lancaster. Having fallen into the hands of his more fortunate rival at the castle of Flint, Richard was first taken to Chester, and thence conveyed by easy journeys to London, and lodged a prisoner in the Tower,[i] on Tuesday the second of September. At Chester summons were issued, in the royal captive's name, for holding a parliament at Westminster,[k] to decide on his ultimate fate; and, the day before it met, certain lords and others of the Lancastrian faction proceeded to king Richard in the Tower, and required him to formally cede and renounce the crown and his royal majesty, agreeable to a promise that he had before made to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Northumberland, at Conwey in North Wales.[l] This he accordingly agreed to do; but desired first to have a conference with the duke of Lancaster and the archbishop of Canterbury; who thereupon went to the Tower the same day after dinner; and then, after talking apart with them, he came forward clad in his kingly robes, with the scepter in his hand,

---

[e] Froissart.

[f] Walsingham, p. 354. Froissart. Hollinshed.

[g] Walsingham, p. 355. Rot. Parl. 21 Rich. II. m. 4.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Hist. Croyland. cont. tom. i. p. 494. Froissart, &c.

[k] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 355.

[l] Rot. Parl. 1 Henry IV. in Turr. Lond.

and the crown upon his head,[m] and in the presence of the whole assembly solemnly renounced his royal dignity, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance.[n] There were present on this occasion most of the prelates, nobility, and others of the usurper's friends; and the record of these memorable proceedings[o] asserts, that after Richard had read aloud, and signed and sealed his resignation, he said, that if *he* had any power, his cousin of Lancaster should succeed him in the kingdom, and desired the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Hereford, whom he had appointed to declare his renunciation to the parliament, to announce this his wish to the people;[p] and, as a further token and confirmation of it, he took a ring off his finger and placed it upon that of the duke, and requested that this also might be made known to all the estates of the realm.[q]

The next day, Richard's resignation was laid before the parliament, and the bishop of St. Asaph, for the prelates and clergy; the duke of Glocester, for the dukes and earls; lord Berkley, for the barons; and sir Thomas Erpingham and sir Thomas Grey, for the commons, accompanied by Markham and Thirning, the two chief justices, were deputed to go to the dethroned monarch, and formally renounce their homage and allegiance; which was accordingly done in the king's chamber in the Tower, on Wednesday the first of October.[r] Thirning was appointed to speak, and he addressed him in the following words:[s]

"Sire, ye remembre yowe wele, that on Moneday in the fest of Seint Michell the archaungell, ryght here in this chaumbre, and in what presence, ye renounsed and cessed of the state of kyng, and of lordeship and of all the dignite and wirsshipp that longed therto, and assoiled all your lieges of her ligeance and obeisance that longed to yowe, uppe the fourme that is contened in the same renunciacion and cession, which ye redde your self by your mouth, and affermed it by your othe and by your owne writyng. Upon whiche ye made and ordeyned your procuratours the ersbysshopp of York, and the byshopp of Hereford, for to notifie and declare in your name thes renunciacion and cession at Westmynstre to all the states, and all the people that was there gadyrd by cause of the summons aforsayd; the whiche thus don yesterday by thes lordes your procuratours, and wele herde and understonden, thes renunciacion and cession ware pleinelich and frelich accepted, and fullich agreed by all the states and poeple forsayd. And over this, sire, at the instance of all thes states and poeple, ther ware certein articles of defautes in your governance redde there; and tho wele herd and pleinelich understonden to all the states forsaide, hem thoght so trewe and so notorie and knowen, that by thes causes and by mo other, os thei sayd, and havyng consideracion to your owne wordes in your owne renunciacion and cession, that ye were not worthy, no sufficeant, ne able for to governe, for youre owne demerites; os it is more pleinerlych contened therin, hem thoght that was resonable and cause for to depose yowe; and her commissaries that thei made and ordeined, os it is of record ther, declared and decreed, and adjugged yowe for to be deposed and pryved; and, in dede, deposed yowe and pryved yowe of the astate of kyng, and of the lordesship contened in the renunciacion and session forsayd, and of all the dignitie and wyrsshipp, and of all the administracion that longed ther to. And we, procuratours of all thes states and poeple forsayd, os we be charged by hem, and by hir autorite gyffen us, and in her name, yelde yowe uppe, for all the states and poeple forsayd, homage, leige and feaute, and all ligeance, and all other bondes, charges, and services that longe ther to; and that non of all thes states and poeple fro this tyme forward ne bere yowe feyth, ne do zowe obeisance os to thar kyng."

---

[m] Froissart. Hall. [n] Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. in Turr. Lond. [o] Ibid.
[p] Ibid. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. [s] This specimen of the idiom of the fourteenth century is copied from the parliament roll of the first year of Hen. IV.

Such were the proceedings by which King Richard the Second was deprived of his regal offices; and his abdication, whether voluntary or forced, having made way for Henry duke of Lancaster to the throne, preparations were made for his coronation. The day appointed for that ceremony was Monday, the 13th of October, being the feast of St. Edward;[t] and on the Saturday preceding, the usurper came to the Tower,[u] in order to his solemn procession through the city to Westminster on the following day, — a custom which was generally observed from the time of King Richard the Second, till the crowning of the second James. Henry was attended by the great officers of state, his council, and most of the nobility and others; and at mass-time the next day he made forty-six new knights of the bath;[x] his three sons, and the earls of Arundel and Stafford, being of the number. After dinner the king departed from the Tower, and made his progress through the city to Westminster, attended by the prince Henry his eldest son, six dukes, six earls, eighteen barons, and knights and esquires to the number of nine hundred;[y] and the whole procession is said to have consisted of six thousand horse.[z] Henry himself was mounted on a white courser, and rode all the way bare-headed:[a] he wore a short coat of cloth of gold, after the fashion of Germany, with the garter on his left leg, and the livery of France about his neck.[b] The streets through which this splendid cavalcade had to pass, were adorned with tapestry and cloth of arras, according to the custom of the times; several conduits flowed with wine during that and the following day,[c] and the whole capital presented a scene of unequalled festivity and joy.

---

[t] Froissart. Hollinshed.

[u] Ibid.

Henry thus began his reign amidst the general greetings of the people; but scarcely was he seated on the throne, when several of the nobility and others, whom the ties of blood or interest, the desire of revenge, or the love of justice, attached to the cause of Richard, entered into a conspiracy for taking away the usurper's life, and replacing the crown upon the head of their injured king. Henry was invited to a tournament at Oxford, and that was to have been the scene of his murder, had not the scheme been frustrated by the treachery of the earl of Rutland, one of the principal leaders in the plot. By him the king was warned of his danger; and, instead of fulfilling his engagement, he departed from the castle of Windsor, and with a small body of horse, secretly retired to London, and shut himself up in the Tower.[d] He arrived there about midnight,[e] and immediately began to prepare himself for opposing the attempts of his enemies: he was attended next day by six thousand citizens ready to espouse his cause;[f] his friends and adherents joined him from all parts of the country, and he soon saw himself at the head of a force which struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, and insured the success of his enterprize. Most of the confederates were seized and executed in different parts of the country; and the bishop of Carlisle and several others were taken and brought prisoners to the Tower.[g]

---

[x] Froissart. Hollinshed.

[y] Froissart.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Ibid. et Chron. Rishang. in Bibl. Cotton. Faust. b. ix.

[b] Froissart.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Froissart. Hall. Hollinshed.

[e] Ibid.

This conspiracy was but a prelude to the doom of the late unfortunate king; his life had hitherto been spared, though still detained in prison;[h] but Henry was now convinced, that while his predecessor was allowed to exist, the hopes of his friends would be kept alive, and that it would prove a source of constant disturbance to his reign. Richard, therefore, came to an untimely end; but of the precise manner of his death no decisive account has been given us, though the certainty of it was made known to the world by his corpse being brought to London, and exposed to the general view of the people. It was conveyed on a bier drawn by four black horses, and followed by four knights in black;[i] it rested one night in the Tower,[k] and was thence borne solemnly to St. Paul's,[l] where it lay for three days; "and there came in and out twenty thousand persons, men and women, to see him where he lay, his head upon a black cushion, and his visage open: some had pity on him, and some had none, but said he had long ago deserved death."[m] From St. Paul's he was taken to Langley, "and there this Kyng Richard was buryed; — God have mercy on his soule!"

After these events, the reign of King Henry the Fourth furnishes us with no information respecting the Tower, which is worthy of particular notice, and that of his glorious successor is equally silent and uninteresting. Neither of these monarchs appear to have ever kept their courts there for any length of time, and the principal use to which the royal fortress seems to have been appropriated during those periods, was that of a prison for offenders against the state.

---

[f] Hall.

[g] Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. pars ii. m. 6. Fabian. Hollinshed.

[h] Soon after Henry's accession he was removed from the Tower to the castle of Leeds, and thence to the castle of Pomfret, the place of his death.—*Hist. Croyland. cont. p.* 494.

[i] Froissart.

[k] Froissart. Hollinshed.

[l] Walsingham, p. 363. Otterbourne, p. 228.

[m] Froissart.

In the early part of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu and Vendome, and many other distinguished persons, who lost their liberty in opposing the victorious arms of the late king, were confined prisoners in the Tower; and on the release of James, king of Scotland, in 1423, several of the Scotch nobility, and others who were delivered as hostages for the payment of his enormous ransom, were also placed in that fortress.

One of the earliest circumstances connected with the history of the Tower, after the death of King Henry the Fifth, was that of its having given birth to the violent quarrel which broke out in 1425,[n] between Humfrey duke of Gloucester, the protector, and his uncle the bishop of Winchester,[o]—a quarrel which threatened the country with the most dangerous consequences, and not only occasioned the return of the duke of Bedford from France, but even required the authority of parliament to compose it.[p]

On the breaking out of Cade's insurrection in the year 1450, a strong garrison was placed in the Tower under the command of lord Scales,[q] assisted by Matthew Gough, a brave and experienced soldier. The forces dispatched under sir Humfrey Stafford against the rebels, having been defeated at Seven Oaks, the king and his court retired for safety to the castle of Kenilworth; and, with the hope of appeasing these misled people, James lord Say, the treasurer of England, was immediately sent prisoner to the Tower.[r] Elated by success, and increasing in numbers, Cade and his followers advanced, first to Blackheath, and then to London; and having obtained admission to the city, made a fruitless attempt to besiege the Tower. The first act of violence committed by the rebels, after entering the capital, was the murder of lord Say, whom they caused to be brought from the Tower[s] to Guildhall, there to be tried before the mayor and some of the king's justices. In vain did this ill-fated nobleman claim the privilege of being tried by his peers: with savages like these, reasoning had but little influence: he was wrested from the officers of justice, and dragged to the standard in Cheapside, where he fell a sacrifice to popular resentment.[t] The thirst, however, of these ruffians was not to be satiated with the blood of an only victim: sir James Cromer, sheriff of Kent, whose crime was, probably, no other than being son-in-law to lord Say, was doomed to a similar fate; and his head, with that of the unfortunate peer, being fixed on poles, was carried through the streets of the metropolis, with every act of the most shocking and most wanton brutality.

---

[n] Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

[o] During the protector's absence in Hainault, whither he had gone to put himself in possession of his wife's dominions, the bishop of Winchester, a man of an ambitious, haughty, and intriguing disposition, and who had the care of the young king, on pretence of some seditious reports having been spread in the capital, took upon himself to reinforce the garrison of the Tower, and give such directions to the governor, that on the duke's return into England admission was denied him to that fortress.

[p] Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. VI. Hall. Fabian. Hollinshed.

[q] Stow.

[r] Ibid.

These deeds, with the rapine, plunder, and barbarity to which the miscreant wretches afterwards gave loose, brought the city to a sense of danger, which the plausible professions of the rebel-chief, and the order maintained among his followers, had at first dispelled. As Cade regularly withdrew at night, and lodged with his followers in Southwark, the mayor and chief citizens at length determined to avail themselves of this circumstance; and as soon as the rebels departed, to place a guard upon the bridge, and oppose their future entry into the city.[u] In this resolution they were supported by lord Scales, who promised to aid them with the artillery of the Tower, and send a detachment under sir Matthew Gough to their assistance; and, therefore, as soon as the insurgents had retired to their usual resting-place, they assembled in arms, and, with sir Matthew at their head, took possession of the bridge. The alarm, however, was soon given, and Cade, with his ruffian band, hastened to recover, by force, their lost communication with the city.[x] A fierce and bloody contest ensued: at one time the rebels, and at another the citizens, yielded the advantage; and the fight continued, without either party being able to get entire possession of the bridge, till nine o'clock on the following morning, being Sunday, when a truce was agreed upon for that day, on condition that neither the citizens nor their enemies should in the meantime pass over the river.[y]

---

[s] Hist. Croyland. cont. in Hist. Angl. Script. tom. i. p. 526. Hall. Fabian &c.

[t] Hall. Fabian.

[u] Hall. Fabian. Stow. Hollinshed.

[x] Ibid.

In this interval of suspense, the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, who with many other persons of distinction had taken refuge in the Tower, sent for the bishop of Winchester; and after advising with that prelate, framed a general pardon under the great seal, with which they passed over the Thames and caused it to be published in Southwark among the infatuated multitude.[z] This happy invention was attended with the good effect of restoring peace and tranquillity to the capital: the rebels, now intimidated by resistance, as much as before they had been elated by success, gladly accepted the boon, deserted their leader, and returned to their respective homes; and a price being set upon the head of Cade, he soon after received the merited reward of his brutality and crimes.

During the memorable contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, there are many circumstances connected with the history of the Tower, which excite peculiar interest. On the news of the landing of the earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick, from Calais, in 1460, lord Scales was dispatched with the earl of Kendal and lord Lovel, and a considerable body of troops, for the protection of London;[a] but the inhabitants being decidedly in favour of the opposite party, refused their assistance;[b] whereupon lord Scales entered the Tower with his forces, and omitted no opportunity to revenge the disloyalty of the citizens;[c] but he was shortly afterwards furiously besieged[d] there by the earl of Salisbury, lord Cobham, and sir John Wenlock, and very soon after the overthrow of the Lancastrians, and the capture of King Henry, at Northampton, the fortress was surrendered to the earl of March.[e]

---

[y] Hall. Fabian. Stow. Hollinshed.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Hall. Stow. Hollinshed.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Sir John Wenlock carried on the siege on the eastern side of the fortress, towards St. Catherine's: on the south side artillery was planted on the opposite side of the river: and towards the west the siege was conducted by Lord Cobham and certain aldermen of the city.—*Hall and Kennet, vol.* i. *p.* 422.

[e] Hall. Stow. Hollinshed, &c.

These disasters were shortly followed by a train of events bringing success alternately to the contending parties: the battle of Wakefield terminated the life of the duke of York, and crowned the arms of Queen Margaret with a decided victory; but her troops, sent under the earl of Pembroke against Edward, the new possessor of that title, were less fortunate: Pembroke was defeated with great slaughter, at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, and his army wholly dispersed. Fortune next favored the house of Lancaster; Margaret headed her forces against the earl of Warwick, and in the second battle of St. Albans obtained another victory, and rescued her meek and unfortunate husband, King Henry, from the hands of his enemies. The duke of York, however, was shortly afterwards proclaimed king, and the bloody battle of Towton, which, for the present, proved fatal to the Lancastrian line, established him in an authority to which he had been raised by the partial voice of the people.

The period fixed for Edward's coronation was Sunday the 29th of June, 1461, being St. Peter's day;[f] and on the Thursday or Friday preceding, he removed from the palace at Shene to the Tower of London;[g] whither he was conducted by the mayor and aldermen, and four hundred citizens, who went out to meet him on horseback, clad in splendid liveries.[h] At the Tower Edward sumptuously entertained most of the nobility and great men, who were favorers of the house of York; and in the morning preceding that of his coronation, he there made thirty-two new knights of the bath; who, "being arrayed in blue gowns with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders," rode before him the same afternoon in the splendid procession which was made through the city to Westminster.[i]

After the battle of Towton, king Henry had fled into Scotland, and lived there in retirement till the year 1464, when another, but unfortunate attempt was made to restore him to his former dignity. The indefatigable queen Margaret, whose mind was too vigorous ever to be subdued by misfortunes, succeeded in collecting a small body of French and Scottish troops, and being joined by a few remaining friends of their party, this unhappy family once more ventured to appear in England. But their hopes were of short duration. In the battle of Hexham their army was beaten and dispersed, and such of the partisans of the house of Lancaster as were preserved from the slaughter of the field, fell by the axe of the executioner. Margaret herself with her young son, escaped in a most deplorable condition; and Henry, who awhile evaded the pursuit of his enemies, was at length betrayed into the hands of king Edward. He was conducted ignominiously through the capital[k] and lodged in the Tower,[l] where he remained a prisoner,[m] and owed, perhaps, his personal safety more to the mean opinion entertained of his abilities, than to any humanity that existed in the hearts of his adversaries.

---

[f] Sproti. Chron. Polidore Virgil. Fabian, &c.

[g] Sproti. Chron. p. 288. Fabian.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Ibid.

In the year 1465, lady Elizabeth Gray, king Edward's queen, took up her residence at the Tower previous to the ceremony of her coronation; and on Whitsun-eve, after the making of several new knights of the bath, she proceeded thence in state, through the city to Westminster, where she was crowned on the following day by the archbishop of Canterbury.[n]

In the time of king Edward the Fourth the Tower was more frequently used as a royal residence than it appears to have been for some preceding ages; occasioned, perhaps, by its contiguity to the city, and Edward's wish to cultivate that good will of the Londoners which had been so instrumental in securing his elevation to the throne. He kept his court there in great splendor in 1465, as well as on other occasions;[o] and in 1470, during the commotions which led to the temporary subversion of his power, it formed the chief residence of his queen.

The year 1470 is memorable for the sudden revolution brought about by the earl of Warwick, and for the revival of the hopes of the house of Lancaster. That valiant and powerful nobleman, together with the duke of Clarence the king's brother, and the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, who had all previously fled into France, landed at Dartmouth on the thirteenth of September; and so rapid was the tide of their success, that within the short space of a month, Edward was an exile in a foreign court, and Henry restored to his regal authority! As soon as the progress of the confederates was made known in the capital, the queen, with her children, and a few faithful attendants, secretly departed from the Tower and took sanctuary at Westminster;[p] and that fortress being surrendered to the mayor,[q] king Henry was delivered from his state of imprisonment, and honorably lodged and attended in the royal apartments.[r] When the lords received intelligence of Edward's flight they directed their course towards London, which they entered in triumph[s] in the beginning of October; and shortly afterwards the "duke of Clarence, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, lord Stanley, and other lords and gentlemen, resorted with a great company to the Tower, and thence with much pomp brought king Henry the Sixth, apparelled in a long gown of blue velvet, through the high streets of London to the cathedral church of St. Paul, the people on the right hand and on the left, rejoicing and crying, *God save the King!* And, when he had offered, as kings used to do, he was conveyed to the bishop's palace, and there kept his household like a king."[t]

---

[k] Stow, p. 419.

[l] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 539. Fabian. Hall. Stow. Fragm. ad finem Sproti, &c.

[m] Monstrelet, tom. iii. p. 119.

[n] W. Wyrcester. Annales, p. 503.

[o] Rot. Pat. Claus. temp. Edw. IV.

Thus was king Henry unexpectedly delivered from the recesses of a prison, and restored once more to his throne. But the treacherous hand of fortune raised him from his forlorn condition only to plunge him into an abyss of still greater affliction — to bereave him of every hope, and to accomplish his evil destiny. Edward returned from his momentary exile and regained the crown with a celerity almost equal to that with which he lost it: he marched without interruption to London; the citizens declared in his favor; the Tower was recovered to his use,[u] and his unfortunate rival again falling into his hands a prisoner, was conveyed in his train to Barnet,[x] to witness the carnage of his friends.

After the fatal victory gained over the Lancastrians at Barnet, on Easter Sunday, 1471, Henry was reconducted to his place of confinement in the Tower,[y] there to close his days; and Edward, having committed that fortress to the charge of Anthony, earl of Rivers,[z] and left the queen and her children there for security, directed his course towards Margaret, who in the mean time had landed with her son at Weymouth. The parties met in the ever-memorable field of Tewksbury ; and there were annihilated the last hopes of the house of Lancaster, and Edward established in the peaceable possession of his throne. Young Edward was taken, and barbarously murdered ; and his mother, the great but ill-fated Margaret, also falling into the hands of her enemies, was led a prisoner to the dreaded fortress which contained her hapless husband.[a]

---

[p] Fabian. Stow, p. 422. [q] Stow, p. 422. [r] Hall. Fabian.
[s] Hist Croyland. cont. in Hist. Angl. Script. tom. i. p. 554. [t] Hall.
[u] Hollinshed. [x] Hall. Fabian. Hollinshed. [y] Fabian. Hollinshed.

After this victory, king Edward returned to London, which he entered in triumph on the twenty-first of May ; and we are not only told that his harmless rival was found dead the next day, in his prison in the Tower, but that it was the general opinion that he expired under the hands of the duke of Glocester. Such is the report of writers who flourished in the following age ;[b] and although formed, perhaps, on no better authority than the rumours and prejudices of the times, their stories have been received and enlarged upon by almost every subsequent historian, with little or no regard to the foundations on which they rest. If, indeed, Henry had closed his days on the very night after Edward's arrival in London, the concurrence of circumstances might have been looked upon as favoring the suspicion that his death was violent : but this does not appear to have been the case ;[c] and even if it had, is it likely that Gloucester, a youth of only eighteen years of age, would have been commissioned as an asssasin; or, without any possible object on his own part, would have voluntarily imbrued his hands in the blood of a man to whom he had no cause of hatred, but, on the contrary, evinced every mark of reverence ? A better opportunity, however, will hereafter occur for a minute examination of this subject ;[d] and till then it may be left with this cursory observation, that although it will, perhaps, ever remain doubtful whether

---

[z] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. *556*.

[a] Hume, vol. iii. p. 250. Henry, vol. ix. p. 222.

[b] Hist. Croyland. cont. Fabian. Sir T. More. Hall, &c.

[c] Vide Rymer, tom. xi. p. 712.

[d] See under Memoirs of Distinguished Prisoners.

Henry came to a natural or violent death, there certainly has never yet been discovered any evidence, whereon to found an accusation against the duke of Glocester. Henry's corpse was conveyed solemnly from the Tower to St. Paul's, where it lay for some time, to satisfy the people of his death, and was thence taken to Chertsey to be buried.[e]

It was not long after these occurrences that the Tower became the scene of a less disputed tragedy. After the prominent part which the impetuous temper of the duke of Clarence had induced him to take in the late rebellion, there never, perhaps, existed any real cordiality betwixt him and his brother; and this being fomented by the queen and her relations, it was not long before Edward found an opportunity to sacrifice all the finer feelings of nature to his thirst for vengeance.

In 1478, this unfortunate prince was committed to the Tower, and on very trivial charges was attainted and condemned for high treason. His trial took place on the sixteenth of January 1478, and Henry duke of Buckingham having been specially appointed high steward of England, to carry his sentence into execution.[f] he was privately put to death in the Tower[g] on the eighth of March; and, if we may believe the accounts of historians who lived in that and the following age, his destiny was accomplished by drowning in a butt of Malmsey.[h]

Edward himself did not long survive this unnatural proceeding against his brother. He died on the 9th of April 1483, and this brings us to a train of events the most interesting, but at the same time, the most obscured, perplexing, and uncertain in all our narrative — the succession of Edward V.— the appointment of the duke of Gloucester as protector — the young king's being lodged in the Tower — the execution of lord Hastings, the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and others — the accession of Richard, — and the final disappearance of his two nephews from their prison in the Tower. General history, however, does not afford that scope for inquiry, consideration, and argument, into which one would be necessarily led in attempting to develope so intricate and important a question; and I shall, therefore, here content myself with a relation of events as they are detailed by our early authorities, leaving a minute examination of their authenticity, and of the conclusions which have been drawn from them, till a future occasion.[i] To proceed therefore in our object. Prince Edward, a youth of between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed king in London on the day of his father's death. He was at that time under the care of his uncle, Anthony earl of Rivers, at the castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire,[k] and the queen and her friends, probably with a view to secure to themselves the regency, seem to have been desirous of raising an army to escort her son to London; but meeting with opposition, particularly from lord Hastings, the number of the young monarch's retinue was limited to two thousand.[l] Richard duke of Glocester, brother to the late king, being engaged in the north of England when he received intelligence of Edward's decease, immediately wrote letters to the queen, not only expressive of his friendship for her, but his fidelity and attachment to the young king;[m] and on coming to York, he set all the nobility and gentry of those parts an example by being the first to swear fealty to his nephew.[n] He evinced every symptom of respectful grief for his brother's death; and, himself and all his retinue in mourning,[o] proceeded from York to Northampton, where he was met by the duke of Buckingham; and the young king having at the same time arrived at Stony-Stratford, he sent the earl of Rivers, Richard lord Grey, and others to the duke his uncle, to submit every thing to his judgment and direction.[p] On their first coming they were received by Richard with every appearance of friendship,[q] and they spent the evening together in all the pleasantry and mirth which were common to the ages of chivalry: but the scene was soon changed: on the arrival of the whole party the next day at Stony-Stratford, the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard Hawse, were all put under arrest, and sent off to the castle of Pomfret.[r]

---

[e] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 556. Hall. Fabian.

[f] Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 195.

[g] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 572.

[h] Fabian. Sir Thomas Moore. Hall. Grafton. Stow.

---

[i] See the account of Distinguished Prisoners.

[k] Sir T. More, in vitâ regis Edw. V.

[l] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. *565*.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Ibid. Fabian. More.

These proceedings took place on the thirtieth of April,[s] and, the rumor of them having reached London the following night, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son the duke of York, and the rest of her children, at Westminster,[t] and the whole capital presented a scene of the most awful confusion.[u] After a few days the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham conducted the young king to London and lodged him in the bishop's palace; where all the lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of the city took the oath of fealty.[x] The young monarch was conveyed in a royal manner; and as he entered the capital, the duke of Glocester shewed him every mark of subjection, riding before and calling upon the people to *Behold their king*.[y] What subsequently occurred in London is not so satisfactorily detailed to us: it is clear, however, that the council soon afterwards appointed Glocester to the office of protector,[z] and agreed that the king should be removed from the bishop's palace, and take up his residence in the Tower.[a] The 23d of June was finally decided upon as the day on which the young monarch should be crowned;[b] preparations were also made for that ceremony,[c] and by letters, dated the 5th June, fifty young gentlemen of family, who were intended to be made knights of the bath, as was customary on those occasions, were required to be in attendance upon the king in the Tower, four days previous to his coronation.[d]

It should, therefore, seem, that as late as the 5th of June, Richard really had entertained no idea of thrusting his nephew from the throne, or else deemed it prudent to make the world believe so. But affairs very soon afterwards assumed a different aspect: the council frequently met, part of it at Westminster, and part at the Tower;[e] and on Friday the 13th of June, as the protector, the duke of Buckingham, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, lord Stanley, lord Hastings, and others, were deliberating in the council-chamber in the Tower, a cry of treason was raised in the adjoining apartment,[f] and Glocester hastily rising from his seat and going to the door, a party of armed men rushed in, arrested the two prelates, lord Stanley and lord Hastings; and, by the protector's command, the latter was almost instantly led to execution:[g] he was taken into the court-yard of the Tower, and, "without judgment or long time for confession or repentance," was beheaded in front of the chapel, on a piece of timber which accidentally lay there, for repairing some of the buildings of the fortress;[h] and this done, the primate, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley, were confined in separate prisons in the Tower.[i]

---

[s] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. *565*.

[t] Ibid. Fabian. More.

[u] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. *566*. More.

[x] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. *566*.

[y] Sir T. More.

[z] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. *566*.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Ibid.

[c] A letter, dated at London on the ninth of June, says, "As for tydyngs seyns I wrote to youe we her non newe. Ye Quene kepys stylle at Westm' my lord of Yorke, my lord of Salysbury, w^{t} othyr mo, wyche wyll nott departe as zytte. Wher so evyr kanne be founde any godyse of my lord Markues it is tayne. Ye priore of Westm' wasse & zytt is in a gret trobyll for certeyne godys delyverd to hyme by my lord markques. My lord protector, my lord of Bukyngham w^{t} all othyr lordys as wele temporale as spirituale wer at Westm' in ye councel chamber from x. to ij. butt yer wass none y^{t} spake w^{t} ye qwene. Yer is gret besyness ageyns ye coronacion, wyche schal be y^{is} day fortnyght as we sey; when I trust ze wylbe at London & yen schall ze knowe all ye world. Ye kyng is at ye toure. My lady of Glocestre came to London on thorsday last."

[d] Rymer, tom. xii. p. 185.

The news of these sudden proceedings having spread, and caused great confusion in the city, Glocester sent forth a proclamation to quiet the minds of the people,[k] and on the Monday following, being the 16th of June, the queen, who still remained with her children in sanctuary at Westminster, was prevailed upon by the persuasions of the archbishop of Canterbury, to give up the duke of York, to be taken to his brother in the Tower.[l]

---

[e] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566. More.

[f] Fabian. Sir T. More.

[g] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566. Fabian. More.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Fabian. More.

[k] Sir Thomas More.—This writer relates many other particulars concerning these memorable proceedings, but he appears to have been swayed by prejudice: his narrative is very highly wrought, but it misplaces some occurrences, misrepresents others, and contains some things which seem so palpably false and ridiculous, that one is puzzled to know what to give credit to. He tells us that the execution of the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan, at Pomfret, which no doubt took place at some time, happened on the very day that Hastings was beheaded in the Tower; but the historian of Croyland, whose authority is very far better than that of sir Thomas, gives it a much later date, and in this he is borne out by the silence of the following letter, which speaks particularly of the transactions of this period.—*See Hist. Croyland. cont. p.* 567.

[l] Sir Thomas More describes this as having taken place immediately after the king's being brought to London, but the historian of Croyland dates it the 16th of

These transactions afford us the first indication of Richard's design of taking possession of the throne — a design which he carried into effect partly by making it appear that he had a right, in consequence of the illegitimacy of his brother's children,[m] and partly through the influence and baseness of a man whom Richard himself afterwards termed the "falsest traitour living" — the duke of Buckingham. Doctor Shaw prepared the minds of the people for these unexpected changes by a sermon delivered at St. Paul's cross,[n] on Sunday the 22d of June; on Tuesday the 24th, Buckingham harangued the citizens on Glocester's

---

June, and his testimony is fully confirmed by a letter, written at "London ye xxj. day of June," which says, "for tydyngs I hold you happy that ye ar oute of the prese for w^{t} huse is myche trobull & every manne dowtes other. as on fryday last was the lord Chamberleyn hedded sone apone noon. On monday last was at Westm' gret plenty of harnest men. ther was the dylyveraunce of the dewke of Yorke to my lord cardenale, my lord chaunceler, & other many lords temporale. and w^{t} hym mett my lord of Bukyngham in the myddes of the hall of Westm', my lord protectour recevyng hyme at the Starre Chamber dore with many lovyng wordys, & so departed w^{t} my lord cardenale to the toure, wher he is, blessed be Jhesu, mery. The lord Liele is come to my lord protectour and awates apon hyme. Yt is thought ther schalbe xx. thousand of my lord protectour and my lord of Bukyngham men in London this weike, to what intent I knowe note but to kep the peas. My lord haith myche besynes & more then he is content w^{t} all, yf any other ways wold be tayn. the lord arsbyschop of Yorke, the byshop of Ely ar zit in the toure w^{t} master Oliver Kynge. Yer ar men in ther placese for sure kepynge and I suppose y^{t} yer schall be sente menne of my lord protectors to yeis lordys placz in y^{e} countre. They ar not lyke to come out of ward zytt. As soe feste he is in hold, and mene fer hys lyffe. Mastres Chore [Jane Shore] is in prisone; what schall happyne hyr I knowe nott. I pray y^{e} pardone me of mor wrytyng I ame so seke y^{t} I may nott wel hold my penne, & Jhesu preserve y^{e}." In a postscript the writer adds, "All y^{e} lord chamberleyne mene be come my lordys of Bokyngham mene." This letter, and that from which an extract is given in a preceding page, were written by the same person, addressed to the Right Hon. Sir William Stoner knt.

[m] It was shewn, that previous to Edward's marriage with lady Elizabeth Grey, he had been contracted to lady Eleanor Butler, and, consequently, that his issue by that marriage was illegitimate.—"Ostendebatur per modum supplicationis in quodam rotulo pergameni, quod filii Regis Edwardi erant bastardi, supponendo illum præcontraxisse cum quadam dominâ Alienora Boteler antequam reginam Elizabeth duxisset in uxorem; atque insuper, quod sanguis alterius fratris sui, Georgii ducis Clarentiæ, fuisset attinctus, ita quod hodie nullus certus et incorruptus sanguis linealis ex parte Richardi ducis Eboraci poterit inveniri, nisi in personâ dicti Richardi ducis Gloucestriæ. Quocirca supplicabatur ei in fine ejusdem rotuli, ex parte dominorum et communitatis regni, ut jus suum in se assumeret.—*st. Croyland. cont. p.* 567. See also Rot. Parl. 1 Rich. III. Mémoires de Commines, tom. i. p. 437. 497. Sir T. More &c.

[n] Fabian. More.

right to the crown;[o] and, having succeeded in obtaining their voice in his favour, the protector assumed the dignity of king on Thursday the 26th,[p] and was proclaimed on the following day.

Having thus cleared his way to the throne, and Sunday the 6th of July being appointed for the ceremony of his coronation, Richard came by water to the Tower on the Friday preceding, with his consort and a splendid retinue; and there, as we are told,[q] he raised several noblemen to higher dignities: he also released the archbishop of York and lord Stanley from prison, and made seventeen new knights of the bath; and on the following day he proceeded with great pomp through the city to Westminster to receive the crown and sceptre of his kingdom.[r]

It is observable that at this solemnity the concourse of nobility and others was unusually great: in the procession from the Tower there were three dukes, nine earls, and twenty-two barons, besides knights and esquires;[s] and one most remarkable circumstance is, that preparations were actually made for prince Edward to have attended his uncle's coronation; as appears from the wardrobe account for the year 1483: wherein among other deliveries made for that ceremony, is an entry of the following things for "lord Edward, son of the late king Edward the Fourth, for his apparel and array, that is to say, a short gowne made of two yards and three quarters of crymsyn cloth of gold, lyned with two yards and three quarters of blac velvet: a long gowne made of vi. yards and a half of crymsyn cloth of gold lynned with six yards of green damask; a shorte gowne made of two yards ¾ of purpel velvett, lyned with two yards ¾ of green damask; a doublett and stomacher made of two yards of blac satyn," &c. "besydes two foot cloths, a bonet of purple velvet, nine horse-harness and nine saddle housings of blue velvet, gilt spurs, with many other rich articles, and magnificent apparel for his henghmen and pages."[t] Whether the young prince really did attend on that occasion must, perhaps, ever remain uncertain; though the silence of history on the subject affords a presumptive proof that he did not: it seems clear, however, that his appearance was once intended.

---

[o] Fabian. More.

[p] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566.—More misplaces all these facts; and tells us that Richard took his regal title on the 19th.

[q] Hall and Grafton.

[r] Ibid.

[s] Grafton.—The duke of Buckingham appeared in great splendour, his habit and caparison being of blue velvet embroidered with gold, and the trappings of his horse were supported by footmen in rich and costly dresses, "in such solemn fashion that all men much regarded it."—*Hall.*

Having conducted Richard through all the bloodshed, confusion, and ceremony attending his advancement to the throne, we must now proceed with our narrative. The two young princes still remained "under suer kepyng within the Tower," and their uncle, king Richard, soon after his coronation, made a progress through Oxford, Glocester, Warwick, and Coventry, and so northward through Pontefract to York, where he is said to have been a second time crowned, within the metropolitan church in that city.[u] During this absence from London, the people of the south and western parts of the kingdom began to murmur; insurrections were plotted, and it was privately talked of that some of the daughters of the late king Edward ought to be secretly conveyed abroad out of the sanctuary at Westminster, lest any thing should happen to their two brothers in the Tower:[x] this, however, was no sooner known than a strong guard was set over the place, to preclude the possibility of their escape;[y] and it was shortly afterwards publicly rumored that the two young princes had ended their days in the Tower.[z] Many, but unsatisfactory accounts are given us of this catastrophe. The historian of Croyland Abbey, for whose authority we may safely entertain great veneration, says, "divulgatum est dictos regis Edwardi pueros, quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata." Fabian, the next English writer, both as to date and authority, tells us, on Richard's accession, that "the prynce, or of ryght kinge Edward V., with his broder the duke of Yorke, were put under suer kepynge within the Tower, in suche wyse that they never came abrode after." And he afterwards states, that "the common fame went that kynge Richarde hadde within the Tower put unto secrete deth the ii. sones of his broder Edward the iiii. for the whiche, and other causes hadde within the brest of the duke of Buckyngham, the sayd duke, in secrete maner, conspyred agayne hym, and allyed hym with dyverse gentylemen, to the ende to bryng his purpose aboute." Philip de Commines, a contemporary French writer, speaking of Richard,[a] says in one place, "fist mourir ses deux nepheux, et se fist roy appelle Richard;" and in another page[b] repeats that the duke of Glocester, "qui s'estoit fait roy d'Engleterre avoit fait mourir les deux filz du roy Edouard son frere." The scantiness of these particulars is compensated by the bold and fruitful genius of sir Thomas More: that historian wrote at a period of about five and twenty years afterwards, and has been followed by almost all our modern historians, apparently without the slightest regard to the truth or falsehood of his assertions. He does not hesitate to tell us that the young princes actually were murdered in the Tower; and he calls upon us to believe the following marvellous story as to the mode in which that deed was accomplished.

---

[t] Walpole's Historic Doubts, pp. 65, 66. Archaeologia, vol. i. pp. 363. 387.

[u] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 567. [x] Ibid. [y] Ibid. [z] Idem, p. 568.

"King Richard," says sir Thomas, "after his coronation, taking his way to Glocester, to visit in his new honour, the town of which he bore the name of old, devised as he rode to fulfil that thing which he had before intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them; as though killing of his kinsmen might end his cause and make him kindly kyng. Wherupon he sent John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert in any wise should put the two children to death. This John Grene did his errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death to die therefore. With which answer Grene returned, recounting the same to king Richard at Warwick, yet on his journey; wherewith he took such displeasure and thought that the same night he said to a secret page of his: *Ah! whom shall a man trust: they that I have brought up myself, they that I thought would have mostly*

---

[a] Chronique de Commines, edit. Paris, 1539, liv. i. feuil. ccxx.

[b] Idem, feuil. ccliii.

surely served me, even those fail, and at my commandment will do nothing for me. Sir, quoth the page, *there lieth one in the palet chamber without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure the thing were right hard that he would refuse;* meaning by this sir James Tyrell, who was a man of goodly personage, and for the gifts of nature, worthy to have served a better prince, if he had well served God, and, by grace, obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit. The man had a high heart and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept under by sir Richard Ratcliffe and sir William Catesby." Whereupon "king Richard rose and came out into the palet chamber, where he found sir James Tyrell in bed, with sir Thomas Tyrell, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kyn in conditions. Then said the king to them merrily, *what sirs, be ye in bed so soon?* and calling sir James Tyrell up, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter, in the which he found him to his purpose nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver to sir James all the keys of the Tower for a night, to the end that he might there accomplish the king's pleasure in such things as he had given him in commandment." Sir Thomas then proceeds to tell us, that as soon as the protector assumed the title of king, young Edward and his brother the duke of York had been placed under rigid confinement; that all their attendants had been removed from them;[c] that a fellow called Black Will had been set to serve them, and four others to see them sure; and that, after that time, "the prince never tied his points, nor any thing thought of himself, but with that young babe his brother lingered in thought and heaviness, till this traitorous deed delivered them from their wretchedness." "Sir James Tyrell devised that they should be murdered in their beds, and no blood shed: to the execution whereof he appointed Miles Forest, one of the four that before kept them, a fellow flesh-bred in murder before time; and to him he joined one John Dighton his own horse-keeper, a big broad square and strong knave." "Then all the other being removed from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton about midnight, came into the chamber and suddenly wrapped them up amongst the clothes, keeping down by force the feather bed and pillows hard upon their mouths, that within awhile they smothered and stifled them, and their breaths failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to their tormentors their bodies dead in bed; after which the wretches laid them out upon the bed, and fetched Tyrell to see them, and when he was satisfied of their death he caused the murderers to bury them at the stair foot meetly deep in the ground under a great heap of stones." [d]

---

[c] How does this agree with the coronation account roll?—see page 53.

Sir James having thus fulfilled his task, " rode in great haste to King Richard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder, who gave him great thanks, and, as men say, there made him knight; but he allowed not their burial in so vile a corner, saying he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a king's sons. Whereupon a priest of sir Robert Brakenbury's took them up and buried them in such secrecy as by the occasion of his death, which was very shortly after, no one knew it."

Such is the account given us by sir Thomas More; but, without being sceptical, without appearing as the advocates of Richard, or risking an opinion on the ultimate fate of the two princes, let us examine the probability of this amusing story. First, then, we are told, that while on his progress, and just after leaving London, Richard dispatched a messenger from Glocester to Brakenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to put his two nephews to death, which he refused to do! Is this probable? Would a deep, discerning, and politic man have sent such instructions without knowing how they would be received? Would he have hazarded such a message, which if, either by accident or by design, had been exposed, would have blasted his name for ever, would have set the whole country in rebellion, and, most likely, have cost him his crown and life? Would he not rather personally have sounded and instructed Brakenbury previous to his leaving

---

[d] See the account of the Bloody-Tower.

London? or, if he had been so rash, was it Richard's character to have brooked a refusal from a person on whom he had heaped offices and honors? Would he have continued him in the command of the Tower, and granted him other favors?[e] Would he not rather have treated him as he had already done Hastings and others? Or, supposing he could have overlooked this refusal, would Brakenbury, who had the honor and spirit to disobey such a mandate, have continued faithful? Would he have fought and died in his cause at the field of Bosworth? Would he not have despised the wretch from whose soul such a thought could emanate? And would he not have felt insulted, and have hated and spurned the man that could have deemed him capable of such a crime? But this is not all:—would Richard have been so weak and unguarded as to have made a confidant of a mere page at Warwick? Is this like a man 'close and secret, a deep dissimulator,' as we are told he was?[f] Would he not have been personally acquainted with Tyrell's nature, and have privately broached the subject to him without the intervention of a servant? For Tyrell's situation was not that in which sir Thomas More represents him: he was of an ancient and high family; had long before received the honor of knighthood, and enjoyed the office of master of the horse. But supposing we admit that Tyrell was sent to perpetrate this horrid deed, would Brakenbury have delivered to him the keys of the Tower, as is pretended, without a formal warrant to justify him in so serious a transaction? And has ever any trace of such a document been discovered?[g]—Never. It has been anxiously sought for, but sought in vain: and we may, therefore, conclude, that sir Thomas More's is nothing but one of the passing tales of the day; and we may believe that if the young princes were destroyed in the Tower, Brakenbury must have been instrumental in their murder, and have acted in obedience to instructions given to him personally by Richard, previous to his departure from London. But we find that very strong doubts were entertained, even in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, whether the children had been put to death or not: we know too, that in Richard's time a conspiracy for carrying them abroad was detected:[h] we are also told that a design was afterwards entertained of getting some of their sisters out of sanctuary[i] in disguise, and conveying them for protection to some foreign country; and More himself admits, that "the deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes nevertheless so far came in question, that some remained long in doubt whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or no." Nor does he stand alone: "In vulgus fama valeret, filios Edwardi regis, aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse, atque ibi superstites esse," says Polidore Virgil.[k] Hall also writes "that the fame went, and many surely supposed King Edward's children not to be dead, but to be fled secretly to some strange place and there to be living;" and lord Bacon, speaking of Henry the Seventh's accession, says, "Neither wanted there even at this time, secret rumors and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great trouble, that the two sons of King Edward the Fourth, or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed

---

[e] He made him lieutenant, and afterwards constable of the Tower, master of the mint, and keeper of the lions.—Brevia sub privato sigillo, 1 Rich. III. in Turr. Lond.

[f] Sir T. More, in vita regis Edwardi V.

[g] The following very forcible argument has been raised to demonstrate the impossibility of More's account being true, in consequence of the short space of time occupied in the king's progress from London to York. It appears that he was at Westminster on Sunday the last day of August, and had arrived at York on the 7th of September, the day preceding his second coronation. As he staid at Windsor, Oxford, and Woodstock on his way, he did not reach Glocester till the 3d of September; resuming his journey on Thursday, he passed through Worcester, and arrived at Warwick the same evening; and thence proceeding through Coventry and Leicester, he came on Friday to Nottingham, on Saturday to Pontefract, and on Sunday to York. Green, then, if dispatched from, or on the road to Glocester,

---

had not time to return to London on Wednesday, execute his commission to Brakenbury, and rejoin the king at Warwick; nor could Tyrell, if dispatched from Warwick early on Friday morning, have arrived at the Tower before Saturday, nor perpetrate the murder before midnight; and departing from London on Sunday morning, could not have rejoined his master on the road before his arrival that evening at York; where he officiated next day in his capacity of master of the horse; thus he and Green performing two consecutive journeys of five hundred miles in four days, and these with the interruption of two nights and the day preparatory and previous to the murder. Such journeys may be accomplished in these days, but it is contended that, in the fifteenth century, with bad roads and before the establishment of regular posts, it was not possible.—*See the Appendix to Henry's History of Britain, vol. xii. p.* 421., *and Carte's History, vol. xi. p.* 816.

[h] More. Stowe.

[i] Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 567.

[k] Ibid. p. 569.

murdered, but were conveyed secretly away, and were yet living. — And all this time it was still whispered every where that at least one of the children was living."

Those who have been most forward to blacken the memory of Richard have advanced, as an additional argument against him, the discovery of some bones, resembling those of two children, at the foot of the staircase leading to the chapel in the White Tower: but, in fairness, little or no reliance should be placed on this circumstance; for so many and so contradictory are the statements respecting the burial of these young princes, that bones found at one time in an uninhabited turret, were regarded as the remains of one of them; although it afterwards turned out that they were the limbs of an old ape that had clambered up there and died! It is also a very general opinion that the building called the *Bloody-Tower*, received its appellation from the circumstance of the children having been *stifled* in it; and it is commonly and confidently asserted that the bones were found under a staircase there; yet both of these stories seem wholly without foundation.[l]

Such is the conflicting testimony on which this mysterious but interesting subject rests. It must be admitted that, at the first view, appearances are much against Richard; but it is worthy of remark, that almost all that has been advanced against him was written in the succeeding reign — a period when popular prejudice was incited to the highest degree against his memory;[m] and when, perhaps, nothing could with safety have been recorded in his favor. The execution of lord Hastings cannot be denied by his warmest advocates, though we are in total ignorance as to what were the circumstances which led to that sudden, extraordinary, and cruel act. That Richard also ordered the death of the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and others at Pomfret, will not admit of doubt; but there are some circumstances which may be looked upon as throwing a shade over the guilt of that transaction: Rivers and other of the queen's relations had unquestionably procured the attainder and death of the unhappy Clarence; they had concerted measures for retaining the person of the young king, and possessing themselves of the administration; and, with a view to promote these designs, the marquis of Dorset, who was constable of the Tower when Edward the Fourth died, had not only taken steps to secure that fortress, but had there possessed himself of the royal treasures, arms, and other necessaries for the equipment of a fleet, and furthering the object of their united ambition. Whether Richard be rightly accused of that vile and unnatural crime, the murder of his nephews, will, it is feared, never be satisfactorily elucidated; though that implicit belief of his guilt so generally entertained by the world does not appear to be justified by the indecisive and prejudiced evidence whereon this judgment has been founded. If, however, Richard were the horrid character that he is represented, it is a gratification to know that heaven did not long permit him to enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, and that he fell a victim to his lawless passions.

---

[l] See the account of the Bloody-Tower.

[m] We may select, from many others, the following ridiculous example: "Richard the tyrant, who had remained two years in his mother's womb, was born at Fotheringey on the feast of eleven thousand virgins, with long hair, and his teeth complete!"—*Rous. p.* 214.

Richard having fallen in the battle of Bosworth, one of the first acts of Henry's government was to secure the person of Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence. He had been long detained a prisoner in the castle of Sheriff Hoton in Yorkshire, and thence he was conveyed, under the charge of sir Robert Willoughby, to the Tower of London; where he finally became a victim to Henry's jealousy; as his sister, the countess of Salisbury, afterwards did to that of King Henry the Eighth:[n] and thus, by the hands of the executioner, fell the last male, of whole blood, of the royal line of Plantagenet.

Although King Henry the Seventh had married the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth, shortly after his elevation to the throne, he delayed the solemnity of her coronation, lest it should seem that his title to the throne rested on his matrimonial connexion. She was crowned at Westminster, by Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, to the great joy and satisfaction of the people, on Sunday, the 25th of November, 1487; and on the Friday preceding, "royally apparelled, and accompanyed with my ladie the king's mother, and many other great estates, both lords and ladies, richely besene, came forward to the coronacion; and, at their coming forth from Grenewich by water, there was attending upon her there, the maior, sherifes, and aldermen of the citie, and divers and many wurshipfull comoners, chosen out of every craft, in their liveries, in barges freshly furnished with banners and stremers of silke richely beaton with the armes and badges of their craftes; and especially a barge called the bacheler's barge, wherin were many gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiously devised to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with." And thus the queen came by water from Greenwich and landed at the Tower, where she was received by the king, attended by the nobility and all the great officers of state, and of the royal household. She was conducted to the royal apartments, where their majesties lodged, and, according to the custom of ancient times, "kept open household and frank resort" for all the court.

---

[n] Ive's Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth, p. 120.

On the morrow her majesty proceeded from the Tower, in state, through the city to Westminster. She was apparelled in white cloth of gold, and "her fayre yelow heare," flowing loosely down her back, was adorned with a circlet of gold and precious stones. The occasion was one peculiarly gratifying to the people, and the citizens rivalled each other in evincing their joy and affection. The streets through which the procession was to pass were cleansed, and dressed with tapestry and arras, and some were hung with cloth of gold, velvet, and silk; and from the Tower to St. Paul's stood in order all the companies of London in their liveries; "and in divers places of the citie were ordeynid singing children, some arrayed like angelles, and others like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by." [o]

In the year 1494, after keeping his Christmas at Westminster, King Henry removed with his council to the Tower, and there sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, was impeached before him of high treason; for favoring the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. He was accused by sir Robert Clifford of having said, that *if he were sure that that young man were King Edward's*

---

[o] Ive's Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth, p. 120.

son, he would never bear arms against him; and, although sir William had been one of Henry's best and most faithful supporters, that cold-blooded and avaricious tyrant had him arraigned on this paltry charge, and, being found guilty, he was beheaded on Tower-hill.[p]

In 1501, King Henry the Seventh held a splendid tournament in the Tower, and during his reign that fortress was frequently used as a royal residence, particularly by the queen, to whom it occasionally served as a retreat from the society of her sullen and cold-hearted husband; and it was there she died. Having been brought to bed there of a daughter, on the 2d of February 1503, she lived but a few days afterwards: she was buried at Westminster;[q] and her infant, who was christened in the Tower by the name of Catherine, did not long survive her.[r]

King Henry the Seventh died on the 21st of April 1509, at his favorite palace on the bank of the Thames, to which he had given the name of Richmond; and on the following day his son and successor, the eighth of that name, retired with a few confidential friends to the Tower of London, where he remained in great privacy till after his father's burial, and it was there that he formed that wise and excellent council that guided his early years, and gained for him the love and admiration of his subjects.

In the beginning of June, Henry's marriage with his first wife, Catherine of Arragon, was solemnized at Greenwich, and thence the royal pair afterwards removed with a numerous and splendid court to the Tower, preparatory to their coronation.[s] Sunday the 24th of June was appointed for that ceremony; and the provisions made for the occasion were of the most magnificent and expensive nature. On the 23d, the king being then with the queen in the Tower, made twenty-four new knights of the bath, and the next day their majesties proceeded through the city to Westminster, surrounded with a display of all that gorgeous and costly pageantry which soon became the prevailing taste and fashion of the age. The citizens, charmed as usual with the splendors of a coronation, decorated their houses with cloth of gold and other expensive hangings; the streets were lined with the different companies apparelled in their gowns, and the people manifested their joy by loud and unmingled acclamations. The procession, which began from the Tower in the afternoon, was led by two gentlemen on horseback, richly clad, bearing the ensigns of Guien and Normandy;[t] then came two others who bore the king's hat and cloak, and immediately before his majesty rode sir Thomas Brandon, the master of the horse, apparelled in tissue, embroidered with roses of fine gold. The king, as was the custom on those occasions, rode bare-headed. He wore a robe of crimson velvet, and a jacket or coat of raised gold; "the placard was set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, and the bawdrike with great balasses: the trappings of his horse were of damask gold, with a deep purfell of ermine; the knights and esquires of his body were clad in crimson velvet, and all the gentlemen, with other of his chapel, and his officers and household servants, in scarlet."[u] Next came the queen in a litter drawn by two white palfreys, trapped in cloth of gold; she was dressed in white embroidered satin, and her hair, "beautifully and goodly to behold," hung long and loosely down her back, adorned with a coronal of precious stones.[x]

---

[p] Lord Bacon, in Kennet, vol. i. p. 610.

[q] Hollinshed. Bacon.

[r] Ibid.

[s] Hall. Stow. Hollinshed.

Such were the magnificence and pomp with which the youthful king conducted the amiable and spotless Catherine to become the partner of his throne: but how sad was the contrast betwixt the dawn and close of this unhappy union. Comparatively few were the years that passed away before this innocent queen ceased to find favor in the eyes of her fickle and inconstant lord; and at length, supplanted in his affections by the youth and beauty of another, her seat was allotted to an unworthy rival.

Henry having determined on repudiating his unoffending consort, the difficulties which presented themselves to the accomplishment of his design served only to increase the impetuosity of his passion, and impelled him to stifle every sense of decorum to obtain the object of his well-known love. No sooner was the sentence of the church pronounced, than Anne Boleyn, the fair

[t] Hall. [u] Ibid. [x] Ibid.

and new possessor of Henry's heart, was shewn to the world as queen; and all the extravagance and ingenuity that the age produced, were lavished on the ceremony of her coronation. On Thursday the twenty-ninth of May 1533, she was conveyed, with a degree of unprecedented pomp from Greenwich to the Tower of London, where her landing was greeted with reiterated peals of ordnance.[y] She was there received by the king and conducted into the palace, little thinking how soon that fatal fortress was to become her prison, and the scene of her untimely end.

On the following day the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Derby, lord Clifford, lord Fitzwalter, lord Hastings, lord Mounteagle, and twelve others, who were appointed to be made knights of the bath, served the king at dinner, "and that night were bathed and shreven accordyng to the old usage of England." [z]

The next day being Whitsun-eve, after the king had made the knights of the bath "according to the ceremonies thereto belonging," the queen departed from the Tower to the palace at Westminster with a train more splendid even than that already noticed at the former coronation. The populace crowded together about the fortress to witness the outset of this gorgeous spectacle. The procession began with twelve Frenchmen belonging to the embassador of France: they were clad in coats of blue and yellow velvet, and their horses caparisoned with blue sarcenet, adorned with white crosses: after them came gentlemen, knights, and esquires, two and two. Next came the judges, and then the knights of the bath "in violet gowns with hoods purfelled with minver, like doctors:" after them abbots, then barons, then bishops, and then earls and marquises. Next came through these stately portals the lord chancellor of England followed by the archbishop of York and the embassador of Venice, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and the embassador of France. After them rode two esquires of honor "with robes of estate rolled and worn baudrikewise about their necks, with caps of estate representing the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain" and then the mayor of London with his mace and garter in his coat of arms. Following these were the marshall and constable of England bearing the ensigns of their offices. The lords for the most part were attired in crimson velvet, and all the queen's servants and officers in scarlet. Immediately before her majesty rode her chancellor bare-headed: she was drawn in an open litter by two palfreys, and wore a surcoat of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same, furred with ermine; her hair hung down, and on her head was a coif surmounted by a circlet of precious stones. Over her a canopy of cloth of gold was borne by knights, with silver staves. After the queen came her chamberlain and the master of her horse, and the procession closed with a train of chariots with many ladies of honor, followed by the guards and attendants of her court.[a]

---

[y] Hall.

[z] Ibid.

When this splendid cavalcade passed through the city, the streets were adorned as usual with costly hangings, and the scene enlivened with "marvellous cunning pageants," which shew the tasteless barbarism of the age, and supply us with a view of its extravagance and folly. Fountains flowed with wines; Apollo with the muses, the three Graces, and the Cardinal Virtues, maintained conspicuous stations; and Mary the wife of Cleophas with her children,[b] hailed the beauteous queen, and wished her a numerous progeny!

This occasion of rejoicing was but a prelude to the persecutions and cruelties which darkened the remainder of Henry's reign, and made the Tower a scene of such dismal tragedies. In 1534, the great, the witty sir Thomas More, and his fellow-martyr, the conscientious Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who with other distinguished prisoners will be spoken of more fully hereafter, were both committed for denying the king's supremacy: the latter, after a severe imprisonment, almost without the common necessaries of life, was led to the adjoining hill, and there ended his days upon the scaffold, a steady adherent to his faith. He was beheaded on the 21st of June 1535, and More suffered on the same spot on the 6th of July following.

Short was the time before Anne herself became a prisoner in the fortress, whence she had proceeded with so much splendor to receive the ensigns of her exalted station. She was sent thither on charges of adultery and treason; and after a trial, in which the arbitrary will of the monarch rather than the principles of justice seems to have prevailed, she was found guilty, and beheaded in front of the chapel within the Tower, on the 19th of May 1536; and her brother, lord Rochford, and four gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, were committed and suffered on the same occasion.

---

[a] Hall.

[b] Ibid.

From this period almost every revolving year of Henry's life brought other distinguished tenants to these gloomy mansions, and many of them fell victims to their sovereign's cruelty. Lord Thomas Howard, in 1536, for privately contracting marriage with lady Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, was confined in the Tower till his death: in the following year the rebellions in the north brought lord Darcy and several others to that fatal fortress; and, in 1538, the marquis of Exeter, lord Montague, sir Edward Nevil, and sir Nicholas Carew, were consigned to the same place on charges of high treason, and ended their lives upon the block. These distinguished characters were sacrifices to Henry's destructive jealousy. Under colour of an accusation brought against them by sir Geffrey Poole, the perfidious brother of lord Montague, they were condemned and executed; though, probably, on no other grounds than because they were adherents to the ancient religion of their country, and because the two former at least, were connected by blood with the house of York.[c]

The year 1540 proved fatal to that mighty pillar of the state, Cromwell, earl of Essex, the great and vigorous promoter of the suppression of papal supremacy, and the dissolution of religious houses. This ill-fated peer, whose extraordinary capacity and merits had raised him from the lowest station in life to the highest offices and honors in the state, was one of the wisest and most upright ministers that ever had served a king; but no remembrance of his fidelity or his services could screen him from the passions of a capricious tyrant. He had been the first proposer of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves — a marriage against which that fickle monster had taken an early and unchangeable antipathy; and this was the prelude to his downfal. He was suddenly accused of high treason, in the council-chamber at Westminster, and instantly led to the Tower, deserted by his friends and loaded with the imprecations of the people. In those days, in almost every case of accusation for treason, the principles of justice yielded to the arbitrary and tyrannical will of the prince; and this was truly the case with Cromwell: the parliament, with its accustomed base subserviency, having proceeded against him by attainder, without evidence, or hearing him in his defence, adjudged him guilty of heresy and treason, and left it to the king to punish him by an undeserved and ignominious death on the scaffold, or at the stake.[d] He was therefore beheaded on Tower-hill, the 28th of July 1540; and thus expired one of the greatest and most extraordinary men that ever adorned the country which gave him birth.

---

[c] The marquis of Exeter was son of Catherine, youngest daughter of King Edward the Fourth, and had recently been declared heir to the throne, by Henry himself; and Henry lord Montague was the eldest son of Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the only surviving issue of George, duke of Clarence, Edward the Fourth's brother.

The death of Cromwell was shortly followed by Henry's union with his fourth wife, Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; but this, like his former marriages, proved infelicitous. The love which Henry bore this new object of his affections bordered on adoration, and such was the satisfaction he experienced in her society, that he even publicly offered up his thanks to heaven for the signal blessing conferred upon him in his wife;[e] but this excess of fondness only served to render more bitter that cup of agony of which he was ere long to drink. He was soon to find that she, on whom he was doting as the essence of loveliness and innocence, was tainted with crimes that blotted her name with infamy, and brought her to a just and deserved doom. It was clearly proved that her conduct had been criminal before her marriage, and there were reasons, too well founded to admit of doubt, that such had also been her course since she became the partner of the royal bed. On these accusations,

---

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 287.

[e] Ibid. p. 311.

Catherine and the infamous confidant and promoter of her amours, lady Rochford,[f] were committed to prison in the Tower. and, an act of attainder having passed against them in parliament for high treason,[g] on Saturday the 11th of Frebruary 1542, they were led to a scaffold in front of the chapel within the Tower, on the Monday following, and there their days were closed by the axe of the executioner.[h] "Since my writing to you on Sunday last," says an eye-witness of this catastrophe, "I see the quene and the lady Rotchford suffer within the Tower the day following, whos sowles, I doubt not, be with God, for thay made the moost godly and Christian's end that ever was hard tell of, I thinke, sins the world's creation, uttering thayer lively faith in the blode of Christe onely, with wonderfull pacience and constancye to the death, and with goodly words and stedfast countenances thay desyred all Christen people to take regard unto thayer worthy and just punnishment with death for thayer offences, and agenst God hainously, from thayer youth upward, in breaking all his comandments; and agenst the king's royall majesty very daungeriously: wherfor thay being justly condempned, as thay sayed, by the lawes of the realme and parlement, to dye, required the people, I say, to take example at them, for amendement of thayer ungodly lyves, and gladly to obey the king in all things; for whose preservation, thay did hartely pray, and willed all people so to do, comending thayer sowles to God and ernestly calling for mercy upon him; whom," continues the writer, "I besieche to geve us grace with suche faith, hope, and charite, at our departing owt of this miserable world, to come to the fruytion of his godhed in joy everlasting."[i]

In the year 1542, shortly after the execution of the queen and lady Rochford, a singular instance of the effects of sudden joy was manifested in the death of Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, illegitimate son of King Edward the Fourth. He had been removed from the governorship of Calais, and committed to the

---

[f] The wife of the late lord Rochford, who innocently suffered with his sister Anne Boleyn, and it was on her evidence against him that he was condemned and executed.

[g] Parliamentary Journals, p. 168.

[h] Hall. Hollinshed.

[i] The original letter, whence this extract is taken, is preserved in the Record Office in the Tower, and is dated "at London the 15. day in February, 1541."

Tower on suspicion of being privy to a plot for betraying that town to the French; but, his innocence being afterwards established, the king sent to him his secretary, sir Thomas Wriotesley, with a ring, as a token of his favor; and sir Thomas delivered his message with so much eloquence and feeling, that the excess of joy threw lord Lisle into convulsions, which deprived him the enjoyment of the boon by the termination of his life.[k]

In the same year, after the rout of the Scots at Solway-moss, the earls of Cassells and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with many others of the Scottish leaders, were brought prisoners to the tower; and thence, after two days confinement, were conducted solemnly through the streets to Westminster. They were apparelled, at the king's charges, in gowns of black damask, with coats of black velvet, and doublets of satin, being mourning for their king. They rode two and two preceded by sir John Gage the constable of the Tower, and followed by his lieutenant; and on coming before the council in the Star-chamber, they were committed to the custody of certain prelates and nobility, by whom they were treated with hospitality and kindness.

In speaking of the Tower at this period it may be proper to mention the following extraordinary circumstance related by Stow. "In the year 1546, the 27th of April, being Tuesday in Easter-week, William Foxley, pot-maker for the Mint in the Tower of London, fell asleep, and so continued sleeping, and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwise burning whatsoever, till the first day of term, which was fourteen days and fifteen nights. The cause of his thus sleeping could not be known, though the same were diligently searched after by the king's physicians and other learned men: yea, the king himself examined the said William Foxley, who was, in all points, found at his wakening, to be as if he had slept but one night; and he lived more than forty years after in the said Tower, to wit, until the year of Christ, 1587, and then deceased on Wednesday in Easter-week."

The 28th of January, 1547, having terminated the life of King

---

[k] Hollinshed. Stow.

Henry the Eighth, the earl of Hertford and other lords repaired to his son, prince Edward, at Bishop's-Hatfield,[l] and on the thirty-first of the same month honorably escorted him to the Tower of London;[m] where his arrival was greeted with discharges of artillery, and other demonstrations of joy. The young monarch was welcomed by the nobility, who had assembled there to receive him, and was conducted to the royal apartments, which were "richly hung and garnished with cloth of arras and cloth of estate agreeable to such a guest."[n]

On the morrow, being Tuesday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, all the nobility of the realm, as well spiritual as temporal, went into the king's chamber of presence: and after the earl of Hertford, the lord admiral, and other of the late king's executors, had brought his highness from his privy chamber to the chair of estate, all the lords proceeded one after the other according to their degrees; and, kneeling down before him, kissed his majesty's hand, saying, *God save your grace.*[o] Then sir Thomas Wriotesley, the lord chancellor, declared to them the effect of the late king's will, and the names of his executors; adding, that the council had unanimously agreed that the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, was the most proper person to be the governor of the young monarch during his minority. This ended, they cried altogether with a loud voice, *God save King Edward;* and his majesty, putting off his cap, answered, *We heartily thank you, my lords all; and hereafter, in all that ye shall have to do with us for any suit or causes, ye shall be heartily welcome to us.*[p]

Many of the nobility remained with Edward in the Tower, and his council sat there from day to day taking order as well respecting the interment of the deceased king, as for the approaching coronation of their new sovereign.[q]

The king continued to hold his court at the Tower for a considerable time, and on Sunday the sixth of February, after being knighted there by his uncle, the lord protector, he conferred that honor on the mayor of London, and on Mr. Justice Portman.[r]

---

[l] Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 20.

[o] Ibid. p. 21.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Ibid. p. 20.

On Thursday, February the seventeenth, the day after King Henry's funeral, all the lords temporal assembled at the Tower of London, in their robes of estate, and there the earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerset; the earl of Essex was made marquis of Northampton; lord Lisle was raised to the earldom of Warwick, and made high chamberlain of England; the lord chancellor, sir Thomas Wriotesley, was created earl of Southampton; and sir Thomas Seymour was advanced to the honor of baron Sudley, and high admiral of England; sir Richard Riche was made lord Riche; sir William Willoughby, lord Willoughby of Parham; and sir Edmund Sheffield was created lord Sheffield of Butterwicke.[s]

The solemnity of King Edward the Sixth's coronation was appointed for Sunday the 20th of February, and on the day preceding he departed from the Tower, and passed through the city to Westminster, in a manner not inferior in magnificence and pomp to that which we have so frequently noticed on former occasions. The citizens made their accustomed shew of loyalty and attachment by the decoration of their houses with costly drapery, and the streets were as usual adorned with many "goodly pageants and devices for the king's contentment."[t]

The flattering hopes of tranquillity and happiness, which were cherished at the commencement of Edward's reign, were soon dispelled by those jealousies and dissensions which are generally the result of a minor's occupation of the throne. The first to disturb the peace and good order of the country, was Thomas Seymour, baron Sudley, the lord high admiral. This turbulent and ambitious character was committed to the Tower; and his brother, the protector, was obliged to sacrifice the finer feelings of nature to the good of his country, by signing the dreadful warrant for his execution. This was followed by insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, and finally by a potent faction formed against the protector himself.

---

[r] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 22.

[s] Ibid. Hollinshed.

[t] See Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 310.

In the beginning of October 1549, after several private conferences between the leading members of the council and some of the nobility, there was a great assembly of the confederates at the earl of Warwick's, in Ely-place,[u] at which the downfal of the protector was determined on: they got possession of the Tower the same day, by stratagem; removed sir John Markham, the lieutenant, and appointed sir Leonard Chamberlain in his stead.[x] On hearing of these sudden and extraordinary proceedings, the duke of Somerset departed with the king from Hampton-court to Windsor, and began to fortify the castle; but he was shortly afterwards conveyed to the Tower of London, and deprived of the office of protector.[y] Having so far succeeded in their enterprise, the lords repaired to the Tower, and there brought against him various articles of accusation;[z] the futility of which was sufficiently evinced by their not attempting to proceed to greater extremities against him.

After remaining a prisoner in the Tower till the 6th of February, the duke was restored to liberty;[a] and, in order to effect a reconciliation between him and his mortal enemy the earl of Warwick, a marriage was brought about between their families.[b] Nothing, however, could restrain the proud and aspiring Dudley; and Somerset, as an obstacle to his ambitious views, was marked out for destruction. Conscious that they must fail in accusing their fallen enemy of high treason, Warwick and his adherents, who had now possessed themselves of almost absolute authority, adopted a surer and more wily course. A law had recently passed, which made it felony to imagine the death of a privy counsellor, and on this they acted. On the 16th of October 1551, the unfortunate peer was again arrested and committed to the Tower;[c] and shortly afterwards, his duchess, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and many more of his friends and servants, and also lord Paget, the earl of Arundel, and lord Dacres, were sent to that fortress.

On the 2d of December, the duke was brought out of the

---

[u] Grafton. Hollinshed.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 293. 299.

[z] Hollinshed. Stow.

[a] Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Ibid.

Tower with the fatal axe borne before him,[d] and conducted to the great hall at Westminster, where he was tried for high treason and felony. The former of these charges he clearly disproved, but on the latter, which was founded on his having entertained designs against the lives of the duke of Northumberland,[e] the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, he was found guilty by his peers; among whom these three noblemen themselves were not ashamed to sit in judgment.

The unfortunate duke was condemned, and reconducted to his prison in the Tower, to await the fate to which his persecutors had now consigned him: but he still retained a place in the king's affections, was an object of the people's love, and so loud and violent was the clamour raised in his favour, that his artful enemies found it necessary to suspend his execution; and, in order as well to allay popular feeling, as to divert young Edward's mind from his uncle's troubles, they devised a course of sports and public entertainments, and ordained that the feasts of Christmas, then at hand, "should be solemnly kept at Greenwich with open household and frank resort to court, which is called, keeping of the hall; at which time, according to old ordinary course, there is always one appointed to make sport in the court called the lord of Misrule, whose office is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noblemen's houses, and among great house-keepers, who use liberal feasting in that season. There was therefore, by order of the council, a gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers, appointed for this year: who, being of better calling than commonly his predecessors had been, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the master of the king's pastimes; and this gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundry sights and devices of rare invention, and in acts of divers interludes and matters of pastime played by persons, as not only satisfied the common sort, but also were very well liked and allowed by the council and other of skill in suchlike pastimes; but most of all by the young king himself, as appeared by his princely liberality in rewarding of his services."[f]

---

[d] Hollinshed.—According to an ancient custom, the axe of the Tower is carried before state-prisoners when going to trial, with the edge of it turned from them; and on returning, if found guilty of high treason and condemned, it is borne before them with the edge inverted.

[e] John Dudley, earl of Warwick, had just before been raised to this dignity.

The Christmas being thus spent in festivities and mirth, "wherewith the minds and ears of murmurers were meetly well appeased," Northumberland and his malicious colleagues ventured to proceed against the object of their united hatred. On the 22d of January, at eight o'clock in the morning, the unhappy Somerset was brought out of the Tower under a strong guard, to the scaffold on the adjoining hill; where he met his fate with the firmness and composure of a virtuous man. Without a change in voice or countenance, he kneeled down and prayed; and then, rising up, addressed the people. He declared his undeviating loyalty to his king, and zeal for his country's good: he expressed his readiness to die, and thanked God for giving time to repent: he rejoiced at having been a firm promoter of the reformed religion, and exhorted his hearers to embrace it stedfastly: he also prayed for the happiness and preservation of the king, and wished all his counsellors the grace and favor of God.[g] In his last moments his fortitude experienced a severe trial: a rushing noise was heard at a distance, and the crowd, observing an officer approach, took him to be the bearer of a pardon, and raised the shout of, *God save King Edward!* But the duke calmly waved his cap, and entreated them to be silent and respectful;[h] and begging that they would accompany him with their prayers, he submitted his devoted head.

The death of Somerset was followed by the execution of his friends, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Miles Partridge: they suffered on Tower-hill, on the 26th of February; the two former by the axe, and the others by an ignominious death on the gallows.

These transactions were shortly succeeded by events which opened a wider field to Dudley's thirst for greatness. A rapid decline in the king's health rendered almost certain his speedy dissolution, and this bold and artful polititian formed the desperate project of settling the crown upon the head of a member of his own family. With this view he had not only effected a marriage between his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley, and lady Jane Grey, but had prevailed upon the king to declare her his heir to the throne, and had got this act countenanced and confirmed by the signatures of the privy council and all the judges, with the exception of sir James Hales, one of the justices of the common pleas, who strongly protested against the measure.[i]

---

[f] Grafton's Chronicle. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

King Edward expired on the 6th of July, and measures were instantly adopted by Dudley and his partisans for securing the persons of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and on the morrow, the lord treasurer, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others of the council, repaired to the Tower, and after displacing sir James Croft from the office of constable, committed that fortress to the charge of the lord admiral, with instructions to fortify and defend it. On the 9th of July the lady Jane was proclaimed, and the next day she made her public entry into the Tower, as queen of England; and thence in her name letters were dispatched to foreign courts,[k] and proclamations and commissions sent to the different counties of the kingdom;[l] but her career of royalty seems only as a dream; — so short was the interval between her elevation to the throne and her captivity as a criminal.

On the news of her brother's death, and the designs that were entertained against her person, the princess Mary hastily retired from Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire to the castle of Framlingham, where she was joined by the principal gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk, who offered her their assistance, provided she would make no alteration in the religion as it was then established. To suppress this rising opposition the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and lord Grey, with an army of near ten thousand men, departed from London, on the 14th of July, and arrived on the morrow at Cambridge; they halted there one day, being Sunday, and proceeded on the 17th to St. Edmund's Bury. Here they received intelligence of the sudden change which had taken place in London, and in great confusion and dismay, Northumberland returned to Cambridge, and proclaimed the princess Mary queen. But it was now too late: he and his partisans were arrested, on the following day, by the earl of Arundel, and on the 25th of July, the said duke, with John, earl of Warwick, and the lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, his three sons, sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Hastings, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henry and sir John Gates, and Dr. Sandys, who had preached in favor of the lady Jane at Cambridge, were all brought prisoners to the Tower, under an escort of four thousand men; the next day, were also conveyed thither the marquis of Northampton, lord Robert Dudley, the bishop of London, sir Richard Corbet, and the two chief justices, Cholmley and Montague; and, on the 27th, the duke of Suffolk, sir John Cheke, sir Anthony Cook, and sir John York, were also committed to that fortress;[m] and these were shortly followed by the lady Jane herself, together with her unhappy husband; both of whom remained there till the period of their execution.[n]

---

[i] Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.

[k] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 5.

[l] Ibid. p. 3.

After the change that had taken place in her affairs, queen Mary directed her course, by easy journeys, towards the capital, and, on the 28th of July, arrived at Wansted-house, in Essex. She there received the congratulations of most of the nobility and gentry of her kingdom, and proceeding thence, on the 3d of August, made her triumphant entry into London. The procession was such as corresponded with the taste and customs of the age: the streets, through which it was to pass, were lined with the various companies of the city in their liveries: before the queen rode a thousand of her subjects in velvet coats and cloaks, in embroidery: next to these were the mayor of London bearing the mace, and the earl of Arundel with the sword of state; and, after her majesty, came the princess Elizabeth, the duchess of Norfolk, the marchioness of Exeter, and many other ladies; and the procession closed with the aldermen of London, and a guard of three thousand horse. They entered at Aldgate and came to the Tower, where the queen immediately released from confinement the duke of Norfolk, lord Courtenay, Tunstal bishop of Durham, Gardiner bishop of Winchester,[o] and several other prisoners. The venerable duke had suffered a long confinement: he was committed in the last year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and it was only to that tyrant's death, on the morning appointed for his execution, that he owed the preservation of his life.[p] Lord Courtenay, son of the marquis of Exeter, one of the unhappy victims to Henry's jealousy, had endured a twelve years captivity in these dreary prisons; but he was now not only restored to the honors and possessions of his illustrious house, but unhappily cursed with his sovereign's love. Tunstal and Gardiner were replaced in their sees, and the latter was made a privy counsellor, and soon afterwards lord chancellor. Bonner also was restored to the bishoprick of London, and Ridley, who had been appointed to it by the late king, was removed and committed to the Tower;[q] whither likewise were sent Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and many other of the protestant clergy.

---

[m] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 23. Stow.

[n] Grafton.

Mary continued to hold her court at the Tower till after her brother's funeral, and it was there that she formed her council, and first openly shewed her determination to subvert the religion of the established church. Edward was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, according to the rites of the protestant faith; whilst the queen celebrated his funeral exequies, with a mass of *dirige* and *requiem*, in her chapel at the Tower.[r]

The marquis of Winchester, and the earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury, attended here as chief mourners; and the bishop of

---

[o] Strype's Memorials, vol. iv. p. 27. Grafton. Hollinshed.

[p] It is said that when the lieutenant came to his prison in the morning, to prepare him for execution, he made a fortunate guess, and saved his life by saying, *No, master lieutenant, the king is dead!* It is more likely, perhaps, that private intimation had been given him of the king's decease; but it seems to have been intended that he should have been put to death before that event was made known.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners.

[q] Grafton.

[r] Strype, vol. iv. p. 30. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 381.

Winchester, with his mitre on his head, performed the service after the old popish forms.[s]

These ceremonies being over, the next consideration of the government was to inflict punishment on the heads of the late conspiracy; and accordingly, on Friday the 18th of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, the duke's eldest son, were conducted from the Tower to Westminster, and arraigned and condemned for high treason:[t] on the next day a similar sentence was passed upon sir Andrew Dudley, sir John and sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer;[u] and the Monday following being appointed for their execution, all the necessary preparations were made on Tower-hill; and, by eight o'clock in the morning, ten thousand people had assembled there to witness the awful spectacle.[x] On a sudden, however, the order for their present death was countermanded, for the purpose, says Fox, of gaining a piece of glory to the popish religion.[y] With hope of obtaining pardon, they were prevailed upon to renounce the protestant faith, and acknowledge the doctrines of the church of Rome; and in order to give greater consequence and publicity to this solemn proceeding, mass was performed that morning in the Tower by the bishop of Worcester; at which were present ten of the principal citizens of London, and several members of the privy council.[z] The duke, with the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, entered the chapel and kneeled down hearing mass, and "every one of them said devoutly with the bishop *confiteor*."[a] They afterwards came together before the altar and confessed to the bishop that they were the same men in the same faith as they had acknowledged to him before; and, having all received the sacrament, the duke turned to the people, declaring that he had received it according to the true catholic faith; and, said he, "the plague that is upon this realm and upon us now, is that we have erred from the faith for these sixteen years, and this I protest before you all from the bottom of my heart."[b] But, notwithstanding this duplicity, Northumberland, Palmer, and sir John Gates suffered on the following morning;[c] and these, for the present, were the only actors in the conspiracy, that expiated their crimes with death.

---

[s] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 30.

[t] Ibid. p. 32. Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed.

[u] Ibid.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Fox's Book of Martyrs.

[z] Harleian MSS. No. 116.

[a] Ibid.

These proceedings were followed by the ceremonies of the queen's coronation. Mary, the first female sovereign of England, was crowned at Westminster on Sunday the 1st of October, by Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester; both the archbishops being then prisoners. On the Thursday preceding these formalities she removed from Westminster, and came by water to the Tower, where she was attended by the nobility and great officers of state, and on the morrow, the earl of Arundel, by commission from her majesty, made fifteen new knights of the bath,[d] the earls of Devonshire and Surry, and lords Bergavenny, Cardiff, Berkley, Mountjoy, and Lumley being of the number. The next day the queen made her solemn procession through the city to Westminster, the streets as usual being adorned with magnificent drapery, "and in many places were goodly pageants, and devices therein, with music and eloquent speeches." Mary was drawn in a sumptuous litter, and apparelled in "a mantle and kirtle of cloth of gold, furred with mynever pure and powdered ermins;" and her head was adorned with a circlet of gold, enriched with pearls and precious stones.[e] Next to the queen, followed her sister the princess Elizabeth, and the lady Anne of Cleves in a chariot; and after them came the duchess of Norfolk, the marchionesses of Exeter and Winchester, the countess of Arundel, and a gorgeous train of other ladies on horse-back or in chariots, chiefly attired in crimson velvet, and their horses caparisoned with the same; and this splendid cavalcade passed through the city, wanting nothing but the hearty rejoicings of the people to render it equal to any of those splendid shews, which custom had now established as a necessary accompaniment to the ceremonies of a coronation.

But to return to the fortunes of the lady Jane, the innocent heroine in the attempt to set aside Mary's succession. She and her husband, the lord Guildford Dudley, who, with many other distinguished sufferers, still occupied their prisons in the Tower, were brought to trial and condemned shortly after the coronation; but they were respited, and would, probably, have been further objects of the royal favor, had not new commotions rendered it expedient that they should also atone with their blood for the offences of their ambitious parents. The queen's proposed marriage with Philip of Spain, contrary to the general wish of the nation, led to the rebellion of sir Thomas Wyat and the duke of Suffolk, and this not only hastened the end of the lady Jane and her unhappy husband, but served still further to throng the Tower with prisoners, distinguished by their rank or sufferings.

---

[b] Harleian MSS. No. 116. [c] Ibid. Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed. Strype.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners. [d] Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iv. p. 53. [e] Ibid.

On the 12th of February 1554, the lady Jane was brought to a scaffold on the green within the Tower, and there she met her destiny with fortitude and composure, only equalled by the exemplary innocence of her life.[f] Her execution was preceded by that of her ill-fated husband, on Tower-hill; and, as if to consummate her wretchedness, she saw his headless corse being conveyed to the chapel, its final resting place, as she was approaching the fatal block.[g] Their death was shortly succeeded by executions of the duke of Suffolk the lady Jane's rash and imprudent father, and lord Thomas Grey, her uncle: Wyat and many of his accomplices were also executed; and the streets of the metropolis presented sights, from the contemplation of which the human mind must shrink with horror. Gibbets were erected in almost every public part of the capital;[h] and these, loaded with victims, were allowed for months, to stand as monuments of Mary's vindictive and persecuting spirit, and, to the latest ages, to blacken the blackness of her inglorious reign.

Amidst these scenes of blood and cruelty, it was not to be expected that Elizabeth, so great an object of her sister's jealousy and hatred, could escape without her share of trouble. On suspicion of being privy to Wyat's insurrection, she was commanded to appear at court, and shortly afterwards committed to the Tower; whither she was conveyed by water, with some of her attendants, in charge of the earl of Sussex and another lord;[i] and being reluctantly brought to enter that fortress at the traitor's-gate, she said, with her usual dignity and spirit, as she set her foot on those dreaded steps, *Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs, and before thee, O God, I speak it.*

---

[f] Fox's Book of Martyrs. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memoirs. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed.

[g] Fox. Grafton. Hollinshed.

[h] Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed.

The princess's confinement in the Tower was attended with all that mean severity which so forcibly characterizes Mary's detested government. Mass was constantly obtruded upon her in her apartment,[k] and with so much strictness and jealousy was she watched, that some little children who used to delight in bringing her flowers, were closely questioned by the lord chamberlain, and forbade to repeat their affectionate visits to the virgin-prisoner.[l] Till her health was impaired by such rigid confinement, Elizabeth was not even allowed to walk in the royal apartments, and when she afterwards obtained the gracious favor of being permitted to take the air in the queen's garden, which adjoined her prison, she was attended by the constable and other officers of the fortress: the doors were also closed and guarded, and the prisoners, whose lodgings were within view of the spot, were not permitted to approach their windows, lest even with a distant glance they should commiserate each other's sufferings.

The dying protestation of sir Thomas Wyat cleared the character of Elizabeth from every imputation as to her being concerned in his rebellion;[m] but she was, nevertheless, still detained in the Tower, and it was not till the 19th of May that she gained her release from that fortress. She was then given in charge to sir Henry Beddingfield, and conveyed under a strong guard to Woodstock:[n] the earl of Devonshire, who had also been confined in the Tower, on pretence of his favouring the late commotions, was at the same time removed to the castle of Fotheringay;[o] and archbishop Cranmer, and bishops Ridley and Latimer, who had been taken a short time before from the

---

[i] Hollinshed.

[k] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 133.

[l] Ibid. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., vol. ii. p. 569.

[m] Stow. Hollinshed. Grafton.

[n] Hollinshed.

[o] Ibid.

Tower, to the castle of Windsor, and thence conveyed to attend a polemical meeting at Oxford, on the subject of their religion,[p] soon afterwards ended their lives in a glorious martyrdom; confirming, by their patient and instructive deaths in the flames, those great and lasting truths manifested in the doctrines of the reformation.[q]

In the beginning of the following year, the lord chancellor and other members of the privy council went in state to the Tower, and discharged the archbishop of York, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henry Dudley, sons of the late duke of Northumberland, sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, and many other prisoners, who had been concerned in the usurpation of lady Jane Grey, or in the subsequent rebellion of sir Thomas Wyat;[r] and in order to remove, or at least to soften the prejudices of the people against the queen's late marriage with Philip of Spain, this act of grace was publicly attributed to his intercession: these dismal abodes, however, were not left untenanted: the doors were not opened to the sufferers in the cause of religion; these were still to endure the hardships of imprisonment, and many of them, with others, whom the work of persecution almost daily added to their numbers, ended their lives on the scaffold or at the stake.

But let us turn from these scenes, to contemplate the happy prospect which was opened to the country by the termination of this reign of terror, and by the succession of Elizabeth, the glorious heroine of the reformation. Mary terminated her unprofitable existence on the seventeenth of November 1558; and, the parliament being then sitting, after a few hours secrecy and hesitation, the Commons were called into the upper house, and the event communicated to the whole assembly by Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, the lord chancellor,[s] and the name of Elizabeth, as her successor, was instantly received with the strongest demonstrations of joy.[t]

Never did the accession of a sovereign excite more sincere or general rejoicings than that of Elizabeth: the thunders of applause which attended her proclamation in the capital were re-echoed from the remotest corners of the kingdom: her known attachment to the protestant religion, and her sufferings in its cause under her cruel, bigotted, and tyrannical sister, had ingrafted her in the affections of the people, and the nation in general looked with confidence and satisfaction to the happy results of her reign.

---

[p] Fox's Book of Martyrs. Burnet's History of the Reformation. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 342.

[s] Hollinshed. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 583.

[t] Ibid.

When Elizabeth received the news of her sister's decease and of her own accession to the throne, she was residing at Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire;[u] whence she removed, a few days afterwards, to the Charter-house in London, the residence of lord North;[x] and from there proceeded, on Monday the twenty-eighth of November, amid the most enthusiastic greetings of her subjects, and established her court at the Tower.[y] What must have been her emotions on entering that fortress, so late her prison, no human power can describe. The last time she passed those portals she was being conveyed, a forlorn and dejected prisoner, under the charge of a brutal courtier and a guard of armed men,[z] she knew not whither or to what unhappy destiny; but as she now rode triumphantly beneath them, these "antique towers" rung with the blessings and acclamations of her people.[a]

In the early part of December, queen Elizabeth removed from the Tower, by water, to Somerset-house, and sojourned there with her court till after her sister's funeral,[b] when she proceeded to her palace at Westminster, and there celebrated the festival of Christmas.

In the mean time great preparations were being made for the accustomed cavalcade through the city, and for the ceremonies of the coronation. The day appointed for Elizabeth to receive the ensigns of her exalted station was Sunday the 15th of January, and on the Thursday preceding she returned by water to the Tower,[c] where she was welcomed by the nobility and great officers of state, who had assembled there to receive her. She was "attended by the mayor and aldermen in their barge, and all the crafts in their barges, decked and trimmed with the targets and banners of their misteries;"[d] and thus, "with great and pleasant melody of instruments, which played in most sweet and heavenly manner,"[e] her majesty passed the bridge about two o'clock, and entered the fortress at the remembered stair, at which, but a few years before, she had been brought to land, as an oppressed and hopeless prisoner.

---

[u] Hollinshed. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., 8vo. vol. ii. p. 584.

[x] Hollinshed.

[y] Fabian. Stow. Hollinshed.

[z] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

[a] Fabian Hollinshed.

[b] Hollinshed.

[c] Stow. Hollinshed.

The procession from the Tower began in the afternoon with trumpets and heralds, and we are informed by a contemporary writer, that the queen, previous to her leaving the royal apartments, lifted up her hands towards heaven, and returned most hearty thanks "to the Almighty and ever living God, that he had been so merciful unto her as to spare her to see that joyful day, acknowledging that he had dealt as mercifully and wonderfully with her, as he did with his true and faithful servant Daniel, the prophet, whom he delivered out of the den, from the cruel and raging lions."[f] Her majesty rode in an open chariot sumptuously adorned, and "most honourably accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other nobility of her realm, as also with a notable train of goodly and beautiful ladies, richly appointed."[g] The streets through which this idol of the people had to pass were, as usual, decorated with costly drapery, and lined with the various crafts or companies of the city, "well apparelled with many rich furs, and their livery hoods upon their shoulders;"[h] and before them stood "sundry persons clad in silks and chains of gold."[i] In several parts of the city, stages and triumphal arches were erected, the designs of which, contrasted with those of former periods, give us a pleasing idea of the improvement in the taste and fashions of the age. The first of these was in Fenchurch Street, where her majesty's progress was arrested by a child in costly apparel, who, on behalf of the city, addressed her with a welcoming oration:[k] the next was a magnificent arch, spanning the street near Gracechurch, and adorned with "goodly pageaunts," representing the union and emblems of the houses of York and Lancaster: a third in Cornhill, equally magnificent, was denominated "the seate of worthy governaunce;" in which, besides the eight Beatitudes, and other representations suitable to the occasion, were the Cardinal Virtues, treading under foot the opposite vices; among which, were *Ignorance* and *Superstition.*[l] At the standard in Cheapside, the recorder, in the name of the city, presented a thousand marks in gold, in a purse of crimson velvet, as a token of their affectionate loyalty to a sovereign "whose prosperity they wished, and whose protection they implored:"[m] there she also received a bible in English,[n] which was let down to her, as if from heaven, by the hand of a child representing *Truth;* a gift which she accepted with the strongest marks of reverence; declaring that that gave her more real gratification than all the other endearing proofs that she had that day experienced of her people's love.[o] The last and best of all the pageants was another triumphal arch, on which, represented sitting under a palm-tree, was "a seemly mete personage richely apparelled in parliament robes, with a scepter in her hand, as a queen," with the superscription, *Deborah, the judge and restorer of the house of Israel.*[p] At Temple-bar, the western limit of the city, the two giants, Gogmagog and Corineus were stationed, with a scroll in Latin verse, expounding the meaning of all the representations that her majesty had previously passed:[q] and there, "with her hearty commendations," she bade the citizens farewell.

---

[d] Hollinshed.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Continuation of Fabian's Chron.
[g] Hollinshed.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Ibid.
[k] Fabian. Hollinshed.

After the period of Elizabeth's coronation we do not find that she ever kept her court at the Tower; and the remainder of her reign is barren of any very interesting particulars respecting it, except as a state-prison; in which character it will come hereafter more particularly under our notice. It may be proper, however, generally to mention here, that at no period of our history had it been more constantly thronged with delinquents; and many of these by their rank or fates peculiarly excite our interest.

The conduct of the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, in a conference on certain points in dispute between catholics and protestants, rendered them the first persons of distinction who were confined in the Tower after the queen's accession;[r] and shortly afterwards the archbishop of York, several of the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster were also committed to that fortress for refusing to acknowledge her supremacy.[s]

---

[l] Fabian. Hollinshed.

[m] Hollinshed.

[n] Fabian. Hollinshed.

[o] Burnett's Hist. of the Reform., 8vo., vol. ii. p. 594.

[p] Hollinshed.

[q] Fabian. Hollinshed.

On the 11th of October 1569, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, was committed thither[t] for his intended marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, without his sovereign's consent; but, having promised to relinquish that design, and 'the plague beginning to wax hot in the Tower,'[u] he was released from that fortress about the middle of the following year, and allowed to retire to his own residence at the Charter-house,[x] under the easy custody of sir Henry Nevil.[y] Soon afterwards, however, he was drawn into a conspiracy by the bishop of Ross and others, for seizing the person of her majesty, surprising the Tower, and setting the Queen of Scots at liberty;[z] and this being discovered, he was again committed in the month of September 1572, and in January following was brought to trial in Westminster-hall, and condemned for high treason.[a] After sentence had been passed upon him by the earl of Shrewsbury, the high steward of England, he was remanded to his prison in the Tower, and, after a respite of several months, was executed on the adjoining hill.[b]

---

[r] Burnet's Hist of the Reform., vol. ii. p. 510. Stow, p. 639.

[s] "The names of the prisoners in the Tower, with the causes of their imprisonment briefly set furthe and delivered by sir Edward Warner, knight, lieutenant of y^{e} said Tower to y^{e} lords of y^{e} queen's mat^{s} privie counsell the 26th of May 1661."

"Doctor Heathe, late bishop of Yorke, com'itted y^{e} 10th of June 1560.
Doctor Thirlby, late bishop of Ely, com'itted the 3rd of June 1560.
Doctor Watson, late bishop of Lincolne,
Doctor Pates, late bishop of Worcester, } cōmitted the 20th of May 1560.
Doctor Fakenham, late abbot of Westm',
Doctor Turbervile, late bishop of Excestre,
Doctor Bourne, late bishop of Bathe, } cōmitted the 8th of June 1560."
Mr. Boxall,

"The causes of theise 8 foresaide parsons is knowne to your lordeships and needithe no further rehersall."

"Prisoners in the Tower the vth of September 1562, the 4th of Elizabeth."

"The ladie Katherine Grey.
The erle of Hartford.
The erle of Lineux.
Nicholas Heathe, doctor.
Gilberte Browne, doctor.
James Turbervill, doctor.
Thomas Watson, doctor.
Thomas Thirlby, doctor.
Richard Pates, doctor.
John Fecknam, doctor.
John Boxall, doctor.
Henry Howard.
S^{r} Thomas Stradlinge, knight,
Leonard Bilson, clerke.
Francis Yaxlee.
Arthure Lallarde.
George Chamberlayne.
Thomas Valence.
John Keyle.
James Goldborne.
Francis Saunders.
Robarte Goddarde."

[t] Stow. Hollinshed. Camden.

[u] Camden.

[x] Stow. Hollinshed.

[y] Camden.

Other of the most distinguished prisoners confined in the Tower in the time of queen Elizabeth, were Philip Howard, earl of Arundel; Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; sir Walter Raleigh; the earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton; lords Sandes and Mounteagle, and sir Charles Danvers.[c]—The case of the earl of Arundel will be hereafter introduced by the interesting autographs left on the walls of his prison.[d] The groundwork of his offences seems to have been his known and immoveable attachment to the ancient religion of his country, and for a conscientious adherence to his faith he ended his days in captivity.—The earl of Northumberland, who was committed in the year 1585, on suspicion of plotting with Throckmorton, lord Paget, and the Guises, for invading England and setting the queen of Scotland at liberty,[e] came to a tragical end. He may be truly said to have gone "indignant to the shades;" for, to prevent the bitch, as he termed queen Elizabeth, from getting possession of his estate, by his attainder, he secretly procured a pistol, and so put a period to his existence:[f] but, notwithstanding that a coroner's inquest was taken, and it was satisfactorily proved that his door was found barred on the inside, and that a pistol and gunpowder were discovered in the chamber, his man produced who bought the pistol, and the person that sold it,[g] suspicions were still entertained, particularly by the Roman Catholics, that he fell by some foul play on the part of government.[h]—Raleigh came into disgrace through his amours with the beautiful Elizabeth, daughter of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of the maids of honour to the queen; for which he was committed to the Tower in 1592; but his imprisonment was only of short duration, and he was immediately afterwards united to the object of his affections, and restored to her majesty's favor.—Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the celebrated favorite of Elizabeth, was a prisoner in consequence of his well-known rebellion in the early part of the year 1601; for which his royal mistress, after a long struggle between love and fear, consigned him to the block. He was tried and condemned in Westminster-hall on the 19th of February, and on the 25th of the same month was beheaded within the Tower.[i] The earls of Southampton and Rutland, and the other prisoners were the friends and companions of Essex, and their concern in his fatal insurrection brought them to these dismal abodes; but they were all spared, except Danvers, who, although he had offered ten thousand pounds to save his life, died, with much calmness and fortitude, on the scaffold.[k]

---

[z] Camden, in I. [a] Camden. Stow. Hollinshed. [b] Ibid.

[c] See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. iii. p. 120.

[d] See the description of the Beauchamp Tower.

[e] Camden. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

On the accession of King James the First, and shortly after his arrival in London, he held his court for a short time at the Tower, and delivered the earl of Southampton from his imprisonment; but previous to the ceremony of his coronation, he "rode not through the city in royal manner as had been accustomed,"[l] by reason of the plague, which was then so spreading its ravages through the capital, that eight hundred and fifty-seven persons died that week in the city and its suburbs.[m] As the citizens, however, had made their preparations for the occasion, James was not willing to disappoint them, and therefore, on the 15th of March 1604,[n] he "passed triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster," with the queen and his son, prince

---

[h] "Certe boni quam plurimi tum quod naturâ nobilitati faveant, tum quod præclaram fortitudinis laudem retulisset, tantum virum tam misera et miseranda morte periisse, indoluerunt. Quæ suspicaces profugi de ballivo quodam ex Hattoni famulis, qui paulo ante comiti custos adhibitus, mussitarunt, ut parum compertum omitto, nec ex vanis auditionibus aliquid intexere visum est."—*Camden.*

[i] Camden. See Accounts of Distinguished Prisoners.

[k] Camden.

[l] Stow's Annals, by Howe, p. 827.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Camden's Annals of King James the First. Howe, p. 837.

Henry, preparatory to the opening of his first parliament.[o] His majesty rode on "a white gennet under a rich canopie," borne by six members of the privy council, and the city was adorned with all the costly magnificence usual on these occasions.[p]

King James appears to have frequently visited the Tower, and he and the queen sometimes indulged themselves there in witnessing combats of the wild beasts; a cruel amusement, in which he seems to have taken a great but unmanly pleasure.[q]

In the reign of this monarch there are but very few incidents connected with the Tower that are worthy of particular notice, excepting such as relate to celebrated characters, who, during that period, were confined within its walls as prisoners. Among these were the brave and adventurous, but deep and revengeful Raleigh; lords Cobham and Grey; Henry earl of Northumberland; lady Arabella Stuart, and sir Thomas Overbury.—The three former were charged with a design to subvert the government and religion of the country, and, after a trial in which justice seems to have been subservient to the dictates of the court, they were condemned, with several others, for high treason. Raleigh, after many years' captivity in the Tower, during which he employed himself in compiling his History of the World, and other works that proceeded from his pen,[r] was finally brought to the block to gratify the malice of his enemies. Lord Grey died a prisoner in the Tower; and lord Cobham, sir Griffin Markham, and others implicated in this mysterious matter, were restored to liberty, but ended their lives in wretchedness.[s]—The earl of Northumberland, who was committed in the year 1604, for having concealed his cousin, sir Thomas Percy, a leader in the gunpowder plot, was deprived of all his employments, fined thirty thousand pounds, and by an imprisonment in the Tower for upwards of fourteen years, farther atoned for his crime.[t]—Lady Arabella Stuart was the only child of Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox, uncle to King James the First, and her affinity to the crown made her an object of royal jealousy. The dread of her leaving any legitimate offspring was an inducement to queen Elizabeth, and a stronger one to her successor, to prevent her marriage; but at length she became privately wedded to sir William Seymour, grandson of the earl of Hertford, and this was no sooner known, than she was confined in the house of sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth, and her husband committed to the Tower: shortly afterwards, however, they contrived an escape, both on the 3d of June 1611, and he arrived safely in Flanders; but the lady Arabella was retaken in Calais road, and conveyed to the Tower of London; where the sense of her unmerited oppressions, heightened by the horrors of a prison, brought on mental derangement, and in that state she languished till the 27th of September 1615,[u] when she was released by death; and without any funeral ceremony, was buried in the same vault with her ill-fated relative, Mary queen of Scots.[x]—Sir Thomas Overbury's imprisonment in the Tower was occasioned by the intrigues of his former friend and patron, Carr, viscount Rochester, afterwards earl of Somerset, and he there came to a violent death by the machinations of the countess of Essex, that nobleman's detested paramour; for which all the parties were afterwards committed to the Tower, and some of them suffered, particularly sir Gervase Elwyas, who, being lieutenant of the fortress at the time, and privy to the murder, was hanged on Tower-hill.[y]

---

[o] Kennet, vol. ii. p. 667.

[p] Howe, p. 837. Kennet, p. 667.

[q] Howe, pp. 824. 865. 894. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 667.

[r] Birch and Cayley's Lives of sir Walter Raleigh. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 663, &c.

[s] Kennet, vol. ii. p. 663. Camden's Annals of James I.

[t] Kennet, vol ii. p. 719.

In the reign of King Charles the First,[z] the differences which arose between him and his parliament, and which finally brought that monarch to the block, occasioned the frequent mention of the Tower; not only as the prison of many of the leading characters in those transactions, but as a place of strength, and of importance to the contending parties.

In 1629, Denzil Hollis and several other members of the House of Commons were committed to the Tower as close prisoners, for their violent conduct in the house on the question of tonnage and poundage;[a] and shortly afterwards the king dissolved the parliament, intending, as is supposed, never to call another.[b] His distresses, however, were such as to compel him, in 1640, to alter that resolution; and from this period we may date the beginning of those civil contentions which soon afterwards deluged the country in so much blood and misery. Complaints were brought against that great but unfortunate peer, the earl of Strafford, as well as his fellow-sufferer, Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; and both these virtuous men were committed to close prison in the Tower.[c] After a trial, which lasted eighteen days, a bill of attainder was passed against the earl, and on the 12th of May 1641, he was led out of the Tower to the scaffold on the adjoining hill, and there met his fate with composed undaunted courage:[d] and the archbishop, after tasting of the very dregs of persecution and tyranny, came, on the same spot, to a like unhappy end.

---

[u] Camden's Annals of James I. Lodge's Illust. of Brit. Hist. vol. iii. p 178.

[x] Camden's Annals of James I.

[y] Howe's Chronicle. Rapin's Hist. of England. Weldon's Court of King James I.

[z] King Charles the First succeeded his father on the 28th of March 1625, and was crowned at Westminster in February 1626; but the accustomed ceremony of proceeding in state from the Tower to Westminster was again set aside in consequence of the plague, which had revisited the capital with all its horrors, and was daily carrying off hundreds of its wretched people.

Charles, now perceiving the dangers that were gathering round him, placed a garrison of four hundred men in the Tower, and gave the command to lord Cottington: but finding that this measure produced great discontent among the people, he withdrew the garrison, and removing the new-appointed constable, left the fortress, as before, under the charge of sir William Balfour, the lieutenant.[e] But Balfour, who had forgotten his obligations to the king, and had conducted himself in a manner unbecoming his trust,[f] was shortly afterwards displaced, and sir Thomas Lunsford appointed to the lieutenancy of the Tower in his room. This, however, gave still greater offence to the Londoners, that they formed the design of seizing the citadel by force, had not the king taken the keys from his favorite, and given the command to sir John Byron.[g]

Both parties had now begun to resort to measures of a violent nature, and every day rendered wider the breach between the king and his people. For redressing grievances; punishing delinquents; and the abolition of episcopacy, was every where the cry of the frantic multitudes; and this having led some of the bishops to frame a protestation to the lords, ten of them were committed to the Tower.[h]

---

[a] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 12.

[b] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 67. Weldon's Court of King Charles, p. 194.

[c] Heath's Chronicle, pp. 16, 17.

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 259.

[e] Whitelocke, pp. 36, 37.

[f] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 356.

[g] Ibid. Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. iv. p. 462.

Still dissatisfied, the Londoners presented a petition to the king complaining of the putting out of persons of honor and trust from being constable and lieutenant of the Tower; the calling in of cannoniers, and other preparations made in that fortress:[i] to which the king replied, "that having removed a servant of trust from that charge, only to satisfy the city, and put in another of unquestionable reputation and known ability, he wondered that the petitioners should still entertain fears; and whatever preparation of strength was there made, was with as great an eye to the safety and advantage of the city, as to his own person, and should be equally employed for both.[k] The application of the citizens being therefore refused, the subject was next taken up by the house of commons; but meeting with no better success, the sheriffs of London, with the advice of major-general Skippon, were directed to blockade the Tower to prevent the procuring of provisions, and the carrying away of arms or ammunition.[l] The king, however, still remained firm in his resolution, and the commons soon afterwards, in the name of the whole parliament, prepared an address, praying that his majesty would presently put the Tower of London into the hands of such a person as both houses should recommend to him: but to this the lords objected, on the ground "that the disposal of the custody thereof was the king's peculiar right and prerogative, as likewise that his majesty had committed the charge of it to sir John Byron, a person of very ancient family, and of as unblemished a reputation as any gentleman of England."[m] The commons, notwithstanding, still pressed the king, and at length succeeded in obtaining that office for sir John Conyers,[n] who was an officer of great estimation, and had been lieutenant-general of the horse in the last expedition against the Scots, and governor of Berwick. The parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and hoped to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of the best cavalry officer of the day: but he 'warily declined such services, contenting himself with his situation, which, by reason of the multitudes of prisoners sent to the Tower by the two houses, and the excessive fees they paid, yielded him vast profit; but after a time, discerning that he should be obliged to engage in the parliament's service, and abhorring to take a part in the actions he constantly saw committed, he requested leave from the two houses to resign his charge, and to retire into Holland, the place of his education and fortune:' and this proposal being accepted, they immediately committed the Tower to the custody of sir Isaac Pennington, the lord-mayor, "that the citizens might see that they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always clashed with their own."[o]

---

[h] Heath's Chronicle, p. 26.

[i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 370.

[k] Ibid. vol. i. p. 371.

[l] Ibid. p. 384. Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 480.

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 399.

[n] Ibid.

This change took place in 1643, and from that time the Tower remained in the hands of the parliamentary faction till 1647, when, the army having gained the ascendancy, it was put into the possession of sir Thomas Fairfax, with the title of constable;[p] and he appointed, as lieutenant under himself, colonel Tichebourn, whose name is loaded with infamy, by being one of the celebrated junta that tried and condemned their king.

In 1648, hopes were entertained of restoring tranquillity to the country, by opening negociations with the king, who was then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and among the conditions proposed by the parliament on that occasion, was one, that for ten years after the conclusion of the treaty the Tower should be put under the government of the city of London; and its chief officers, during that period, be nominated and removable by the common council:"[q] and to this, as well as other galling stipulations, the wretched monarch was induced to give assent; but all in vain: the conferences were broken off, and the lamentable end is known. Charles terminated his life upon the block; and sir Thomas Fairfax having resigned his commissions in the following year,[r] the Tower came into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, who appointed, as his lieutenant, sir John Berkstead;[s] one of the regicides, and a member of parliament during his master's protectorate.[t]

---

[o] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 342. [p] Heath's Chronicle, p. 141. [q] Ibid. p. 185.

In the year 1659, during the confusions which preceded the happy event of King Charles the Second's restoration, the soldiers in London having professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it,[u] Lenthal, the speaker, 'recovered his spirits, and, after conferring with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and assuring them that the parliament would meet again in a few days,' he went to the Tower, and by his own authority, removed the lieutenant who had been confirmed there by the committee of safety, and put sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and other members of the parliament into the government and command of that fortress:[x] but, soon afterwards, when general Monk had declared for king Charles the Second, he took possession of the Tower in the name of his sovereign, discharged a great number of prisoners, and placed a strong garrison there, under the command of major Nicholas, whom he knew to be steadily attached to the royal cause.[y]

King Charles the Second returned into England on the 25th of May 1660; and he shortly afterwards committed the Tower to the charge of sir John Robinson, knight, who long enjoyed with that office the countenance and favor of his sovereign, to whom he had been a steady adherent through all the vicissitudes of his public life.

At the coronation of King Charles the Second, the ancient custom of proceeding in state through the city to Westminster was again observed, and the magnificence and taste displayed on that occasion surpassed all those gorgeous spectacles that we have so frequently had occasion to notice in these formal processions from the Tower. The 23d of April 1661, being appointed for this solemnity, the king came to the Tower by water, from White-hall, early on the preceding morning, and he thence made his majestic progress the same day through the city to Westminster.[z] There attended upon his Majesty at the Tower, all the nobility; the great officers of state, and of the royal household, and the principal gentry of the kingdom. The procession began from the Tower in the afternoon, with all the law and other officers of the crown, the judges, the master of the rolls; the knights of the bath, in the habit of their order; the great officers of the royal household; the sons of peers, according to their rank, and the peers in their different degrees, attended by heralds and officers at arms: after these and the lord treasurer, the lord chancellor, and lord chamberlain, rode two persons, representing the dukes of Normandy and Acquitain; then the gentleman usher; garter-king at arms, and the lord mayor of London: next to them was the duke of York; and immediately before the king, rode the earls of Northumberland and Lindsey as lord high constable and lord high steward of England, and the duke of Richmond, bearing the sword: next about the king were his equerries and footmen, and then the gentlemen and pensioners. After these rode the duke of Albemarle, as master of the king's horse; the king's vice-chamberlain, and the captains of the pensioners and guard; and the procession closed with the life-guards, commanded by lord Gerrard and sir Philip Howard, and volunteer horse and foot under the command of sir John Robinson the lieutenant of the Tower.

---

[r] Heath's Chronicle, p. 268.
[s] Ibid. p. 374.
[t] Ibid. p. 400.
[u] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 705.
[x] Ibid. p. 706.
[y] Heath's Chronicle, p. 441.

To increase the splendour of these ceremonies there were created five earls and six barons; and sixty-eight gentlemen, many of whom were sons of the nobility, were made knights of the bath. These attended upon the king in the Tower, and rode before him with their esquires and pages in the procession to Westminster, clad in "mantles and surcoats of red taffeta, lined and edged with white sarcenet, and thereto fastened two long strings of white silk, with buttons and tassels of red silk and gold, and a pair of white gloves tied to them; white hats and feathers."[a]

The streets were, as usual, lined with the different companies of the city in their liveries, and attended with their banners and music, and the houses richly adorned with tapestry. Four triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the city; the first of which represented the happy event of the king's landing at Dover; and the three others, which stood in Cornhill, Cheapside, and Fleet-street, were emblematical of commerce, concord, and plenty.

---

[z] Heath's Chronicle, p. 483.

[a] Ibid. p. 481.

The king was every where received with the strongest demonstrations of loyalty; and the magnificence of the procession was no less the joy than amazement of all spectators: indeed, says a contemporary,[b] "it were in vain to attempt to describe this solemnity: it was so far from being utterable, that it was almost inconceivable; and much wonder it caused to outlandish persons, who were acquainted with our late troubles and confusions, how it was possible for the English to appear in so rich and stately a manner;" for, continues he, "it is incredible to think what costly clothes were worn that day: the cloaks could hardly be seen what silk or satin they were made of, for the gold and silver laces and embroidery that were laid upon them; besides the inestimable value and treasures of diamonds, pearls, and other jewels, worn upon their backs and in their hats: to omit the sumptuous and rich liveries of their pages and footmen; the numerousness of these liveries, and their orderly march; as also the stately equipage of the esquires attending each earl by his horse's side: so that all the world that saw it, could not but confess, that what they had seen before, was but solemn mummery to the most august, noble, and true glories of this great day:[c] even the vaunting French confessed their pomps of the late marriage with the Infanta of Spain, at their majesties' entrance into Paris, to be inferior in state, gallantry, and riches, to this most glorious cavalcade from the Tower."[d]

In the year 1666, colonel Rathborne, and several officers or soldiers in the late rebellion, entered into a conspiracy for surprising the Tower, and the commission of other acts of high treason; but their plot was discovered, and eight of them were tried and executed at Tyburn. They were indicted for "conspiring the king's death, and the overthow of the government; having, in his majesty's absence from the city, laid their plans for taking the Tower; killing general Monk; sir John Robinson, the lieutenant of the Tower; and sir Richard Brown, the major-general of the city; and then to have declared for an equal division of lands. The better to effect this design, the city was to have been fired, and the portcullices to have been let down to keep out all assistance; the horse-guards were to have been disarmed at the inns where they were quartered, and several hostlers had been gained over for that purpose."[e] The Tower had been viewed, and its surprisal ordered by means of boats across the moat, and scaling ladders to mount the walls. It was supposed that persons of consequence in this country were secretly their abettors, and that their proceedings were directed by a supreme council, which sat with the states in Holland. The 3d of September was pitched upon for the attempt, "as being found by a scheme, erected for that purpose, a lucky day; a planet then ruling, which portended the downfal of monarchy!"[f]

---

[b] Heath, p. 484. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. p. 482.

In the same year, during the memorable fire of London, the greatest apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the Tower, as the flames almost reached the very gates;[g] but, by the timely precaution that was taken of pulling down all the houses on the outside of the ditch and upon the walls, and by the changing of the wind, which turned the flames in a different direction, it was fortunately saved from destruction.[h]

After this period, the history of the Tower unconnected with its character as a state-prison, presents but very few circumstances that are worthy of particular notice. When King James the Second quitted the capital previous to his abdication, in the year 1688, the possession of the Tower was secured in favor of the prince of Orange, and the command of it given to lord Lucas: and in 1792, in consequence of the fears that were then entertained of an insurrection, many precautions were taken for its defence; the garrison was greatly increased; several hundred men were employed in repairing the fortifications, opening embrasures, and mounting cannon; and on the western side of the fortress, a strong barrier was formed with old casks, filled with earth and rubble; the gates were closed at an early hour, and no one but the military allowed to go upon the ramparts.

---

[e] Heath's Chron. p. 550.

[f] Ibid. London Gazette, 30th April.

[g] Heath's Chron. p. 554.

[h] Ibid. Clar. Life, p. 349.

On the accession of James the Second, the usual ceremony of the king's keeping his court there, and proceeding thence through the city to Westminster, preparatory to his coronation, was not observed, nor has it since been revived, in consequence of the enormous expenses which it always occasioned the city as well as government. From this time also we may date the total fall of the Tower from the dignity of a royal residence : all the domestic apartments of the ancient palace having been taken down during the reigns of King James the Second, and William and Mary, none of our sovereigns have ever since made it the place of their abode, and, from the little attention that is now paid to its original character, in the making of alterations or repairs, it is to be feared, that at the end of another century it will retain but very few features of its former grandeur.

LOCAL DESCRIPTION.

The Tower has already been described as situated on the northern bank of the Thames, at the eastward extremity of the city of London; and so constructed as to command the course of that river, and to defend the maritime approach to the capital, whilst it overawed the factious spirit of the citizens — the primary objects, perhaps, of its foundation.

The fortifications, which consist of a citadel, or keep, encompassed by an inner and outer ward, occupy rather more than twelve acres of land; and are surrounded by a broad and deep ditch supplied with water from the river Thames. Adjoining the fortress, there is also an open plot of ground of considerable extent called Tower-hill; a spot distinguished in the annals of our country, as stained with its best and noblest blood.[i] This space, together with that immediately occupied by the fortifications, is of the ancient demesne of the crown, and forms an independent liberty or jurisdiction, enjoying peculiar rights and privileges, which will be the subject of future observations.

The principal entrance to the Tower is over a stone bridge[k] at the south-west angle of the enclosure; there are also two draw-bridges on the south side, communicating with a platform, or wharf, which separates the fortifications from the Thames; and a private entrance by water under a strong tower called Traitor's Gate; the way by which, in former times, state prisoners were usually conveyed into the fortress.

---

[i] The æra of its being appropriated to the execution of state criminals appears to have been the reign of King Richard the Second, and from that period it was the usual scene of those tragedies for many succeeding ages; but happier and more enlightened days have closed it, it is hoped, for ever. The last who ended their lives there by the more honorable death of the axe, were the earl of Kilmarnoc and lord Balmerino, in 1746, and lord Lovat, in the following year.

[k] A large draw-bridge formerly occupied this place.

Beyond the ditch, on the west, there anciently stood some considerable outworks, which formed the barbican, — the post of an advanced guard, and where a porter was stationed to keep watch and ward, to announce in form all state arrivals at the gates of the fortress, and to detain strangers till their business was made known to the governor, and orders received for their admission. Some remains of these ceremonies, which in the days of chivalry were observed at most great castles, with much attention, existed here even at so late a period as the reign of king James the First, but are now almost wholly forgotten.

A small moat, connecting itself with that which surrounds the body of the fortress, inclosed these outworks, most of which, either from decay or for convenience, have been removed; and their site is now chiefly occupied by the royal menagerie, which will be noticed more particularly in a future page.

The entrance to the principal bridge is covered by a strong tower flanked with bastions, and the gate-way under it was formerly defended with a double portcullis. At the opposite end of the bridge another portal, similar in construction and defences to that last mentioned, forms the principal entry to the outer ward. These, however, were nôt the only precautions for the safety of the garrison in case of siege or surprise; for, if an enemy forced a passage though the outward gates, crossed the moat, and entered the exterior ward, there were still difficulties to encounter: two other gates were then to be passed before he could approach the well-fortified entrance to the inner ballium; and, on the left, there was also a strong gate-way, and further on, a second, to prevent his proceeding in that direction, and getting possession of the outer line of fortifications.[1]

---

[1] These inner portals have long since been taken down: two of them adjoined the Bell Tower; one on the south and the other on the west sides: the site of

The inner ward, which contained the royal apartments and all the most considerable buildings of the fortress, is entered on the south side, by a fine arched gate-way in the style of architecture of the fourteenth century. It was inclosed by a lofty wall of stone, embattled, and strengthened with thirteen small towers, properly situated for commanding the intermediate lines of rampart.[m] A great portion of this wall is still extant, and most of the towers remain nearly in their original state, each of which will be described hereafter, under their particular names.

Norman Cupolas
[illegible]

THE WHITE TOWER.

The principal and most ancient part of the present fortress is the citadel, or keep, which stands near the center of the inner ward; this majestic pile appears to have been raised under the direction of that celebrated military architect, Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, by command of king William the Conqueror,[n] about the year 1080 or 1081. It is denominated Cæsar's, or the White Tower; but most commonly known by the latter appellation,[o] which in all probability originated in a custom that existed at a very early period, of whitening the exterior of its walls.[p]

---

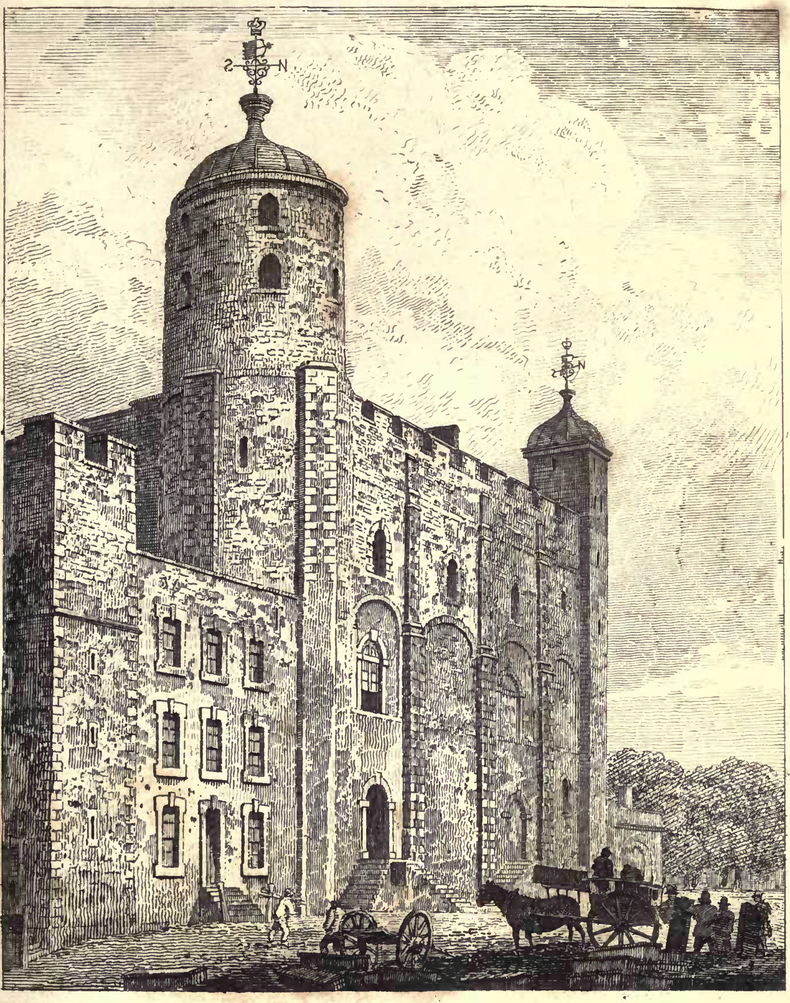
the former is now partly occupied by the warder's lodge, and that of the latter by a canteen.—*See the ancient general plan of the Tower in the first edition of this work.*

[m] It is about forty feet high, and varies from its base upwards, from twelve to nine feet in thickness. There was a commodious foot-way on the top, for the military, with ascents to it by flights of steps at convenient distances on the inside.

[n] Textus Roffensis, p. 212. edit. Hearnii.

[o] It was generally known by that name as early, at least, as the reign of King Edward III., which appears by a survey taken of the fortress in 1335, wherein it is styled "La Blaunche Tour."

[p] This appears from the following curious order given for its repair in the year 1241:—Rex custodibus operationis Turris London'; salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod gernerium infra eandem turrim reparari et benè emendari faciatis per totum, ubi necesse fuerit, et omnes gutteras plumbeas magnæ turris à summitate ejusdem turris, per quas aqua pluviæ descendere deberet, usque ad terram extendere faciatis et descendere; ita quod murus dictæ turris, per aquam pluviæ distillantem, *qui de novo est dealbatus,* nullo modo possit deperire, nec de facili prorumpere: et fieri faciatis



White Tower.

Published May 15 [illegible] by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin, 62 Cheapside

The White Tower is a large and massive quadrangular edifice occupying an area of one hundred and sixteen feet north and south, and ninety-six feet east and west; and at the east end, in continuation of the south wall, is a semicircular projection of considerable diameter, which extends to the summit of the building.

The elevation of this structure is ninety-two feet; it is embattled, and its angles are finished with turrets, which rise considerably above the roof. Those at the north-west and south-west angles are square, with a slight projection: that at the south-east is built on the summit of the wall, and the one at the north-east angle, which was formerly called the observatory,[q] is an irregular circle, projecting materially from the face of the main building, and containing the grand stair which communicates with each of the floors from the vaults to the roof.

The thickness of the walls is considerably increased near the base by a bold deep splay; from the lower angle whereof, and

---

super eandem turrim in parte australi superiùs versus austrum, imas aluras de bono et forti maeremio et per totum benè plumbari, per quas gentes videre possint usque pedem ejusdem turris, et ascendere, et meliùs defendere, si necesse fuerit. Dealbari etiam faciatis totam capellam Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ in eadem turri; et fieri faciatis in eadem capella tres fenestras vitreas, unam, scilicet, ex parte boreali cum quadam Mariola tenente puerum suum, reliqua in parte australi de Trinitate; et tertiam de Sancto Johanne Apostolo et Evangelista in eadem parte australi; et depingi faciatis patibulum et trabem ultra altare ejusdem capellæ benè et bonis coloribus; et fieri faciatis et depingi duas ymagines pulcras ubi meliùs et decentiùs fieri possint in eadem capella, unam de Sancto Edwardo tenentem anulum et donantem et tendentem Sancto Johanni Evangelistæ. *Et dealbari faciatis totum veterem murum circa sæpedictam turrim nostram.*—Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum conputabitur vobis ad scaccarium. T. R. apud Windles' x°. die Decembris.—*Rot. Liberat.* 25 *Hen. III. m.* 20 *in Turr. Lond.*

[q] This turret is the largest and most commodious of the four, and, probably, took the name of the Observatory from the circumstance of Flamstead, the great astronomer, in the reign of King Charles the Second, having practised here before the establishment of the royal observatory at Greenwich; for we are told that sir Jonas Moor, having taken him under his patronage when he was scarcely able to subsist n his college at Cambridge, "planted him in the Tower, with accommodation in the ordnance, of which sir Jonas was an officer, procured him instruments, and at last settled him in the new-built observatory at Greenwich."—*See North's Life of lord keeper Guildford, p.* 286.

in continuation of the projecting face produced by it, rise broad simple buttresses, terminating a little below the battlement, and dividing the intervals between the turrets into compartments, of which on the north side there are four, on the south five, on the east three, (besides the semicircular termination, and the round turret, both of which are strengthened by small buttresses rising to the same altitude,) and on the west five.

In its outer elevation, the tower is divided into three stories, with corresponding lights, some of which in the middle story are distinguished from those belonging to the other floors by being placed within semicircular recessed arches extending from buttress to buttress. At present there are two entrances, one on the north side, and the other on the south; both of which are evidently much more modern than the date of the building; but over the former are indications of an arch of more ample dimensions, which seems to point out the situation and size of the original grand entrance. The exterior has undergone so many repairs that it is now difficult to trace any part of its primitive character: the windows, particularly those belonging to the two first stories, have been greatly increased in dimensions, and the surface has been so generally coated with a mixture of flints, mortar, rubble-work, and modern masonry, as to leave but little of the original mode of construction visible. In some parts, however, of the south and east sides, just above the projecting base or splay, two courses of beautiful well-squared stone are occasionally met with, laid in beds of mortar composed of lime and sea sand, containing shells and small pieces of flint, and forming a joint of about three quarters of an inch in thickness; but whether this finished masonry was continued higher or not, is now difficult to determine, though some detached fragments of it, which are to be seen in other parts of the building at different elevations, render it extremely probable that all or a great portion of the exterior facing was of a similar nature.

On the south side of the building, in the upper story, there are four windows, which, as they differ from all the others, and retain more of the original character, deserve particular notice. They are composed of semicircular arches, two between each adjoining buttress, and at present a small square pier with a square impost moulding subdivides each into two small lights, with simicircular heads.

Within the thickness of the wall,[r] on the same side of the structure, is a circular stair forming a communication with the chambers that belong to the Record Office; but the present entrance to it from without being of comparatively modern date, it is more probable that it antiently formed a private communication between some particular parts of the tower, than that it led to an original exit.

The interior of the White Tower is divided longitudinally, from its base to the summit, by a wall seven feet thick; and another division is also formed by a similar wall extending from the preceding one to the eastern exterior wall, dividing the area into three apartments; one of which occupies the entire west side of the building; a great portion of the eastern side forms the second, and the third embraces the south-east, or projecting angle above described. It is divided in its altitude into four stories, including the vaults, and a communication is formed between each of them by the spacious stairs in the circular turret at the north-east angle of the structure.[s] Of the vaults little can be said, as every feature of originality, in the two largest at least, has been destroyed by alterations which have been made to adapt them to their present purposes.[t]

The first floor, according to the interior division above described, consists of two large apartments, and a smaller one, distinguished from the others by having a semicircular termination, and a vaulted roof of the same form, extremely plain in its appearance, but exhibiting a highly interesting specimen of early construction. The vault looks as if made of large stones placed longitudinally in the direction of the room; but on examination,

3

one small

---

[r] The exterior walls of the White Tower average at the base fifteen feet in thickness, and the depth of the buttresses being taken out of them above the splay, reduces them, from that point upwards, about fourteen inches.

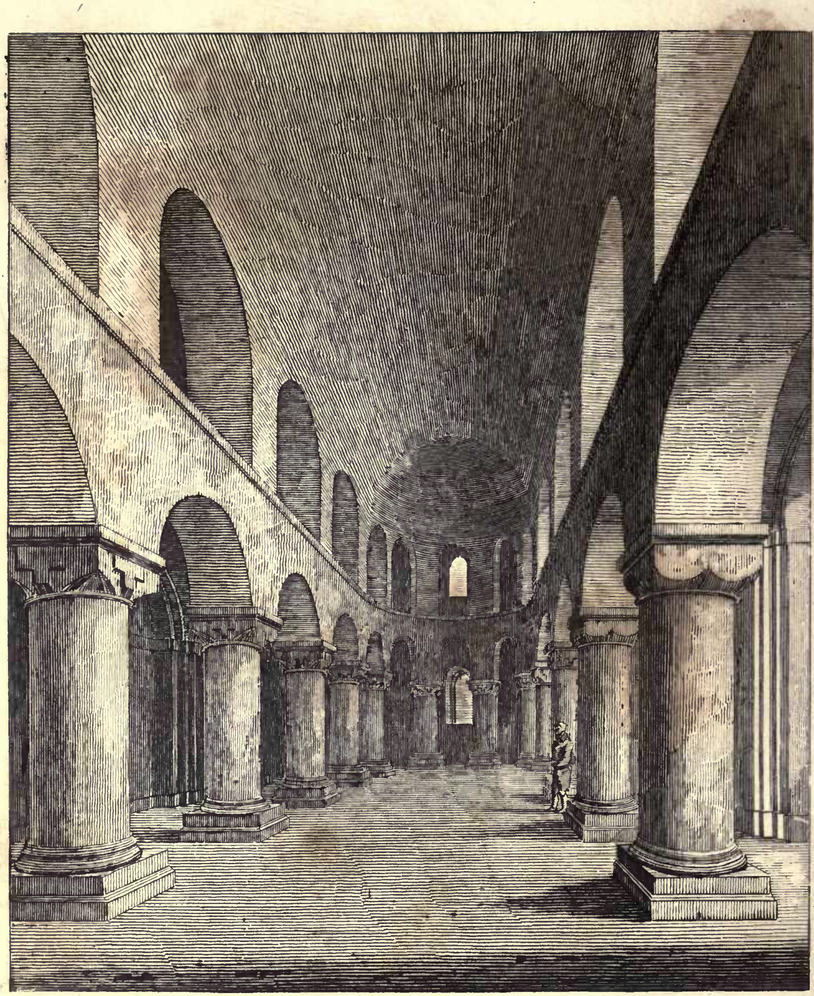
[s] There is an exterior entrance to this staircase, formed by a passage cut through the solid wall, and closed with a flat-pointed arch, which shews the date of this alteration to be about the time of king Henry VIII.

[t] They are used as store-rooms for saltpetre.—There are engraved plans of this building in the first edition.

proves to be composed of comparitively small flat stones fixed wedgewise in a deep bed of cement, composed of similar materials to that already noticed as used in the masonry of the exterior. The frame-work, or centering on which the roof was constructed, seems clearly to have been made of slabs of timber; and this being covered with a thick bed of cement, previous to laying any stones, and then being allowed to remain till the whole had become dry and consolidated, has given to the roof that appearance of regular stone-work which is above described. The springing of the vault is not in continuation with the face of the wall, as is usual, but recedes, so as to afford space for the edge of the centering to rest on the top; a circumstance which gives to all the vaults in this building an approximation to the horse-shoe form. This kind of vaulting, as far as has hitherto been discovered, appears to be unique: it is possible, however, that other examples of it may yet be found in buildings of a corresponding date. Light was admitted to this apartment by four narrow loops or windows with semicircular heads; but these have been greatly widened,[u] though they still retain in their vaulting, indications of the same curious mode of construction as that above referred to. The eastern termination of this apartment is coved, and the opposite end finished with a deeply recessed arch, agreeing in character with all the other parts of the building. On the north side is a small semicircular headed door-way, communicating with a cell ten feet long by eight wide, formed in the thickness of the wall, and receiving no light whatever, excepting by means of the entrance. There can be but little doubt that these gloomy apartments were originally designed as prisons, and even, in later times, they have evidently been used for that purpose: indeed, tradition states, that it was the place of confinement of sir Walter Raleigh, and that it was here that he wrote his History of the World, and some of his political pieces. By the sides of the door-way leading to the cell are remains of several inscriptions left on the walls by prisoners; but they have been so mutilated, that the only ones that

---

[u] This was done about twenty-five years ago, when the room was fitted up as a repository for cavalry arms;—the use to which it is at present appropriated.



St. John's Chapel in the White Tower.

Published May 15.1830. by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin. 62. Cheapside.

inscriptions – Tait

could be made out were, HE THAT INDVRETH TO THE ENDE SHALL BE SAVID. M. 10. R. RVDSTON. DAR. KENT. AN° 1553.—BE FEITHFVL VNTO THE DETH AND I WIL GIVE THE A CROWNE OF LIFE. T. FANE. 1554, and underneath this last are the words T. CVLPEPER OF DARFORD.[x]

The other apartments on this first floor, and the corresponding two rooms in next story, have been so disguised by the wainscoting and other alterations which have been made in converting them into armories, that it would be useless to attempt a description of them. It is pretty clear, however, that they corresponded very nearly with the uppermost apartments, excepting that the exterior walls are solid; and therefore the description which it will be hereafter necessary to give of the latter will be equally applicable to these.

In the spiral stair communicating between these floors, the same peculiar mode of construction is observable, though rendered still more curious by the intricate nature of the vaulting to which it has been applied. The newell, or circular column, round which the stairs wind, exhibits also a very interesting specimen of original masonry, disposed in courses of about seven or eight inches deep, and divided by thick layers of coarse cement. To this part of the building light is admitted by narrow embrasures or loops, most of which retain every appearance of originality, and have their semicircular heads impressed with the same character as that already spoken of. chapel in [illegible]

On the second story, and directly over the vaulted chamber above described, is a sacred apartment, commonly dignified with the name of Cæsar's Chapel. It has a semicircular termination towards the east, and consists of a centre or nave, and two side aisles: the former occupying exactly the area of the vaulted

Chapel

---

[x] Robert Rudston, who states himself to be of Dartford, in Kent; Thomas Fane, or Vane; and Thomas Culpeper, were all concerned in the rebellion of sir Thomas Wyatt, in 1553-4, and were committed with him to the Tower about the middle of February in that year. Wyat, after being reprieved, with the hope of gaining from him secrets respecting the conspiracy, particularly such as might implicate the princess, afterwards queen Elizabeth, was beheaded, drawn, and quartered, on Tower Hill, on the 11th of April following. Robert Rudston was also tried and condemned, but afterwards received pardon; a lenity which was probably extended to Fane and Culpeper, as we find no account of their execution.

Chapel

colonnade

apartment already noticed, and the latter formed in the thickness of the wall. The centre and aisles are separated by twelve circular columns placed parallel with the exterior wall, four on each side at equal distances apart, and four arranged in a semicircular order, and placed much nearer one another at the eastern end; and these, with two half columns projecting from the wall at the west end, give support to an open arcade of plain semicircular arches, extending round the interior, and opening into the side aisles. The capitals with which the columns are finished, and on which the arches rest, display a studied variety in their ornaments, and are terminated with a square abacus variously moulded. The bases are circular, with different mouldings, and rest on square plinths. The arches which rise from the columns at the east end, in consequence of their being nearer each other, are carried up straight from the imposts and finished with a circular head, making the elevation of the arcade correspond all round. Immediately above this arcade is a plain chamfered strong course, on which are raised a series of low plain rectangular piers, without any base or impost moulding, and supporting another arcade of plain arches, corresponding with that below, and opening to a gallery which occupies the space immediately over the side aisles. It has already been stated that the aisles are taken out of the thickness of the wall, and they have twelve square pilasters projecting from it, corresponding with the number of columns; each pilaster being terminated with a chamfered moulding, and connected with its corresponding column by a plain arch, rising perpendicularly from its impost, and terminating with a semicircular head. A plain arcade, of deeply recessed arches, extends along the wall round the interior, between the pilasters, in which are inserted, on the south side, and round the east end, a corresponding number of semicircular headed windows;[y] and light is also admitted to the gallery by a similar number above; but these, though corresponding in character, are of much smaller dimensions.

---

[y] Those on the south side, being four in number, have their exterior openings, the two largest in the intervals between the buttresses, and the other two in the centre of the buttresses.

[illegible]
layers a finish

The whole interior of this chapel is now covered with a thick coat of plaster; but on breaking this away, for the purpose of ascertaining the mode of construction of so interesting a part of the building, it was discovered that the columns, the arches which divide the centre from the side aisles, and the pilasters, together with the piers and arches opening into the gallery, are all faced with well-finished stones, retaining the marks of the tool, and laid in courses with thick joints of coarse mortar. In the elevation of seven of the central columns, there are nine of these courses; in three others, an additional half course under each capital: the remaining two have ten courses; and the two half columns at the west end are distinguished by being constructed of stones of a much larger dimension. The intervals between the finished masonry are filled up with rubble-work of various sized stones, plastered over.

This chapel, with its gallery, occupies the entire space from the second floor to the roof, and the vaulting of its centre is semicircular, and coved at the east end: that of the gallery, semicircular; and that of the aisles, composed of two intersecting semicircles, with the groining or hips formed by hand. They are all constructed upon the same principle, and with materials similar to those used in the apartment below; but the impress of the frame-work or centering was either carefully avoided in the erection, or was afterwards chiselled or rubbed down. The floor, which is now boarded, was formerly of a thick greyish coloured cement, of a very hard substance, and polished surface; and, from some remains of it which have been discovered, it appears to have been divided by lines into regular figures, to resemble stone. The floor of the gallery is also at present boarded; but was formerly of square tiles, and it was not till within these few years that these have been entirely removed.

This chapel, which may justly be said to exhibit one of the finest and most perfect specimens of the Norman style of architecture now extant in this country, was dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and it is probable that it was anciently used for the private devotions of the royal family and household, when the court was kept at the Tower.

In the year 1240, that great patron of the arts, King Henry the Third, gave particular directions for repairing and ornamenting this chapel, and among other things that were ordered to be made, were three glass windows: one towards the north, "with a little Mary holding her child;" and two others towards the south, representing the Holy Trinity, and Saint John the apostle and evangelist. The cross and rood were also to be painted well and with good colours; and there were likewise to be made and painted, where it could best and most properly be done in the said chapel, two fair images; one of them of Saint Edward holding a ring, and presenting it to Saint John the Evangelist.[z]

In the reign of the monarch above mentioned, here was a chaplain regularly performing divine service, and receiving a yearly stipend of fifty shillings at the exchequer for his maintenance,[a] a vesture, chalice, and other things necessary for the performance of his holy offices, being also provided him;[b] and, in 1261, on the decease of his sister-in-law, Senchia, countess of Cornwall and queen of the Romans, King Henry granted to the master and brethren of the neighbouring hospital of Saint Catherine, the sum of fifty shillings to be taken every year at the exchequer, for the support of a chaplain who should pray here daily for her soul.[c]

How long this chapel continued in use for the performance of divine service is unknown, and it is equally uncertain at what period it was stripped of its sacred ornaments and furniture. It now forms part of the rooms belonging to the Record Office, and contains, chiefly, proceedings in the court of Chancery during the reigns of King James the First and Charles the First. We are uninformed as to the period of its appropriation to this use; it is certain, however, that records were deposited here as early as the time of King Charles the Second.

The uppermost story of the White Tower corresponds exactly, in point of division, with each of the others; but the rooms are

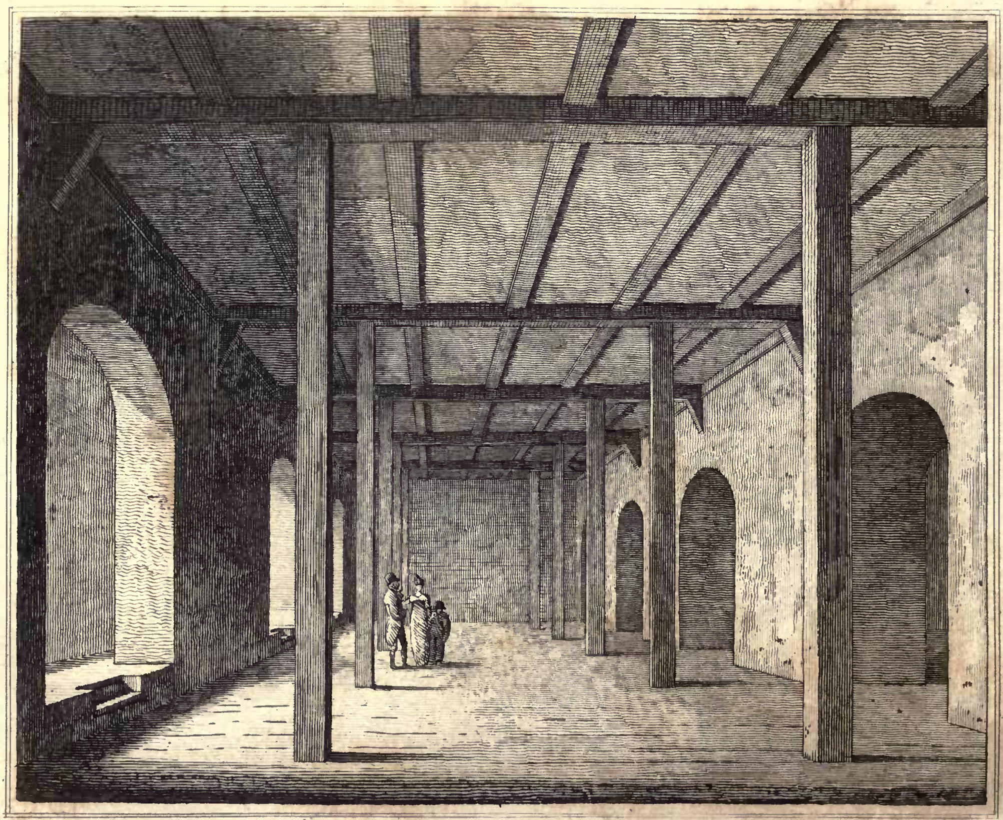
---

[z] See page 101, note.

[a] Rot. Liberat. 25 Hen. III. m. 11.

[b] Rot. Claus. 28 Hen. III. m. 13.

[c] Rot. Pat. 46 Hen. III. m. 18. N° 28.



Room adjoining the Council Chamber, in the White Tower.

Published May 16, 1830, by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin, 62, Cheapside.

much loftier, and the originality of their appearance excites a greater degree of interest. The largest apartment, of which there is an engraving in the first edition,[d] has, perhaps, but few rivals: the massive timber roof and supporters have every appearance of high antiquity, and harmonize exceedingly well with the grand and substantial features of the other parts of the building. The partition wall, between the two principal rooms, is pierced nearly from the floor to the ceiling, by five lofty openings, with semicircular heads springing from their respective abutments, without impost mouldings, and perfectly plain and unadorned: four of these are open, but the fifth, at the northern extremity, is closed up with a thin partition, in which is inserted a smaller opening equally plain, and assimilating in character to the arch over it. Round this floor, formed in the substance of the wall, and communicating with the three grand corner stairs,[e] are small galleries,[f] arched over with a semicircular vault; and opposite the windows, which open into them, are large semicircular-headed openings for the admission of light to the apartments. The whole of the roof is covered with lead, and the four angular turrets, which rise above it, are terminated with leaden cupolas, each supporting a weathercock and crown.

The whole of the upper floor is now annexed to the Record Office. The largest room was added to that establishment at the instance of the late keeper of the records in the year 1811, and has since been fitted up for the arrangement of proceedings in the court of chancery and other documents, and additional light has been introduced into the two largest apartments by means of skylights.

---

[d] To this apartment, tradition has given the name of the Council Chamber, from its having been the room in which, as is supposed, the council used to assemble when the reigning monarch held his court at the Tower, and it is said to have been here that the council was sitting in 1483, when Richard duke of Gloucester, the protector, ordered the execution of lord Hastings, and the arrest of the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley.

[e] It has already been observed, that the stair at the north-east angle forms a communication with each of the floors from the vaults upwards; but this is not the case with those at the north-west and south-west corners, though they correspond with it in all the leading features of construction: these begin only on the second floor, and communicate thence with the uppermost story, and terminate in small apartments in their respective turrets.

[f] It has been conjectured that these galleries were originally designed for the convenience of the garrison, in case of a close siege, that orders might be more speedily conveyed to different parts of the building.—*Vide Archaeologia, vol. iv. p.* 379.

Throughout the whole of this majestic edifice, not the slightest appearance remains of there having been any fireplace or well; nor does there exist any vestige of arras or tapestry, with which, we may presume, that the state apartments at least were formerly decorated.

We are informed that the White Tower "was, by tempest of winde, sore shaken in the yeare 1092," and that it was repaired by King William Rufus and his successor:[g] it is clear, however, that the industrious antiquary who affords us this information, and who has been copied by subsequent writers, has, on this occasion, mistaken his authorities: a storm, indeed, did happen in that year,[h] and such was its extraordinary violence, that in London alone six hundred houses are said to have been overturned; besides the great injury done to churches and other public buildings, but no mention whatever is made of the Tower; nor is it likely that any thing less than an earthquake could have affected a pile of this solid construction.

Considerable repairs were done to this building about the middle of the thirteenth century: probably the first of any importance that had been necessary since its foundation.

In the early part of the reign of King Edward III. a commission was directed to John de Molyns and two others, "to survey the defects of the Tower and other places within its boundary," and to inquire by jury what would be necessary for their repair.[i] A return was thereupon made to the archbishop of Canterbury, the then chancellor; and in the year following the sheriffs of London were ordered to pay forty pounds out of the farm of the city "to be spent about the great tower of the Tower of London, which is in great need of repair;"[k] and the sheriff of Kent was likewise commanded to bring all the oak timber from Havering, to be used in the houses and other buildings of the fortress upon the same occasion.[l]

---

[g] Stow's Annals and Survey of London.

[h] Will. Malmsbur. in Script. post. Bedam, p. 125.—Rog. Hoveden. Ibid. p. 462.

[i] See Appendix.

[k] Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. m. 26.

[l] Ibid. m. 15 et m. 8.

Much was done to the White Tower, in common with the rest of the fortress, in the year 1532:[m] and stone for that purpose was brought from the famous quarries of Caen in Normandy. Soon after the restoration of King Charles the Second it underwent another repair,[n] and in the reigns of James the Second and William and Mary, great alterations were made in the windows and other parts of the building, and some of the rooms converted into armories.

Against the eastern side of the White Tower there is a low stone building which forms a wing to the main structure; erected, perhaps, about the reign of King Edward the Third It consisted formerly of one story only, but has, within the last thirty years, been raised, and is now used as a repository for old books and papers belonging to the office of Ordnance. On the west side there is also another low and still more modern erection, occupied as a guard room.

At the south-east and south-west corners of this building there anciently stood two smaller towers, called the Wardrobe Tower, and Cold Harbour Gate: the latter formed the entrance to an enclosure containing the domestic apartments of the palace, which occupied the entire south-east angle of the inner ward; as will be more fully noticed hereafter.

CHAPEL OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA.

Besides the private chapel of Saint John the Evangelist in the White Tower, there is another ecclesiastical structure within the fortress, standing at the north-west corner of the inner ward, dedicated to Saint Peter ad Vincula, and, in early times, appropriated to the public devotions of the royal family and household, and to the general use of the garrison.

The present building was erected in the reign of King Edward the First;[o] but there was a church or chapel in the Tower dedicated to the same saint long before that period. The original, perhaps, owed its foundation to that wise and accomplished monarch, Henry the First, who appears to have made considerable additions to the buildings within the wall, with which the Tower had then recently been surrounded by his brother King William Rufus. Whether the original edifice occupied the exact site of the present is uncertain; but it appears to have been grand and spacious. It contained two chancels, one dedicated to the blessed Mary, the other to Saint Peter; and there were stalls in it for the king and queen.

---

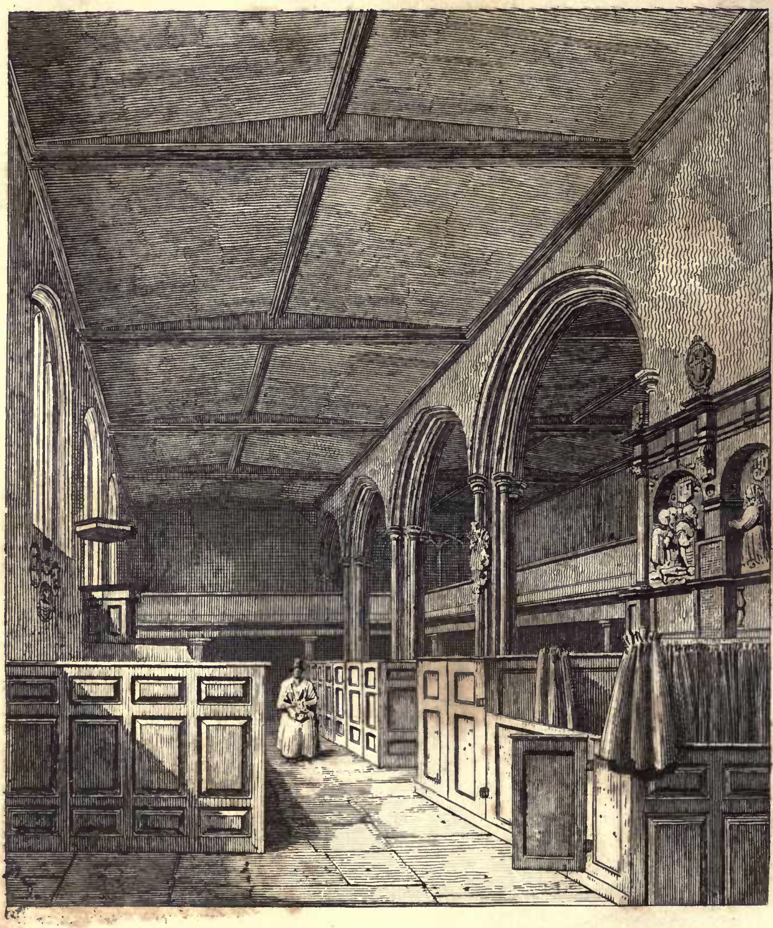
[m] Stow's Survey of London.—See Appendix.

[n] Stow's Survey, by Strype.

[o] Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. I. m. 8. in Turr. Lond.

When King Henry III. in the year 1240, gave directions for the chapel of Saint John in the White Tower to be repaired and ornamented, he also issued very minute instructions respecting this church of Saint Peter. Among other things it was commanded that the royal stalls should be painted, and that "the little Mary with her shrine, and the figures of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, and St. Katherine, should be newly coloured;" an image of the blessed Virgin was also to be made beyond the altar of Saint Peter, on the north side, and another of the same saint, in a solemn archiepiscopal vesture, on the south: these were to be painted with the best colours, and there was also "to be made and painted in the said church, where it could better and more decently be done, an image of Saint Christopher, holding and carrying Jhesus:" two fair tables, of the best colours, and containing the legends of Saint Nicholas and Saint Katherine, were likewise to be painted before the two altars; and "two fair cherubims, with cheerful and pleasant countenances," were to be placed on the right hand and on the left of the great cross; a marble font, with marble columns, well and decently carved, was also to be provided.[p]

[p] Rex custodibus operationis Turris Lond', salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod cancellum beatæ Mariæ in ecclesiâ sancti Petri infra ballium Turris nostræ London', et cancellum beati Petri in eâdem ecclesiâ et ab introitu cancelli beati Petri usque ad spacium iiij. pedum ultra stallos, ad opus nostrum et reginæ nostræ in eâdem ecclesiâ factos, benè et decenter lambruscari faciatis, et eosdem stallos depingi; et Mariolam cum suo tabernaculo et ymagines beatorum Petri, Nicholai, et Katherinæ, et trabem ultra altare beati Petri et parvum patibulum cum suis ymaginibus de novo colorari et bonis coloribus refriscari; et fieri faciatis quandam ymaginem de beatâ virgine ultra altare beati Petri, versus austrum, et alteram ymaginem de beato Petro in solempni aparatu archiepiscopali in parte boreali ultra dictum altare, et de optimis coloribus depingi; et quandam ymaginem de sancto Christophero tenentem



Interior of S^{t}. Peter's Chapel.

Published, May 15. 1830. by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin, 62, Cheapside.

Some years after King Henry had thus repaired and ornamented the old church, he ordered that two small bells should be placed in it;[q] and on the decease of that monarch, in 1272, a chaplain was appointed to pray there for his soul, receiving at the Exchequer a stipend of fifty shillings per annum.[r]

The present church or chapel of Saint Peter was erected, as before mentioned, in the reign of King Edward the First, but appears to have undergone considerable alterations since that period.[s] It is a plain stone building, consisting of a nave and one side aisle, separated by a row of handsome stone columns with polygonal capitals, surmounted by low pointed arches.

The chapel of St. Peter is entirely void of ornament, but derives peculiar interest from being the burial-place of so many personages, distinguished by rank, by fortune, and by fate. Here rests the hallowed urn of martyred innocence: and here, the headless trunks of victims to ambition and the thirst for power, moulder into dust.

Within this chapel, in 1534, was buried the ill-fated Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare, and lord deputy of Ireland. On suspicion of treasonable practices against the government, he was commanded to appear before the king, and, being committed to prison in the Tower, soon after died of a broken heart; happily before the execution of his son and five brothers, who fell into open rebellion, and ended their lives as traitors. In 1580, the plate of his coffin was discovered on opening a

---

et portantem Jhesum, ubi melius et decentius fieri potest et depingi in eâdem ecclesiâ: et fieri faciatis duas tabulas pulchras, et de optimis coloribus et de hystoriis beatorum Nicholai et Katherinæ depingi ante altaria dictorum sanctorum in eâdem ecclesiâ: et duos scherumbinos, stantes à dextris et à sinistris magni patibuli, pulcros fieri faciatis in prædictâ ecclesiâ, cum hyllari vultu et jocoso; et præterea unum fontem marmoreum cum columpnis marmoreis bene et decenter inscisis. Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. T. R. apud Windles'. x°. die Decembr'.—*Rot. Liberat. 25 Hen. III. m. 20. in Turr. Lond.*

[q] Rot. Claus. 35 Hen. III. m. 16. in Turr. Lond.

[r] Rot. Liberat. 1 Edw. I. m. 1. Ibid.

[s] These alterations were probably made in the reign of King Henry VIII., when we have intimation of its having been materially injured by fire.

vault: it notified only his name and the day of his death, December the 12th, 1534, with the pious addition of "on whose sole Jesu have mercye."

Here also, in the succeeding year, was laid that good and conscientious prelate, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, together with his fellow-sufferer, the great, the witty Sir Thomas More; both beheaded for denying the king's supremacy: the former on the twenty-second of June, and the latter on the sixth of the following month. Fisher was first buried in Barking churchyard, but soon afterwards removed, to be near his bigotted friend Sir Thomas, whose body was, at a subsequent period, obtained by his amiable and accomplished daughter, Margaret Roper, and re-interred in Chelsea church,[t] where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

In front of the altar, repose the beauteous Anna Boleyn, and the guilty Catherine Howard, two ill-fated wives of King Henry VIII.: the former suffered in 1536, under a charge of adultery not clearly proved; and the latter, upon full conviction of the same crime, in 1541. Here also lies the headless body of George lord Rochford, the innocent brother of the former. Involved in her accusation, he preceded, by two days, his unfortunate sister to the grave, as his infamous wife, a principal instrument in their death, accompanied, unpitied, her mistress, Catherine Howard, in execution and in sepulture.

Here likewise rests, amid the attainted group, the mangled corse of the venerable and innocent Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the last of entire blood of the royal line of Plantagenet.

Cromwell too, that mighty pillar of the state, whom Wolsey raised from the forge, and placed in the road to honor and to greatness; whom Henry made his instrument in the suppression of papal supremacy, and in the dissolution of religious houses; whom he loaded with the highest offices and honors; and whom he finally cast down, and bereft of life and dignity—lies buried here.

---

[t] Weever's Funeral monuments, p. 506. Fuller's Church History, lib. v. p. 206. Newcourt's Repertorium. Lysons's Environs of London.

Within these walls were also deposited the remains of Thomas Seymour, the turbulent baron Sudley, lord high admiral of England, who was, of necessity, beheaded in 1549, under a warrant from his own brother, Edward duke of Somerset, the protector; by whom, within three years, he was followed to the scaffold and the grave! This good and lamented duke was buried in front of the altar between the unfortunate queens before mentioned; and about eighteen months afterwards, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, his ambitious rival, the procurer of his death, was laid headless by his side!

Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, beheaded for aspiring to the bed of Mary queen of Scots; his virtuous son Philip, earl of Arundel, who languished and died within the dreary walls of a prison; and Robert Devereux, the favourite earl of Essex, "whom his fond mistress reluctantly gave to the block after a long struggle between fear and affection," were likewise buried here.

Under the communion table was interred James duke of Monmouth, the handsome, profligate, and ungrateful son of King Charles the Second. "His ambition, like that of many whom he followed to this place," occasioned his untimely end. He died calmly, acknowledging the guilt of rebellion, but love preserved her influence to the last. He was married at too early an age to Anne, daughter and heiress of Francis earl of Buccleuh, at that time esteemed the finest woman in the three kingdoms; but subsequently, fixing his affections on lady Harriet Wentworth, he lived with her as his wife; nor could all the arguments of the best divines convince him of its sin;[u] "he called her, the choice of his ripened years."[x]

But to draw nearer to our own times, and end this melancholy catalogue.—Under the gallery, at the western end of the chapel, were deposited the headless bodies of the penitent earl of Kilmarnock, the undaunted Balmerino, and the infamous Simon lord Lovat, leaders in the memorable rebellion of 1745. As they were associates in crime, they are companions in sepulchre; being all buried in the same grave. Some years ago, on opening the adjoining ground, the leaden plates were discovered, which had been fixed on their coffins: they are still preserved in the chapel, and bear the following inscriptions:

---

[u] Life and Reign of King James II. in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 431.

[x] Pennant's Account of London.

Willielmus
Comes de Kilmarnock
Decollatus 18° *die Augusti* 1746.
Ætatis suæ 42°.

Arthurus
Dominus de Balmerino
Decollatus 18° *die Augusti* 1746.
Ætatis suæ 58°

Simon Dominus
Frazer de Lovat
*Decollat. Apr*ˢ. 9. 1747.
Ætat. suæ 80.

A flat stone, in which are cut three circular marks with a line drawn through them, denote the spot of their interment.

In the north-west corner of the aisle, under a gallery erected for the military of the garrison, is an altar tomb richly carved; upon which are recumbent figures of sir Richard Cholmondeley, knight, and lady Elizabeth his wife. Sir Richard, who was lieutenant of the Tower in the early part of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, is represented in plate armour, his head resting on an helmet and his feet supported by a lion; his hair lank, and chin beardless; his hands closed as in prayer, and round his neck a collar of SS, with a rose pendent: his lady, in a pointed head-dress, is on the left, with her head resting on a cushion. The tomb is ornamented with lozenges inclosing blank shields, and its base adorned with foliage. It formerly stood in the middle of the church, but for convenience has been removed to its present position, which prevents part of the inscription being seen: the following words only, are visible.—**Jacent corpora**

Ricardi Cholmondeley militis et dn̄e Elizabethe consortis sue, qui . . . .
. . . . . quorum animabus Deus propitietur. Amen.

This sir Richard Cholmondeley, who was of the ancient and very respectable family of that name, residing at Chorley in Cheshire,[y] was a distinguished military officer, and had a command under the earl of Surry, at Flodden Field, in 1513.[z] He afterwards received the honor of knighthood, and was made lieutenant of the Tower. Sir Roger Cholmondeley, chief justice of England, was a natural son of this sir Richard. Having no legitimate issue, sir Richard Cholmondeley left his estates to his brother Roger, ancestor of sir Hugh Cholmondeley, the gallant defender of Scarborough Castle, who was created a baronet in 1641.[a] Sir Richard was lieutenant of the Tower in the year 1518, when the Londoners rose against the Lombards and other merchant strangers; and, probably with a view of intimidating the rioters, discharged some artillery of the fortress against the city, but did no great injury.[b]

On the north side of the chancel a large and splendid monument is erected to the memory of sir Richard Blount, knight, and sir Michael his son, both lieutenants of the Tower. Sir Richard, who died in 1560, is represented on one side, in armour, with his two sons kneeling, and opposite his wife and two daughters, who are shewn in the dress of the times, on the other. The gilding, with which all the figures appear to have been richly ornamented, is much worn off. A tablet bears the following inscription:

> HIC JACET RICHARDVS BLOVNTVS MILES AVRATVS QVI HENRICO OCTAVO E QVATVOR ATRIENSIBUS VNVS EDOVARDO SEXTO A PRIVATO CVBICVLO FVIT: ET IN VARIA HVIVS IMPERII OFFICIA AB ELIZABETHA REGINA SELECTVS TURRI LONDINENSI AB EADEM PRÆFECTVS, EX HAC DIGNITATE IN COELOS A DEO SVSCEPTVS EST. IS VXOREM DVXIT FILIAM RICHARDI LISTERI MILITIS ITIDEM AVRATI PRIMARII TOTIVS ANGLIÆ-

---

[y] Lysons's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 477.

[z] Hall's Chronicle, and Hollinshed.

[a] Lysons's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 478.

[b] Hall's Chronicle. Stow's Annals.

IVDICIS, ET EX EA FILIOS HABVIT, MICHÆLEM BLOVNTVM QVI MOORAM SIBI IN MATRIMONIVM SVMPSIT: ET RICHARDVM BLOVNTVM QVEM SOLVM SINE CONIVGE CELIBEM RELIQVIT: FILIAS ELIZABETHAM ET BARBARAM HABVIT, QVARVM ALTERAM NICHOLAIO SEINTIHONE, ALTERAM FRANCISCO SHERLEIO IN CONIVGIVM DEDIT. EX HAC VITA VIR ILLE BONVS DISCESSIT, ANNOS NATVS QVINQVAGINTA NONOS, VNDESSIMO DIE AVGVSTI ANNO DOMINI. 1564. ET IN HOC TVMVLO EX SVMPTV ELIZABETHÆ VXORIS SVÆ SEPVLTVS ACQVIESCIT. TVVM EST O DEVS OMNIVM CADAVERA AD EXTREMVM VIVIFICARE ET VNA TECVM GLORIFICARE PER SANCTVM CRISTVM TVVM. AMEN.

Sir Michael is represented in armour, attended by his three sons, his wife, and daughter, all in the attitude of prayer. On the tablet is this inscription.

"Heere lyeth bvried S^r Michael Blovnt knight sonne and heayre of S^r Richard Blovnt knight, whoe svcceded his father in y^e office of lievtenantcy of y^e Tower of London xxv. yeares after y^e death of his sayd father, and left issve by Mary his wife, sister and one of y^e coheayres of Thomas Moore of Bissiter, Richard, Thomas, & Charles, Catherine & Fravnces. Richard maryed Cecily yovngest davghter of S^r Richard Baker of Kent knight. Catherine his eldest davghter maried to John Blovnt alias Croke of Stydley in y^e covntie of Oxon̄ esqvier sonne & heayre apparant to John Blovnt alias Croke of Chilton in y^e covntie of Bvckingham esqvier & hath issve John, Henry & Charles: and dame Mari y^e wiffe of y^e sayd S^r Michaell died on Saterdaye being y^e 23^rd daye of December in A^o Dōi 1592. and she lyeth here bvried."

Below the monument of Sir Richard Blount is a tablet to the memory of Lyster Blount an infant. The inscription informs us that he was lineally descended from three lieutenants of the Tower, and that "here they all lye to expect the cominge of our sweet Saviour Jesu."

Against the wall, on the south side of the chancel, a plain tablet preserves the memory of sir Allan Apsley, knight, who died the 24th of May 1630. He was victualler of the royal navy twenty-one years, and fourteen years lieutenant of the Tower. Sir Allan first married Ann, daughter and heiress of sir Peter Carew, knight; by whom he had issue Peter, son and heir; Joyce, married to Lyster, second son of sir Richard Blount, of Maple Durham, knight; and Carew, who died an infant. By his second wife, Lucy, daughter of sir John St. John of Lidyard, knight, he had ten children, six of whom died young. In the floor, fronting the communion table, a mutilated brass plate marks the spot of his interment.

Near to the last mentioned tablet is a singular mural monument, consisting of two busts, representing George Payler, Esq. "master surveyor of the Ordnance" in the reign of King Charles the First, and lady Maria Carey his wife: between them are three children in swaddling clothes, recumbent; and an inscription underneath informs us, "that neere unto this place sleepeth the bodies of Samuel and Maria Payler," their second son and eldest daughter.

At the upper end of the nave, against one of the columns, is an elegant tablet, with the following inscription to the memory of the celebrated sir Jonas More, knight, surveyor general of the Ordnance in the time of King Charles the Second.

M. S.
Jonæ Mori equitis aurati in agro Lancastriensi
apud vicum Whitelee nati viij° die Februarii
anno a partu Virginis M. D. C. XVII.
qui, ob egregiam erga principem suum fidelitatem,
summam in rebus mathematicis scientiam,
et singularem in negotiis peragendis
solertiam et industriam
a rege *Carolo Secundo* ad officium supervisoris generalis
rei tormentariæ bellicæ evocatus est.
Quo munere dum digne fungitur,
ingenuas etiam disciplinas, artesque mecanicas,
non magis ad animi sui oblectamentum,
quam publica patriæ commoda,
studiosissime excoluit.
Et inprimis astronomiæ et nauticæ artis fautorum

beneficentisimum se præbuit;
easque promovendi causa
speculam *Grenovicensem* (jubente rege)
exstrui curavit,
instrumentis idoneis locupletavit,
editisque mathematicis operib' utilissimis
orbi inclarvit.
Vixit annos lxii. *devixit* xxvij. Augusti a° Christi
M.D.C. LXXIX.
Filium unicum de uxore charissima susceptum
post se reliquit,
qui eundem quem pater tenuerat et locum ut honoris
gradum adeptus,
præpropera morte extinctus,
hic una sepultus est.
Maria filia, e duabus natu major, ejusque
maritus *Gulielmus Hanway* gen^rs
patri optimo, et fratri monumentum hoc
LL. MM. PP.

Passing over other less interesting monuments, we come, at the upper end of the nave, to a small and humble stone, in the floor, which informs us that *Here lieth y^e body of Talbot Edwards, gent., late keeper of His Ma^t's Regalia, who dyed y^e 30^th of September* 1674, *aged* 80 *yeares and* 9 *moneths.* This venerable man was keeper of the regalia when the ruffian *Blood* made the desperate attempt to steal the crown and other ornaments of majesty. Well has it been asked,[c] "was it not a shameless reign, in which no farther remembrance of this good and faithful servant was delivered to posterity?"

Near the middle of the aisle is buried George Holmes, esq., who died February the 19th 1748. He was the first vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, and, for about sixty years, belonged to the office of his Majesty's Records, of which he was a long time deputy-keeper. In the same vault is also interred Robert Lemon, esq. who was likewise, for near fifty years, a worthy and much respected officer in the same establishment. He died December the 19th 1813, aged eighty-four years.

---

[c] Pennant's Account of London.

Besides the monuments above described, and others of less note, in the floor there are several ancient slabs on which have formerly been brass plates, bearing curious effigies and other memorials, long since torn away and lost.

In the reigns of King Henry the Third and Edward the First, the chaplains, who performed divine service in this church or chapel of Saint Peter, received stipends of fifty shillings per annum at the exchequer for their support, which, at that period, was the general allowance to the king's chaplains at Windsor, Winchester, and other royal residences throughout the kingdom.[d]

In lieu of this stipend, a yearly rent of sixty shillings, arising from premises in Candlewick street, in London, was afterwards granted to support a chaplain, denominated a rector, who celebrated mass here every day. This regulation continued till the year 1354, when King Edward the Third, "for the honor of the holy church, and that the sacraments and other divine services might be better administered to his officers and servants residing in the Tower," converted this chapel into a sort of collegiate church,[e] establishing in it three chaplains in addition to the said rector; and for their support, confirmed to them the above-named rent of sixty shillings; and moreover, granted a rent of thirty-one shillings and eight-pence, issuing yearly out of tenements on Tower hill and in Petty Wales; another rent of five shillings near the hospital of Saint Catherine; a certain custom arising from stal-boats, wears, and other engines, on the river Thames, which he had been accustomed to receive by the hands of the constable of the Tower; and the sum of ten marks to be received in half-yearly portions at the exchequer; besides the sum of twenty shillings from the constable of the Tower; ten shillings from the clerk of the mint, and thirteen shillings and four-pence from the master of the mint, which they voluntarily agreed to give every year, out of their respective fees, to the said rector and chaplains, and their successors; and also one penny per week, which each workman and teller of coins in the said mint, agreed in like manner to give out of their wages.[f]

---

[d] Rot. Liberat. and Claus. temp. Reg. Hen. III. et Edw. I.

[e] Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 321.

This grant of King Edward III. to the church or chapel of Saint Peter, was confirmed[g] by each of his successors down to King Edward the Fourth, who, in place of a rector and chaplains, instituted a dean and three canons, of whom one was to be sub-dean, another treasurer, and the third precentor; incorporating them under the title of the "dean and canons of the royal free chapel of the king's household within the Tower of London."[h]

This grant, which invested them, among various other privileges, with the power of acquiring, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain, possessions to the value of one hundred pounds per annum, appears to have been rendered ineffectual by the king's death, before the full accomplishment of his intention.

The royal free chapel of Saint Peter ad Vincula was exempt from all episcopal authority, till King Edward the Sixth, by his letters patent, in the fourth year of his reign, subjected it to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London;[i] which letters were afterwards confirmed by Queen Mary.[k]

In the reign of King James the First a dispute arose about the solemnization of marriages and christenings in this chapel, and a Mr. Hayes, the then curate, was put in confinement by the high commission for performing those ordinances; but sir William Waade, the lieutenant of the Tower, demanded and inforced his release:[l] the question was, nevertheless, still agitated and about the year 1620, Mr. Hubbock the rector, and his son, the curate, were for the same cause, by the archbishop of Canterbury, branded with the sentence of excommunication;

---

[f] Rot. Pat. de anno 28 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 22.

[g] Rot. Pat. 16 Ric. II. p. 3. m. 15. Ibid. 4 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 7. et 6 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 9. Ibid. 8 Hen. V. m. 5. Ibid. 18 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 15. Ibid. 27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 16.

[h] Rot. Pat. 22 et 23 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 7. in Turr. Lond.

[i] Newcourt'sRepertorium, vol. i. p. 530, et Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. VI.

[k] Newcourt, p. 530.

[l] MS. penes constab. Turris.

which was published on the following Sunday in Barking and Saint Catherine's churches:[m] the right, however, was soon afterwards fully established, and has since been enjoyed without interruption.

The advowson of this chapelry is in the crown, and the chaplain, or rector, receives an annual stipend of 115*l.* 5*s.* from the exchequer. King Edward the Fourth conferred the living on Richard Martyn, clerk,[n] one of his privy counsellors, and afterwards chancellor of Ireland,[o] and bishop of St. David's;[p] it was subsequently enjoyed by Dr. Fitz Herbert;[q] and Henry the Eighth gave it to John Dunmowe, afterwards bishop of Limerick, and the king's proctor at Rome.[r]

The late king appointed the Rev. William Coxe, A.M. F.R. and A.S. archdeacon of Wilts, and rector of Bemerton, author of the well-known travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, and many other works of distinction; and he has been recently succeeded b the Rev. Andrew Irvine, M.A.

Behind the church or chapel of Saint Peter, there was, a an early period, a small cell or hermitage,[s] of which we find frequent mention in records of the reign of King Henry III. It was inhabited by a recluse, who daily received a penny of the king's charity.[t] In one place it is noticed as the reclusory, or hermitage of St. Peter;[u] in another, as that of St. Eustace.[x] It was in the king's gift,[y] and seems to have been bestowed on either sex.

---

[m] MS. penes constab. Turris.

[n] Rot. Pat. 15 Edw. IV. p. 3. m. 10.

[o] Pat. 17 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 18.

[p] Ibid. 22 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 14.

[q] MS. penes constab. Turr.

[r] Ibid.

[s] Rot. Claus. 21 Hen. III. m. 14.; 35 Hen. III. m. 5.; 37 Hen. III. m. 2.; 46 Hen. III. m. 15.

[t] Rot. Liberat. 21 Hen. III. m. 11. et Claus. 40. Hen. III. m. 15.

[u] Liberat. 21 Hen. III. m. 11.

[x] Mandatum est Ricardo de Shireburn' et Rogero Scissori quod habere facient recluso Sancti Eustachii Turris Lond' unam robam sibi convenientem, de dono Regis. T. R. apud Gillingham xii. die Dec'. *Per Regem.—Claus.* 37 *Hen. III. m.* 21.

[y] Rex dedit Idoneæ de Boclaund' reclusorium quod est juxta ecclesiam beati Petri infra ballium Turris Lond'. Et mandatum est constabulario ejusdem Turris quod eidem Idoneæ de prædicto reclusorio plenam seisinam habere faciat.—*Claus.* 37 *Hen. III. m.* 2.

THE LIEUTENANT'S HOUSE.

The lodgings of the lieutenant of the Tower, now occupied by the major, or resident governor, are situated in the south-west angle of the inner inclosure. It is a large inconvenient old building, chiefly of timber, erected about the latter end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth; but has since undergone various alterations and repairs. The only part of it worthy of notice, is a room on the second floor; in which are some rude paintings;[z] a monument,[a] intended to perpetuate the infamy of the conspirators concerned in the gunpowder plot, and a bust of King James the First.

The monument is situated in the wall on the right hand side of the room, about four feet from the floor, and is inclosed by a pair of folding doors. It is formed of different coloured marbles, inlaid with five oval plates, bearing inscriptions which are copied in the following pages. The middle compartment, which is the largest, gives an account of the conspiracy: another contains the names of the conspirators; and on a third are those of the commissioners appointed to examine them.[b] Above, ranged in a line on the cornice, are the arms of the commissioners, and at one end, those of sir Edward Coke, knight, then attorney-general; at the other, the coat of sir William Waade, knight, lieutenant of the Tower, and below, the same quartering;—Gules, a chevron between three boars' heads couped, argent;—Gules, three garbs, Or;—Or, two bars azure in chief three water bugetts, Gules.

Jacobvs Magnvs Magnæ Britaniæ
rex, pietate, jvstitia, prvdentia, doctrina, fortitvdine,
clementia, ceterisq. virtvtibvs regiis clariss'; Christianæ

---

[z] These are now covered over with wainscot.

[a] Erected in 1608, by sir William Waade, lieutenant of the Tower, who also placed the bust there. — An engraving of the monument appears in the Archaeologia, vol. xii.

[b] These were Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury; Henry Howard, earl of Northampton; Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham; Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk; Edward Somerset, earl of Worster; Charles Blunt, earl of Devon; John Ereskin, earl of Marr; George Hume, earl of Dunbar; all knights of the Garter; and sir John Popham, knight, Lord Chief-Justice.

fideî, salvtis pvblicæ, pacis vniversalis propvgnator, favtor,
avctor acerrimvs, avgvstiss', avspicatiss'.
Anna Regina Frederici 2. Danorv̄ Regis invictiss[i] filia sereniss[a]
Henricvs princeps, natvræ ornamentis, doctrinæ præsidiis, gratiæ
mvneribvs, instrvctiss'; nobis & natvs & a deo datvs.
Carolvs dvx Eboracensis divîna ad omnem virtvtem indole.
Elizabetha vtrivsq. soror Germana, vtroque parente, dignissima.
Hos, velvt pvpillam ocvli tenellam
providvs mvni, procvl impiorvm
impetv alarvm tvarvm intrepidos
conde svb vmbra.

Robertvs Cecil, comes Sarisbvriensis sv̄mvs & regis
secretarivs & Angliæ thesavrarivs, clariss' patris
& de repvb. meritissimi filivs, in paterna mvnera
svccessor longe dignissimvs;
Henricvs, comes Northamptoniæ, qvinq. portvv̄ prefectvs, &
privati sigilli cvstos, disertorv̄ litteratissimvs, litteratorvm disertissimvs;
Carolvs comes Nottingamiæ, magnvs Angliæ admirallvs
victoriosvs;
Thomas Svffolciæ comes, regis camerarivs splendidissimvs,
tres viri nobilissimi ex antiqva Howardorv̄ familia dvcvmq.
Norfolciæ prosapia;
Edwardvs Somersetvs comes Wigorniæ, eqvis regiis præfectvs
ornatissimvs;
Carolvs Blvnt comes Devoniæ, Hyberniæ prorex & pacificator;
Joannes Areskinvs illvstris Marriæ comes, præcipvarv̄ in Scotia
arcivm præfectvs;
Georgivs Hvmivs Dvmbari comes, Scotiæ thesavrarivs
prvdentissim';
omnes illvstriss' ordinis garteri milites.
Joannes Popham, miles, jvsticiarivs Angliæ capitalis,
& justiciæ consvltissimvs.

“ Deo opt: max: trivno, sospitatori, & tantæ, tam atrocis, tamq. incredibilis in regem clementiss: in reginam sereniss': in divinæ indolis & optimæ spei principem, cæteramq. progeniem regiam, et in omnem omnivm ordinem, & nobilitatis antiqvæ, & fortitvdines avitæ, et pietatis castissimæ, & justitiæ sanctissimæ florem præcipvvm, conjurationis exequendæ nitrosi pvlveris svbjecti inflamatione, christianæ veræq. religionis extingvendæ fvriosa libidine, et regni stirpitvs evertendi nefaria cvpiditate, a Jesvitis Romanensibvs, perfidiæ catholicæ & impietatis viperinæ avtoribvs & assertoribvs, aliisq. ejvsdem amentiæ scelerisq. patratoribvs & sociis svsceptæ, & in ipso pestis derepentæ inferendæ articvlo (salvtis anno + 1605 + mensis Novembris die quinto) tam præter spem, qvam svpra fidem mirifice et divinitvs detectæ averrvnco, et vindici, grates qvantas animi capere possent maximas et immortales, a nobis omnibvs, et posteris nostris haberi et agi Gvlielmvs Waade miles tvrri a domino rege præfectvs, posito perpetvo hoc monvmento volvit, die nono mensis Octb. anno regni Jacobi prime * sexto, an̄o dn̄i 1608."

CONJVRATORV̄ NOMINA, AD PERPETVĀ IPSORV̄ INFAMIAM ET TANTÆ DIRITATIS DETESTATIONEM SEMPITERNAM.

		Thomas Winter	Thomas Percy
		Robert Winter	Robert Catesby
	Henry Garnet	John Winter	John Wright
Monachi	John Gerrard	Gvy Fawkes	Christopher Wright
salvtare	OswaldTes̃ond	Thomas Bates.	Francis Tresham
Jesv nomē	EdwardHall	Everard Digby,k	Thōas Abbington
ementiti.	Hamō	Am'. Rookewood	Edmōd Baineham,k
	Baldwī	John Gravnt	Wilm Stanley,k
		Robert Keyes	Hughe Owen
		Henry Morgā	

מֵגלה עַמֻקות מכי־תָשֶׁף וַיֵּצא לֶאֹוד צלְמֶוֹת׃

Pandit, et in lucem profert de nocte profunda
Terra immersa alte et fati caligine cœca.

---

* Sic, pro PRIMI.—Under this inscription is the cypher of Sir W. Waade.

"Hi omnes illustriss^{mi} viri, qvorṽ nomina ad sempiternam eorvm memoriam posteritati consecrandam proxime svpra ad lineam posita svnt, vt regi a consiliis, ita ab eo delegati qvæsitores, reis singvlis incredibili diligentia ac cvra sæpivs appellatis, nec minore solertia et dexteritate pertentatis eorṽ animis, eos svis ipsorvm inter se collatis responsionibvs convictos, ad volvntariam confessionem adegervnt; et latentem nefarie conjvrationis seriem, remq. omnem vt hactenvs gesta; et porro per eos gerenda esset, svmma fide ervtā æterna cvm lavde sva in lvcem prodvxervnt, adeo vt divina singvlari providentia effectṽ sit, vt tam præsens, tamq. feda tempestas a regia majestate, liberisq. regiis et omni regno depvlsa, in ipsos avtores eorṽq, socios redvndarit."

At the ends of the monument, slightly scratched in a different character on the cornice, are the following lines:—

Inclite Rex, tu es Vinclū per quod Resp. cohæret ;
Tu spiritus Vitalis quem tot millia trahunt.
Nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi onus et preda,
Si mens illa Imperii subtrahatur.

Rex, Regina, pius Princeps, regni omnis et ordo
Destinata truci præda voranda rogo
Vipereo a genere et graviter spirantib' Hydris ;
Virus Jesuadum de feritate lupe
Spemq. fidemq. supra eripitur divinitus, Ergo
Ordo habeat grates omnis agatq. Deo.

In nos, sancte Parens, quot vigilantie
Et quam mira tuæ pignora suppetunt ?
Quæ nec mens acie cernere languida
Possit, nec numero lingua retexere.

Custodis Custos sum, Carcer Carceris, arcis
Arx, atque Argu^{s} Argus ; sum speculæ specula :
Sum vinclū in inclis ; Compes cum Compede clavū*
Firmo hærens teneo tentus habens habeor.
Dum regi regnoq. salus stet firma quieta
Splendida sim Compes Compedis usque licet.

---

* Sic pro VINCLIS.

It was in the apartment in which the above-mentioned monument is fixed, that the commissioners met to examine the conspirators, and it has thence derived the name of the Council Chamber.

The bust of King James is also fixed in the wall, on the same side of the room as the monument: it is well executed, in imitation of bronze: the monarch is represented with an animated countenance, and wearing a sort of Spanish hat with feathers.

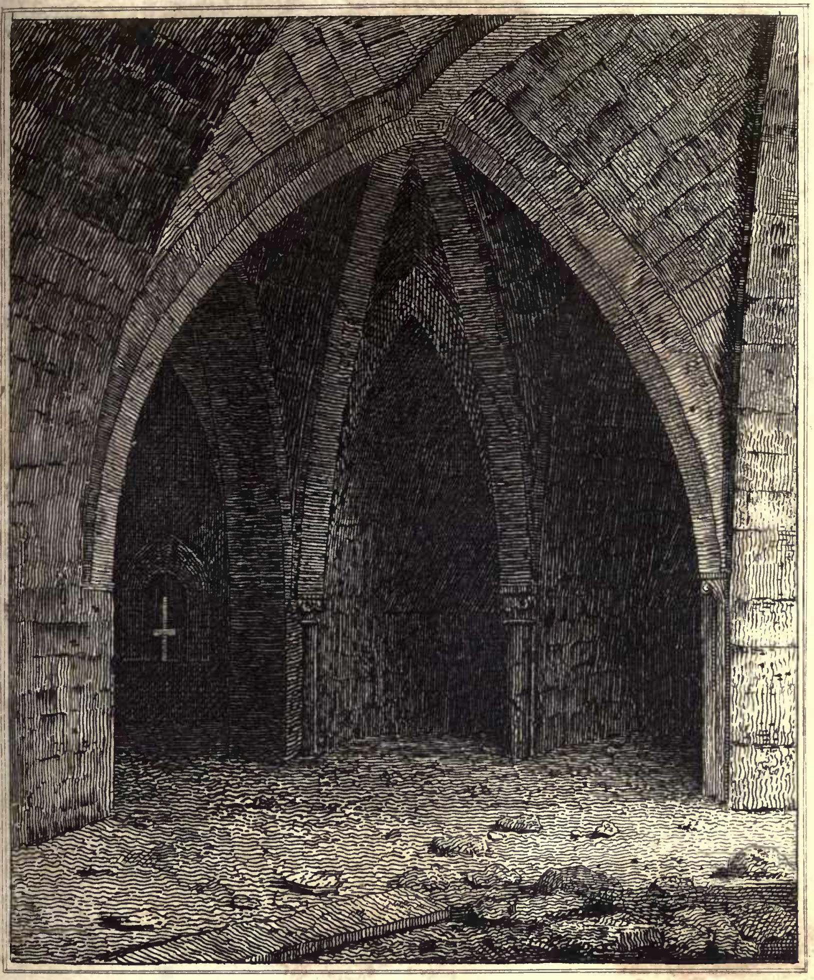
THE BELL TOWER.

This tower is situated immediately behind the last-mentioned building, and takes its name from being surmounted by a small wooden turret containing the alarm bell of the garrison. It is of a circular form, and consists of only one floor above the ground; the walls are of great thickness, and light is admitted to the lower part by narrow embrasures, or loop-holes. The architecture of the basement floor is worthy of particular notice; it has a vaulted roof of a very curious construction, with deep recesses in the walls.

This tower now forms part of the domestic offices of the resident governor, but has formerly been used as a prison, and derives some celebrity from having been the place of confinement of that great martyr, Fisher, bishop of Rochester:[c] it is also said to have been that in which the princess, afterwards queen, Elizabeth, was lodged, when imprisoned in the tower by her bigotted and cruel sister, Queen Mary: this tradition, however, is unsupported by any historical facts, and it is much more probable that she was confined, during that period, in some of the royal apartments, which were situate in a different part of the fortress. At the entrance to the uppermost room the following anonymous and undated inscription, rudely cut in stone, has been left by some prisoner:—"bi . tortvre . stravnge . my . trovth . was . tried . yet . of . my . lybertie . denied : ther . for . reson . hath . me . perswaded : that . pasyens . mvst . be . ymbrasyd : thogh . hard . fortvne . chasyth . me . wyth . smart . yet . pasyens . shall . prevayl."

---

[c] Fuller's Church History, lib. v. p. 203.



Vaulted Room in the Bell Tower.

Publd. May 1 1830 by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin, 62 Cheapside.

In an apartment adjoining the Bell Tower, there has recently been discovered an ancient chimney-piece, on which is the following inscription neatly cut in capitals: "*Upon the twenty daie of June in the yere of our Lord a thousande five hundred three score and five, was the Right honorable countes of Lennox Grace commettede prysoner to thys lodgynge for the marreage of her sonne My Lord Henry Darnle and the Quene of Scotland. Here is their names that do wayte upon her noble Grace in thys plase.—M. Eliz*^{h}*. Hussey, M. Jane Baily, M. Eliz*^{h}*. Chamberlein, M. Robert Partington, Edward Cuffin, anno Domini* 1566."

The next fortification, in the line of the inner enclosure, is

THE BEAUCHAMP, OR COBHAM TOWER,

Which stands at the distance of 141 feet from the last-mentioned building, and has a communication with it by means of a paved footway along the top of the ballium wall. In the reign of Henry the Eighth it was called the Beauchamp Tower, and is at present most commonly known by that title, which is derived, probably, from its having been the place of confinement of Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who was imprisoned in the Tower previous to his banishment to the Isle of Man, in 1397; as the latter appellation is from the Cobhams, some of whom were certainly confined here in the reign of Queen Mary, having been implicated in Wyat's conspiracy.

This, like the rest of the ancient buildings, was formerly embattled, and consists of two stories, ascended by a circular stone staircase. The plan of the first floor in the first edition of this work shews the form and dimensions of the building, and, from the accompanying interior view, it will be seen, that the style of architecture corresponds with that which prevailed in the time of King John, and the early part of the reign of King Henry the Third; the period when most of the small towers in the inner ward were erected.

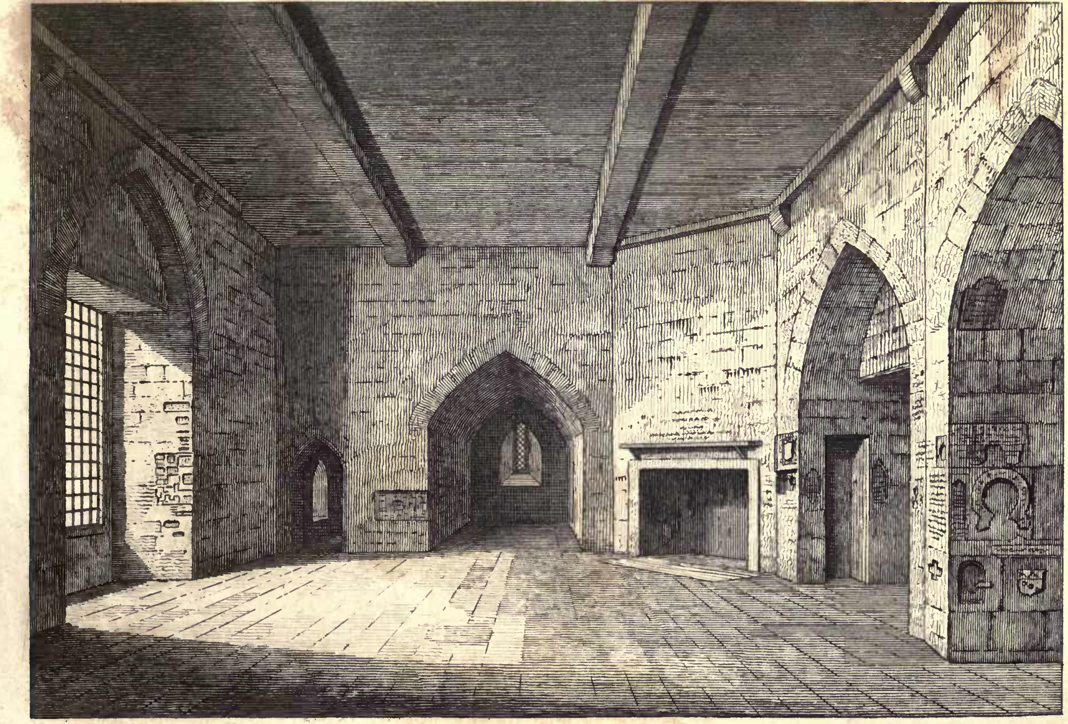
The Beauchamp Tower, from its having been one of the principal state-prisons, and the place wherein many illustrious and unfortunate persons have been confined, excites a degree of interest, which is heightened by the numerous inscriptions, coats of arms, and other devices,[d] left on its dreary walls by those unhappy sufferers. In old times state delinquents were generally subjected to the meanest and most severe restrictions: the use of books, and even many of the necessary comforts of life, being, not unfrequently, denied them. In that wretched situation they appear to have had recourse to this species of amusement, to beguile their solitary hours, and alleviate the horrors of imprisonment. Some have left memorials of their faith; others recorded their names and the dates of their confinement: some have breathed forth sentiments of piety and resignation; others have repined at the will of Heaven.

Of the barbarous treatment experienced by state prisoners in former times we may, from many others, select, as remarkable examples, the miseries endured by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; and that illustrious peer, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; both imprisoned in the time of King Henry the Eighth. The former, who fell a victim to his opinion of the pope's supremacy, thus concludes a letter[e] from his prison to Cromwell, then secretary of state: "Forthermoor I byseche yow to be gode master un to me in my necessite; for I have neither shirt, nor sute, nor yett other clothes, that ar necessary for me to wear, but that bee ragged, and rent to shamefully. Notwithstondyng I myght easyly suffer that, if thei wold keep my body warm. But my dyett allso, God knoweth how slendar it is at meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may nott awaye but with a few kynd of meats, which if I want, I decaye forthwith, & fall in to coafes & diseases of my bodye, & kan not keep myself in health. And, ass our Lord knoweth, I have no thyng laft un to me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own purs layeth out for me, to his great hynderance. Wherfoor gode master secretarye eftsones I byseche yow to have sum pittee uppon me, and latt me have such thyngs ass ar neces-

---

[d] These memorials were discovered in 1796, and were, for the most part, communicated in the same year to the Society of Antiquaries, with some interesting observations by their secretary, the rev. Mr. Brand. Many of them, however, will be found to have been, at that time, very inaccurately represented.—*Vide Archæologia, vol. xiii. pp.* 68. 99.

[e] Bibl. Cotton. Cleopat. E. VI., fol. 172.



Prison Room in Beauchamp Tower.

Drawn 1802.

Published May 15.1830, by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin. 62, Cheapside.

sary for me in myn age, & specially for my health. And allso that itt may pleas yow by yo^{r} hygh wysdom̄, to move the Kyng's Highness to take me un to his gracioss favor agane, & to restore me un to my liberty, owt of this cold and paynefull enprysonment; whearby ye shall bynd me to be your pore beadsman̄ for ever un to Allmyghty God, who ever have yow in his proteccion & custoody.

"Other twayne thyngs I mustt allso desyer uppon yow: thatt oon is, that itt may pleas yow that I may take some preest with in the Towr, by the assyngment of master levetenant, to hear my confession againste this hooly tyme:

"That other is, that I may borow sum bowks to styr my devocion mor effectuelly thes hooly dayes, for the comforth of my sowl. This I byseche yow to grant me of your charitie. And thus our Lord send yow a mery Christenmass & a comforthable, to your hart's desyer. At the Towr the xxii. day of December.

"Yo^{r} pore Beadsman̄. Jo. Roff'."

The duke of Norfolk, who is said to have escaped the block by the death of Henry on the very morning appointed for his execution, in a petition to the lords,[f] from the Tower, besought that he might have some books which were then at Lambeth; for, says he, "unless I have books to read, ere long I fall asleep, and after I wake again I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen years," farther requesting, "that he might have a ghostly father sent to him, and that he might receive his maker;" and "that he might have mass, and to be bound upon his life to speak no word to him that shall say mass, which he may do in the other chamber and I to remain within." He also begged to have license in the day-time to walk in the chamber without, and in the night to be locked in as he then was. "At my first coming,' says he, "I had a chamber without a-days. I would gladly have license to send to London, to buy one book of St. Augustin's, *de Civitate Dei;* and one of Josephus, *de Antiquitatibus;* and another of Sabellicus, who doth declare, most of any book I have read, how the bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes, by their unwise sufferance." His grace moreover begged of their lordships that he might be allowed sheets to lie upon!

---

[f] Herbert in vitâ et regn. Hen. VIII.

The chief prison-room in this tower is a spacious apartment on the first floor; and adjoining it are two small cells, probably intended for the better securing of prisoners by night. In the walls of the former are four large recesses, in each of which there was a narrow embrasure; but these have of late years been stopped up, and, in lieu of them, two additional windows made towards the east. The inscriptions, most of which are still tolerably perfect on the walls, are referred to in the annexed plan, in order as described in the following pages.

On the left-hand side of the entrance to the room is the name MARMADUKE NEVILE, of whom we find no certain account; but there is reason to conjecture that he was of the family of the Neviles, earls of Westmorland, and, probably, concerned in the rebellion of 1569, wherein they took so active a part; and for which, Charles Nevile, the last of his surname who bore the title of earl of Westmorland, together with some of his relations, and about fifty others of noble extraction, were attainted of high treason, and outlawed.

Near to the above, is a large piece of sculpture, represented in the annexed plate, consisting of the arms of the family of Peverell,—three wheat-sheaves; on one side of which is a representation of the crucifix, bearing the initials of its superscription, and a bleeding heart: there is also part of the figure of a skeleton, with an illegible inscription underneath, and the word "Peverel." The same person has likewise left, on the opposite side of the room, another carving in the form of a horse-shoe, with a mutilated sentence round it, beginning with the words ADORAMUS TE, and below, his name, THOMAS PEVEREL. Concerning whom no information has hitherto been discovered: it is probable, however, that he was some person of the Roman catholic communion, and imprisoned, perhaps, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, for opposing the protestant church. Both these inscriptions are without date.

On the right-hand side of the first recess is a shield bearing the following memorial in old Italian:[g]—Dispoi : che : vole : la : fortvna : che : la : mea : speransa : va : al : vento : pianger : ho : volio : el : tempo : perdvdo : e : semper : stel : me : tristo : e : discontēto . Wilim : Tyrrel . 1541.

No account has been left us of this prisoner; but from the language adopted, it may be conjectured that he was the William Tyrrel from whom we find two letters[h] dated at Malta, in 1534, and addressed to the lord prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in England, concerning the war with the Turks, and on the subject of Clement West, an English knight, who had been degraded by a chapter of the Order of Malta, for having, in defiance of the regulations, borne a badge with King Henry the Eighth's arms, and having been otherwise contumacious: for which he was stript of the grand cross, deprived of the office of turcupulary, and imprisoned; but afterwards restored.

Whatever might have been the cause of William Tyrrel's confinement, it seems not improbable but that he was under sentence of death when he made the above melancholy inscription; which is one of those genuine effusions of anguish that may be styled in the pathetic language of the Book of Psalms, "the sorrowful sighing of the prisoner."

The next inscription is one, considerably defaced, on the left-hand side of the fire-place: the words OMNES . HONORATE . FRATERNITATEM . DILIGITE . DEVM . TIMETE . REGEM. may be made out; but the name and date, which appear to have been subscribed, are wholly illegible.

Over the fire-place is the interesting autograph[i] of Philip Howard earl of Arundel, eldest son of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572, for aspiring to the bed of Mary Queen of Scots. It consists of the following words: *Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo,*

---

[g] "Since fortune hath chosen that my hope should go to the wind to complain, I wish the time were destroyed; my planet being ever sad and unpropitious."

[h] Bibl. Cotton. Otho. C. IX. 48, 49.

[i] Engravings of this, and many other of these curious carvings, are in the first edition of this work.

tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro. Arundell. June 22. 1587.

Gloria et honore eum coronasti Domine.
In memoria eterna erit justus.
At . . .

This unhappy peer has also left other memorials of his piety on the walls of this once dreary habitation: in the staircase is one, in a similar character,[k] wherein he thus glories in his innocence, and the cause of his suffering: *Sicut peccati causa vinciri opprobrium est, ita e contra, pro Christo custodiæ vincula sustinere, maxima gloria est. Arundell . May* . 28 . 1587.

The above pious reflections, to which the earl has subscribed his name, are "remarkably adapted," says Mr. Brand, "to the character that has been left of him; according with the austerities, which, Camden tells us, he used to practise; and the tenor of his behaviour, which other accounts have transmitted to us, as not unbecoming the primitive ages of the Christian church."

The sentences subjoined to the former, seem to have been added, by way of eulogium on his memory, probably by some subsequent Roman catholic prisoner.

By the attainder of his father, the title of duke of Norfolk being forfeited, this Philip was called earl of Arundel, as owner of Arundel Castle in Sussex, by descent from his mother; it having, in the eleventh of Henry VI. been adjudged in parliament[l] to be a local dignity, so that the possessors thereof should enjoy that title of honor.[m] Whereupon he was summoned as earl of Arundel to the parliament which began at Westminster, January the 16th, 1580.[n]

In the same parliament he was also restored in blood,[o] and afterwards made a privy counsellor; but this cheerful dawn of fortune was soon overshadowed by the dark clouds of adversity. Robbed of the queen's favour, by the artifices of the earl of Leicester and secretary Walsingham, he first experienced the frowns of majesty, and ere long tasted of the bitter cup of its displeasure. In 1584 he was confined to his own house[p] on pretence of practising against the government in favor of that unhappy queen, on whose account his father had been brought to an untimely end. The earl, says Camden, "had privily reconciled himself to the popish religion, living likewise a very austere life;" and Queen Elizabeth during this restraint, offered to restore him to liberty, if he would carry the sword of state before her to chapel, and there attend the service of the established church; but this he conscientiously refused: and, his enemies being unable to substantiate any charge against him, he at length regained his freedom. Alarmed by this attack upon his liberty, and terrified by the severity of certain laws soon after made against Jesuits and priests,[q] he resolved to seek in another country that peace and security which his own denied him. He accordingly wrote a long and dutiful letter to the queen,[r] informing her of the reasons which had impelled him to that measure, without her royal will. He complained of having been discountenanced by her majesty, without any known cause: of his enemies being allowed to triumph in his disgrace: of being twice called before the council, and accused of some things, so trivial as to be ridiculous, and of others, so unlikely that they were incredible: yet, "after answering all these objections, he was confined to his house for fifteen weeks, without the least offence being proved against him."

---

[k] This has of late years been plastered over, and is now invisible.

[l] Rot. Parl. 11 Hen. VI. m. 9. in Turr. Lond.

[m] Collins's Peerage, by sir E. Bridges, vol. i. p. 108.

[n] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 528.

[o] Diar. domûs Procerum in parliament'.

"Wherefore," says he, "after I had safely escaped these storms, and when I was clearly delivered from all my troubles, I began to remember y^e^ heavy sentence w^ch^ had lighted upon those three of my ancestors w^ch^ immediately went before me. The first, being my great-grandfather, who was so free from all suspicion and shew of any fault, as, because they had no colour of matter to bring him to his trial, they attainted him by act of parliament without calling him to his answer. The second, being my grandfather, who was brought to his trial and condemned for such trifles as amazed y^{e} standers-by at that tyme, and are ridiculous at this day, to all that heare y^{e} same." And the last, "being my father, being arraigned according to lawe, and condemned by his peers, God forbidd but I should thinke that his tryers did that, whereunto theyr consciences did lead them. And yet, give me leave, I most humbly beseech your Ma^{ty}, to say thus much, That howsoever he might be, eyther unwittingly, or unwillingly, drawne into greater danger, then himselfe did eyther see or imagine; yet, all his actions did plainly declare, and his greatest enemyes must of necessity own, that he never carryed any disloyall minde to your Ma^{ty}, nor intended any undutiful act to his country."

---

[p] Camden's Elizabeth, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 503.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Harleian MSS. No. 787.

"And when I had in this sort both fully and thoroughly considered y^{e} fortune of these three, w^{ch} was past, I called to mind my own, w^{ch} was present; and I did think it impossible, by y^{e} shew of this rough beginning, but that I might follow them in their fortunes, as I had succeeded them in their place; for, I considered y^{e} greatness of my enemies' power to overthrow me, and y^{e} weakness of my ability to defend myself: I perceived by my last troubles how narrowly my life was sought, and how easy your Majesty was drawn to carry a suspicious opinion of me: I saw by the example of my ancestors, and by my past danger, how innocency was no sufficient warrant to protect me in safety: I knew myself, and besides was charged by your council, to be of that religion w^{ch} was counted odious and dangerous to your state: Lastly and principally, I weighed in what miserable estate and doubtful case my soul had remained if my life had been taken away, as it was not unlikely, in my former troubles."—"Wherefore, whilst I had opportunity, I thought it best to take y^{e} course w^{ch} might be sure to save my soul from the danger of shipwreck, although my body were subject to y^{e} perill of misfortune."

"Long," adds the unfortunate earl, "was I in debating with myself what course to take; for when I considered in what continual danger I remained here in England, both by y^{e} lawes heretofore established, and by a new act lately made, I did thinke it my safest way to depart y^{e} realm and abide in some other place, where I might live without danger to my conscience, and without offence to your majesty; without y^{e} servile subjection to my enemies, and without this daily peril to my life. And yet I was drawn by such forcible persuasions to be of another opinion, as I could not easily resolve on w^{ch} part to settle and ground my determination: for, on y^{e} one side, my native country; my friends; my wife; my kinsfolk, did invite me to stay: and, on y^{e} other side, y^{e} misfortune of my house; y^{e} power of my adversaryes; y^{e} remembrance of my former troubles, and y^{e} knowledge of my present danger, did hasten me to go."

After entreating the queen to appeal to his greatest enemies, if under like perilous circumstances they would not have taken similar steps for their preservation, he continues, "Wherefore as it is a true token of a noble mind, and hath always been noted for certain argument of your majesty's gracious disposition, to respect wth y^{e} eyes of favor all afflicted persons; so can I not be brought a whit to fear, that your majesty will make me y^{e} first example of your severe and rigorous dealing, in laying your displeasure upon me, who am inforced to forsake my country; to forego my friends; to leave my living; and loose y^{e} hope of all worldly pleasures and earthly com̄odities; if either I will not certainly consent to y^{e} destruction of my body, or willingly yield to y^{e} manifest endangering of my soul; y^{e} least of w^{ch} is so intolerable for any christian man to endure, as I hope it cannot be thought any undutifulness in me, if I seek by good and lawful means to avoid so great an inconvenience. And though y^{e} loss of temporal com̄odities be so grievous unto flesh and blood, as I could not desire to live, if I were not comforted by y^{e} hope of eternal happiness in another world, and with y^{e} remembrance of his mercy, for whom I endured all this, & who did endure ten thousand times more for me. Yet, I assure your Ma^{ty}, that your displeasure should be more unpleasant to me than y^{e} bitterness of other losses, and a greater grief than y^{e} greatest of my misfortunes."

His lordship had designed that this letter should have been delivered to the queen immediately after his departure;[s] but in this he was disappointed: it fell into the hands of the ministry: and himself, whilst on the point of setting sail from an obscure creek, on the coast of Sussex, was apprehended, through the treachery of his own servants, and conveyed prisoner to the Tower.[t]

A charge was now brought against him in the Star-chamber, of having supported Romish priests contrary to law; of having holden intelligence with cardinal Allen, and Parsons the Jesuit, the queen's enemies; of having publicly, in writing, questioned the justice of the kingdom; and that he had intentions of departing the realm without license.[u] The earl protested his obedience to the queen, and love to his country: and, in extenuation of the faults imputed to him, pleaded his affection to the catholic religion, and his ignorance of the laws:[x] he was, nevertheless, obliged to submit to the censure of the bench; was fined ten thousand pounds, and sentenced to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure.[y]

Here, however, ended not his troubles: the attempted invasion of the Spaniards in 1588, plunged him into yet deeper misfortunes. "He was still confined in the Tower," says Carte, "when the Spanish armada entered the channel, and could not forbear expressing his joy at the news: he had likewise caused a mass of the Holy Ghost to be said for its success; and a course of devotions to be used for twenty-four hours together." These things highly incensed the queen, and furnished his enemies with ground for attempting his final destruction. From the moment of this new displeasure, the nature of his confinement was changed: he had before experienced some degree of lenity and kindness, but was now made a close prisoner, and treated with all the severity, with which the religious zeal of the age was so strongly tinctured. In this state his lordship remained till the 14th of April in the following year, when he was arraigned of high treason,[z] and tried before twenty-five peers in Westminster-hall. His lordship appeared in a wrought velvet gown, furred with martins, laid about with gold lace, and fastened with gold buttons; a black satin doublet; a pair of velvet hose; and a high black hat. The points of his indictment consisted of those, on which he had formerly been convicted in the Star-chamber; together with five additional articles, whereby he was charged "with engaging to assist cardinal Allen in his attempts to re-establish popery; suggesting that the queen was unfit to govern; procuring mass to be said for the success of the Spanish armada; intending to withdraw himself beyond the seas, to serve under the duke of Parma against his native country; and being privy to the bull of pope Sixtus V. transferring the queen's dominion to Philip II. king of Spain."[a] The offences which before had been charged upon him as contempts and misdemeanours, were now brought against him as treasons: two emblematical figures,[b] found in his lordship's house, were also produced in evidence; it was urged, "that he was guilty of treason, because a papist; that the queen of Scots had considered him as one of her best friends; that cardinal Allen had spoken of him as the chief hope of the Roman Catholics in England; and that his letter to Queen Elizabeth plainly accused the national justice, with regard to his father's trial." The earl pointed out several inconsistencies in the indictment; he exposed the mean artifices of his prosecutors; and so ably answered to the several points of his accusation, that the only article of high treason proved against his lordship, was, that of being reconciled to the church of Rome; upon which his judges unanimously found him guilty,[c] and he accordingly received sentence of death; but, his conviction being solely on a religious account, he was reprieved from time to time, and suffered to languish in the Tower, where he passed the remainder of his days in exercises of devotion. After condemnation the earl besought his judges to intercede with her majesty that his wife might be allowed to visit him with his infant son, whom he had never seen, having been born since his imprisonment; but Elizabeth, who was a stranger to the feelings of a parent, even denied him this favour: towards the end of his life, however, he earnestly renewed his petition; and she is said to have been then so far moved with compassion, as to offer him his pardon; his liberty; restoration of his titles and estates; and the company of his wife and child, on condition that he would forsake the faith, for which he had been so long and so great a sufferer, and embrace the doctrines of the established church. All this he refused! and worn out with sorrow, was soon after called from his afflictions in this world, to the reward of his virtues in a better. He died, October the 19th, 1595, in the fortieth year of his age; "thus, as it were, compensating, by a close confinement for upwards of ten years, the fatal stroke undergone by his father, his grandfather, and great-grandfather.

---

[s] Camden's Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 504.

[t] Harleian MSS. No. 787. Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 504.

[u] Camden.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 512.

[z] Harleian MSS. No. 834. Art. 5.

---

[a] Collins's Peerage, by sir Egerton Brydges, vol. i. p. 110.

[b] One of these represented a hand shaking a snake in the fire, with the motto, *If God be with us, who can be against us?* The other, a lion without claws, with the words, *Yet still a lion.*

[c] Hargrave's State Trials. Collins's Peerage, by sir E. Brydges.

We are informed by Dodd, in his Church History,[d] that this unhappy nobleman was a zealous professor of the Catholic faith, of which he gave many remarkable proofs during his sufferings in the cause: in person, he was very tall, and rather of a swarthy complexion; but with an agreeable mixture of sweetness and grandeur in countenance, and a soul superior to all human considerations.

The earl was first buried in the Tower chapel, in the same grave with his father; but was removed in 1624, and re-interred in the church at Arundel, where, on opening a vault for the burial of Edward duke of Norfolk in 1777, the coffin was found, having on it the following inscription:[e]

"PHILIPPI comitis olim *Arund'* & *Surr'* ossa veneranda hoc loculo condita, impetratâ a *Jacobo* Rege veniâ, *Annæ* uxoris delectissimæ cura *Thomæ* filii insigni pietate a Turri *Londinensi* in hunc locum translata sunt, anno 1624. Qui primo, ob fidei Catho' professionem sub *Elizabetha* carceri mancipatus, deinde pœna pecuniaria 10,000 lib' mulctatus, tandem capitis iniquissimè condemnatus, post vitam in tristissima custodia in eadem Turri an. 10, mens. 6, sanctissimè transactum piissimè. 19. Oct. 1595. non absque veneni suspicione, in Domino obdormivit."

---

[d] Vol. ii. p. 37.

[e] Pennant's Account of London.

A late duchess of the same family is said to have procured the skull, and to have had it enchased in gold; which she kept to exalt her devotion as a relique of a martyr to religion.[f]

On the right-hand side of the fire-place is a large and well-executed piece of sculpture, by John Dudley, earl of Warwick,[g] eldest son of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and brother to Guildford Dudley, who married the unfortunate lady Jane Grey. Having taken part with his ambitious father in the rash attempt to set aside the succession, as established by King Henry the Eighth, and to place the crown on the head of lady Jane, he was arrested at Cambridge, with the duke and several others; who were all brought prisoners to the Tower on the 25th of July 1553.[h] On the eighteenth of the following month he was arraigned of high treason, together with his father and the marquis of Northampton, in Westminster-hall,[i] and condemned; but, being reprieved, died soon afterwards in prison.[k]

Under the badge of the lion and bear and ragged staff, is his name in the spelling of the age, and, around it, a border formed of oak sprigs, roses, and two other species of flowers, emblematical of the christian names of his four brothers, as it should seem from the following unfinished inscription.

YOW THAT THESE BEASTS DO WEL BEHOLD AND SE,
MAY DEME WITH EASE WHERFORE HERE MADE THEY BE,
WITH BORDERS EKE WHERIN———————————— [l]
4 BROTHERS NAMES WHO LIST TO SERCHE THE GROUND.

The names of his four brothers were, Ambrose, Robert, Guildford, and Henry; and taking it for granted that the pun, which is evidently couched under the above lines, has an allusion to them,[m] we may conjecture that the roses separated, in one corner, are meant for the name of Amb*rose*, his next eldest brother, and the oak sprigs for Robert, from *Robers:* the elucidation of the remaining part of this singular device may be left as an interesting puzzle.

---

[f] Pennant's Account of London.

[g] Mr. Brand is wrong in attributing this to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and equally so in stating Guildford Dudley to be the duke's *youngest* son, and Ambrose Dudley the *duke's brother.—Vide Archæologia, vol. xiii. p.* 69, 70.

[h] Godwin, vol. ii. p. 332. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 23.

[i] Ibid. p. 32.

[k] Godwin, vol. ii. p. 332.

[l] This line may be filled up with the words, "there may be found."

Immediately under the above-mentioned inscription of John Dudley, is a rude carving of a man in the attitude of prayer: it seems to have been left unfinished, and is without name or date. About the same part of the room there are marks of other inscriptions, but so mutilated as to be now wholly illegible.

At the entrance to the recess on the right hand side of the fire-place, are the following words, DOLOR PATIENTIA VINCITVR. G. GYFFORD. AVGVST. 8. 1586. And in another part of this chamber is a piece of sculpture by the same person, consisting of a crest, formed of a hand grasping three flowers; and, under it, a shield bearing the arms of Gifford, as given by Edmondson to the Giffords of Worcestershire, Buckinghamshire, Ireland, and Wotton-under-Edge, in Glocestershire, namely, argent, ten torteauxes, four, three, two, and one.[n] On each side of the shield is the letter G. with the date 1586, and underneath, are the words MALA CONSCIENTIA FACIT VT TVTA TIMEANTVR. G. GYFFORD.

It is most probable that these inscriptions were made by George Gyfford, one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlemen pensioners, who, in that year, was accused falsely, says Camden, of having sworn to kill her majesty, and of having drawn a considerable sum of money on that account from the duke of Guise.[o] There was, however, a doctor Gifford, about the same time concerned in Babington's conspiracy, and also a Gilbert Gifford, a priest; but it is not likely to have been this latter; for, being employed to convey letters between the fugitives in France and Mary Queen of Scots, then a prisoner in England, he shewed all the communications to secretary Walsingham, and "having acted thus far his part in the scene was sent back into France." [p]

---

[m] They were prisoners in the Tower at the same time, but were all pardoned, with the exception of Guildford; who, it is well known, was beheaded on the same morning as his unfortunate wife, Lady Jane Grey: Ambrose was restored in blood by Queen Mary, and, in 1557, was at the siege of St. Quintin's; by Queen Elizabeth he was appointed master of the ordnance, for life; created viscount Lisle, and earl of Warwick: and afterwards, for his services as captain-general of the forces in Normandy, made knight of the garter. Of Robert, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Henry was killed at the siege of St. Quintin's.

[n] Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 82.

[o] Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 515. Carleton's Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie, p. 106.

In different parts of the room are memorials of Charles Bailly: one of these, on the left hand side of the last-mentioned recess, is considerably mutilated: it consisted of a panel ornamented with lozenges, containing the following reflections; the prudence of which, experience had recently taught him.

I. H. S.

1571. *die* 10° *Aprilis.*

"*Wise men ought circumspectly to se what they do; to examine before they speake; to prove before they take in hand; to beware whose company they use; and, above al things, to whom they truste. Charles Bailly.*"

In another place we find his name, with the date 1571, and a third inscription of the same person consists of the words:—"*Principium sapientie timor Domini. I. H. S. X. P. S. Be frend to one. Be ennemye to none. Anno D.* 1571. 10. *Sept. The most unhappy man in the world is he that is not pacient in adversities; For men are not killed with the adversities they have: but with ye impacience which they suffer.*

"*Tout vient apoient, quy peult attendre. Gli sospiri ne son testimoni veri dell' angoscia mia. æt.* 29. *Charles Bailly.*"

The unhappy young man who has left us the above memorials, was an adherent to the interests of Mary Queen of Scots, and secretly engaged in her affairs abroad, whilst she was prisoner in England. He appears to have been by birth a Fleming or Brabander,[q] and not, as his name and service would indicate, a Scotchman, though perhaps of Scotch extraction. In the early part of the year in which the above inscriptions were made, being dispatched into this country by Ridolphi the Florentine, with letters in cipher, for his unfortunate mistress, and also for the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of

---

[p] Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 515.

[q] Burghley's State Papers, by Murdin, p. 7.

Ross, and lord Lumley,[r] on his arrival at Dover was seized and committed to prison,[s] where he seems to have undergone the greatest privations and misery. The packet of letters came to the hands of lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque ports, but Ross had sufficient address to get possession of it, and substitute another with less dangerous contents, which was despatched to the council.[t] Bailly, for some time after his commitment to prison, contrived to hold correspondence with the Scottish ambassador, and from one of his letters[u] we find that he once suffered the tortures of the rack without making any material disclosure; but his communications with Ross being cut off, and having a promise from lord Burghley that he should be set at liberty without stain of his honor and credit,[x] he answered all the questions which his lordship put to him. In one of his letters,[y] dated from his prison "this month of October, the seventh of my imprisonment, 1571," after most humbly beseeching his lordship "for God's sake, and for the passion which he suffred for us, to take pitie of me; and to bend your mercyfull eyes towards me, Charles Bailly, a poore prisoner and stranger," he gave a full account of all the affairs in which he had been engaged, and concluded by saying, "This being all that I can comprehend by sight, letters, or by talk, that I had to do with Rudolphi, restith no more from me, but after my prayer to God, all the queene's majestie's and your lordship's enemys knowen, to the end they may be overthrowen and destroyed, and all their purposes and enterprises broken, most humbly to beseech your lordship to take compassion of me, in putting me to liberty; assuring your lordship, that I will make othe never to serve any Scottishman agayn, or stranger, whilst I lyve, but the queene's majesty and your lordship, to whose service I have bene addicted all the tyme of my being in this realm, and have been carefull to shew it indeede; and that your lordship will consyder that I am a stranger, who have no frend at all to help me with a penny, and that I am allready naked and torne; and that all those that be touched by that, that I have allready opened to your lordship, do laughe me to scorne for this my punishment and handling, who desyre no other thing but my distruction."

---

[r] Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 434.
[s] Ibid.
[t] Ibid.
[u] Burghley's State Papers, by Murdin, p. 8.
[x] Ibid. p. 10.
[y] Ibid. pp. 15. 17.

It is probable that soon after this letter he was released, as we find no further mention concerning him. He seems to have received a good education, and besides the English, to have been acquainted with the Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian languages.[z]

Near to the second inscription of the above-mentioned prisoner is the following memorial:—1570 IHON . STORE. DOCTOR.

This John Store, or Story, was educated in the university of Oxford, chiefly in Henxey Hall, a most noted house for civilians. He was admitted bachelor of the civil law, anno 1531, and appointed professor of a new lecture, anno 1535, founded by King Henry VIII.

In the year 1537, he was chosen principal of Broadgate's Hall; and the year following created doctor of laws. Having afterwards performed remarkable services in administering justice at the siege of Bologne, under the marshal, in consideration thereof his lecture at Oxford was confirmed to him by patent, for life.

In the beginning of Edward the Sixth's reign, being a justice of the peace, and a zealous maintainer of the old religion, he appeared very forward in opposing all innovations, and hindering the people in his neighbourhood from plundering and making a prey of the goods of the church; to which purpose he made a very warm harangue at one of the quarterly meetings. This behaviour being carried to court, he was severely threatened, and soon after obliged to withdraw into Flanders, where he remained the rest of King Edward's reign. Queen Mary's accession favouring his return, he came back into England, and was considered suitably to his capacity and merits. The patent of professor in Oxford was restored to him; but this he quickly gave up for places of greater advantage. He was frequently employed in what regarded the canon law in the courts held in London; and being made chancellor of the diocese of Oxford, it engaged him to be very active in prosecuting the protestants of Queen Mary's reign. When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, Dr. Story was a member of the house of commons, and spoke so warmly against the reformation that he was committed; but finding means to make his escape, he retired once more into Flanders, where he was put into an advantageous post in the custom-house at Antwerp. It is thought that his behaviour there gave great offence to several English merchants that frequented that port, which, together with the remembrance of his having acted with an high hand against the reformers in the late reign, put some persons upon thoughts of revenge: and it was not long before they drew him into a snare. Being on a certain day called upon to visit an English ship in the harbour, belonging to one Parker, who, as it appeared, had contrived his matters beforehand, he had no sooner gone on board than Parker ordered the hatches to be nailed down upon him, and hoisting sail, brought him over into England, about the beginning of the year 1570. Afterwards, being committed prisoner to the Tower, he was frequently examined, and pressed to take the oath of supremacy, which he refused with great courage and constancy, being animated thereunto by abbot Feckenham, who was confined in the Tower at the same time. When his trial came on, several things were alleged against him, viz. his cruel treatment of the protestants in queen Mary's reign, and several treasonable speeches against the queen and government, while he resided at Antwerp: but the chief article of his indictment was his denying the queen's supremacy. In his defence he insisted very much upon his being the king of Spain's sworn servant; and, upon that account, no longer subject to the laws of England; but his plea was not allowed. So, steadfastly refusing to take the oath of supremacy, as he had done several times before in the Tower, he was drawn thence on a hurdle to Tyburn, June 1, 1571. He made a bold speech at the place of execution, and died, as he had lived, a zealous assertor of the faith of his ancestors. He was cut down before he was deprived of his senses; and, as it was reported, struggled with the executioner while he was rifling among his bowels. His head was placed on London-bridge, and his quarters upon the gates of the city. People were variously affected by his death; some pitied him, on account of his age, being about seventy; others looked upon his death as a piece of revenge, and unbecoming a court of judicature; while those at the helm judged it policy to take off a person, whose parts and experience might be prejudicial to the government, in case he were permitted to live in a kingdom with which we had daily contest, and with which a war was then threatened.[a]

---

[z] Burghley's State Papers, by Murdin, p. 7.

Near to the inscription of Dr. Story, is the name of "Henrye Cockun,"[b] who, in all probability, was the Henry Cokin of whom we find mention, as being a confidential agent of the bishop of Ross,[c] and as having been apprehended, and committed to prison, immediately after that prelate was discharged from the Tower and commanded to depart the kingdom: he had perhaps been in confinement on some previous occasion.

Just below is a coat of arms,—a circle containing three stars and a fleur de lis, and underneath is the following long memorial of William Rame, dated in 1559. "Better it is to be in the howse of mornyng then in the howse of banketing: the harte of the wyse is in the morning howse: it is better to have some chastening then to have over moche liberte: there is a tyme for all things; a tyme to be borne and a tyme to dye ande the daye of deathe is better then the daye of berthe: there is an ende of all things ande the ende of a thinge is better then the begenyng: be wyse and pacyente in troble for wysdome defendith as well as mony: vse well the tyme of prosperite ande remember the time of mysfortvne. xxii. die Aprilis an°. 1559. William Rame."

Of the prisoner who has bequeathed to us the above serious admonitions, no mention whatever is made by our historians: it is probable, however, that he was one of the many ecclesiastics, who were deprived of their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower[d] the year in which this inscription appears to have been made.

On the left hand side of the third recess is the following inscription, of which there is an engraving in the first edition. *T. C. I leve in hope and I gave credit to mi frinde in time did stande me moste in hande, so wovlde I never do againe, excepte I hade hime suer in bande; and to al men wishe I so, unles ye svssteine the leke lose as I do.*

---

[a] Dodd's Church History, vol. ii. p. 164.

[b] This is erroneously represented by Mr. Brand, as *Henrye Sckun*, whom he supposes, from the name, to have been a Dutchman.

[c] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 447.

[d] Howe's Chronicle, pp. 639, 640.

Unhappie is that mane whose actes doth procuer.
The miseri of this hous in prison to induer.
1576. *Thomas Clarke.*

On the opposite side of the same recess is a repetition of the above prisoner's name, and in another place

Hit is the poynt of a wyse man to try and then trvste.
For hapy is he who fyndeth one that is jvste.
T. C.

The person who made the above inscriptions, was perhaps the Thomas Clarke mentioned as a priest of the Roman Catholic religion, who afterwards became a protestant, and made his recantation sermon at Saint Paul's cross, on the 1st of July, 1593.[e]

Below the first of these memorials are the following lines rudely cut in capitals:

THOMAS MIAGH WHICH LIETHE HERE ALONE
THAT FAYNE WOLD FROM HENS BEGON
BY TORTVRE STRAVNGE MI TROVTH WAS
TRYED YET OF MY LIBERTIE DENIED
1581 THOMAS MYAGH.

The sincerity of Thomas Miagh's wishes as expressed above, no one will be inclined to doubt: we are wholly uninformed, however, as to his character and the cause of his imprisonment. The 'torture straunge' to which he alludes, was unquestionably the rack, an instrument with which state-prisoners in that age were generally well acquainted.

Near the same place are several coats of arms and unfinished inscriptions: one of G. Gyfford has already been noticed: over another is the name Robert Maleri, with the date 1558; but whether connected with it, or not, is uncertain; nor has there any account been left us of such a prisoner.

---

[e] Dodd's Church History, vol. ii. p. 75.

On the opposite side of the same recess are some other memorials and fragments, but, besides the name of Thomas Clarke, which has been mentioned before, the only one legible is, 1576, Thomas Fovll; concerning whom no information has hitherto been discovered.

In the same part of the room, between the two last recesses, are the following, more perfect, and some of them, more interesting, inscriptions.

The uppermost is a rude piece of sculpture by "Thomas Willyngar." It is without date, and consists of a bleeding-heart, with the letters T. W., the initials of his own name, on one side, and P. A., most likely those of his mistress, on the other: there is also a figure of death, holding a dart in the left hand, and an hour glass in the right; and, on the opposite side of the bleeding-heart, are the words *Thomas Willyngar, goldsmithe.*—*My hart is yours tel dethe.* No account has been preserved of this person; but it may be conjectured, from his profession, that his offence was that of clipping or counterfeiting the coin of the realm.

Below are the names "James Gilmore" and "Edwarde Smalle;" both of which are repeated in other parts of the room, but no information has been found respecting them: the name "Anthony Tuchiner," which is equally uninteresting, also occurs near the same spot; and there is likewise the following memorial:—" An^o. Dn̄i. 1568; Men^s. A^s.23. I.H.S.

"No hope is hard or vayne
That happ doth ous attayne."

The person who thus bewails his hopeless condition has studiously concealed his name, but the date and character, as well as his making use of the plural number, afford reasons to conjecture that it was done by one of the Poles, great-grand-children of George, duke of Clarence, who were imprisoned here at that period, and of whom mention will be made hereafter.

Adjoining the above inscription, under the name "Thomas Rooper," with the date 1570, is the figure of a skeleton, recumbent; and on the right hand side are the words,—"Per passage penible passons a port plaisant."

This person was, probably, a descendant of the Ropers, in Kent, one of whom married Margaret, the accomplished daughter of sir Thomas More. It is likely that he was imprisoned on account of his zealous adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and, perhaps, banished; for, some few years afterwards, the Ropers are noticed as among the queen's enemies remaining abroad;[f] and Dr. Parry, in a letter from Paris, to lord treasurer Burghley, on behalf "of some papists, fugitives," mentions Mr. John Roper and Mr. Thomas Roper, whom he recommends as well worthy his lordship's good opinion and countenance, and beseeches his lordship to take some occasion to thank them for their readiness to serve him.[g]

Immediately under the inscription of Thomas Rooper is the name of "Edward . Cvffyn . 1562."

It is extremely probable that the crime, for which this person became a prisoner, was also his zeal for the Roman Catholic religion; but we find no account of him.[h]

The next inscription, that now remains legible, is near to the last mentioned: it consists of the following name and date:—"Geffrye Poole. 1562."

This, no doubt, was the Geoffrey Pole whose name is handed down to us with so much infamy, as being the person, on whose testimony his own brother, Henry Pole, viscount Montague, together with the marquis of Exeter, sir Edward Nevil, lord Bergavenny, and other persons of lesser note, were tried and condemned for high treason in the latter part of the year 1538.[i] They were all accused, and committed to prison on charges of holding traitorous correspondence with cardinal Pole; and this

---

[f] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 648, 649.

[g] Ibid. p. 649.

[h] Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 318, and Dodd, in his Church History, vol. ii. p. 416, make mention of one Edward Coffin, whom Mr. Brand supposed to be the prisoner that made this inscription; the dates and circumstances, however, clearly shew that he could not have been the same person.

[i] Hollinshed.

Geoffrey, in order to save himself, was induced to furnish evidence, whereon the others, and among them his brother, were led to execution.[k] The marquis, with lords Montague and Bergavenny, were beheaded on Tower-hill; Crofts and Collins, two priests, and one Holland, a mariner, were hanged and quartered at Tyborne,[l] and this wretch, Geoffrey Pole, expiated his crime by imprisonment: he was confined in the Tower till his death, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In the same part of the room we also find the name *William Beverige*,[m] with the date 1562. This, in all probability, was some Roman Catholic priest; but we can discover no account of him.

In the same part of the room, and near to the inscriptions last described, is the name "Edmonde Poole;" concerning whom and his elder brother, Arthur, who pined away their lives in this "doleful prison," some interesting particulars are handed down to us.

During the minority of Charles the Ninth, about the year 1562, "things in France," says Camden, "began to grow ripe for tumults and commotion; the private ambition of rival princes was cloaked on each side with the specious pretence of religion, and the protestants were treated with the greatest severity. The papists in England, on this occasion, began to whisper many things in private clubs and cabals, intimating, that the protestants here would be brought under the like restraints; and every place, in consequence, was filled with jealousy and apprehension: besides others who were put in confinement, Arthur Poole and his brother, great-grandchildren to George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV., Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and others, to the number of seven in the whole, were accused of conspiring to withdraw into France to the duke of Guise, and thence to return with an army into Wales, and to proclaim the queen of Scots queen of England, and Arthur Poole, duke of Clarence; they were accordingly, by commission of Oyer and Terminer, dated the 22nd of February, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, arraigned upon an indictment of treason found in Surry, the force whereof followeth.

---

[k] Hollinshed.

[l] Ibid.

[m] This, and the preceding name, are repeated in other parts of the room.

" First, it is conteyned, that the same Arthur Pole, and others named in the same indytemente, as false traytors and rebells agenste the queen's majesty, did compasse, imagyne, and goe aboute, not onlye to depryve and depose the queen, but also her death and destruction; and to sette upp and make the Scottyshe queen, queen of this realme.

" And to bringe the same to passe, they conspired to raise and make insurrection and warre within this realme againste the queen.

" And for the further bringing of the same to passe, they agreed amongst themselves to depart this realme into Flanders, and from thence into France.

" And at their arrivall in Flanders they shoulde publish the seyd Arthur Pole to be duke of Clarence. And then should send their letters unto the queen mother, the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guyse, signifying the arrival of the duke of Clarence in Flanders, and to request ayd, acceptation, and adherence unto their sayd intents.

" And to be better accepted in the sayd realme of Fraunce for the bringing of their sayd traterous intents to effecte, the seyd Arthur Pole and his sayd complyces devysed, that so soone as they came into the realme of Fraunce, they should treate with the sayd duke of Guyse, the open enemy unto the queen and her realme, for marryage between the sayd Skottyshe queen and Edmonde Pole, brother to the sayd Arthur. And to bring an army of five thousand men of the enemyes of our sayd queen, from the seyd duke of Guyse; and with the same armye, in Maye next after, to arrive in Wales, and there to proclaim the seyd Skottyshe queen to be queen of England: and afterwards from the parts of Wales to come into this realm, and to move the subjects to ryse and rebell against the queen, to make the said Skottyshe queen, queen of this realme, and to depose our sovereign ladye.

"Item, that the seyd Skottyshe queen, after she hadd been so preferred to the crowne of this realme, should create the sayd Arthur Pole duke of Clarence.

"Item, yt is farther founde by the sayd indytements, that after the sayd conspirators had arryved in Flanders, they wolde sende letters to one Goldewell, late Bishop of St. Asaphe, then being at Rome, to be meane to the pope, for his ayde in theis conspyracies, with promyse of restitusion of relygion within this realme of England, for such his ayde and helpe.

"Item, yt is founde that Prestall and Cosyn, two of the sayd conspyrators, did invocate a wicked spiryte, and demaunded of him the best waye to bring all their treasons to passe: and that Anthony Fortescue, one of the seyd conspyrators, did open unto the French embassador and unto the Spanish embassador, the seyd traterous devyces, by consente of the sayd Arthur Pole, and the residue of the conspyrators; with request unto both of the same embassadors to hand their letters unto the French king, and to the seyd duke of Guyse, for their ayde in performance of the sayd treasons; declaringe unto the same embassadors the just title of which the seyd Arthur Pole hadde to the seyd dukedom of Clarence.

"Item, it is further founde, that the said Prestall and Cosyn, to the intents aforeseyd, dyd goe into the seyd parties beyond the seas; and that the seyd Anthonye Fortescue, by the consente of the seyd Arthur Pole, and the residue of the seyd conspyrators, dyd hyer a boate to be brought unto St. Olyves stayres nyghe unto London brydge, to the intente to convey in the same the sayd Fortescue and other of the same conspyrators, being left behind after the departure of the seyd Prestall and Cosyn, unto a Flemish hoye, beinge uppon the river Thames syx myles beyonde Gravesende, to the intente to transporte the same Anthonie Fortescue, Arthur Pole, and the resydue of the conspirators left behinde, into Flaunders, to the intente to performe the seyd trayterous conspiracyes.

"Item, it is further founde, that the same Arthur Pole, and other the conspirators above named, beinge left behinde in Englande, came into the sayd boate so provyded; and therein layd dyvers armures and certeyn munytyon for warre, and sommes of money, and other things necessarye for their sayd journey; and also remayned in a certen inne called the Dolphyn, for opportunyty of tyme to be conveyed by the same boate into the seyd hoye, and therein to be transported into Flaunders, to the intents aforeseyd. And hereuppon the same indytemente concludeth with this effecte uppon all theis matters aforeseyd, layd together, that the seyd conspirators dyd compasse and ymagyne the deposinge, death, and fynall destruction of our soveraigne ladye the queen."[n]

At the bar some of the parties made a full confession of their designs, but protested that they had had no intention of putting them in execution during the life of Queen Elizabeth; but had rashly given credit to Prestal, a reputed conjurer, who pretended to foretel that she would not outlive that year. They were accordingly adjudged traitors, but the queen spared their lives: the two Poles, remaining in confinement, pined away the rest of their days in the Tower, and were buried in the chapel.

Arthur Poole has left, on the same side of the room, two very perfect and interesting memorials: the earliest of these, which is dated in 1564, two years after his commitment to the Tower, evinces, in an extraordinary manner, the patience and resignation with which he submitted to his melancholy fate. It consists of the following words:—"Deo . servire . penitentiam . inire . fato . obedire . regnare . est . A. Poole . 1564. IHS.

The other appears to have been made in 1568, being the sixth year of his captivity, and, as he informs us, the thirty-seventh of his age. The words are *Ihs. A passage perillus makethe a port pleasant. A°* 1568. *Arthur Poole. Æ*ᵗ. *sue* 37. *A. P.*

Of Edmund Poole there are also several other inscriptions in different parts of this tower: by the side of a small window in the staircase his name occurs twice, and in the apartment over head are two large memorials in old Italian, which display the same feeling of pious submission that so beautifully characterises those of his brother. One is dated in 1562, and the other in 1568; when, as he carefully records, he had arrived at the age of twenty-seven years. The latter is greatly mutilated, but the words of the former are, *Ihs. Dio semin . . in lachrimis in exultatione meter.*[o] *Æ.* 21. *E. Poole.* 1562.

---

[n] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. i, p. 372, from the Cecil MSS.

Immediately under the first-mentioned inscription of Edmond Poole, is the word IANE, generally taken for the royal title of the amiable and accomplished lady Jane Grey. There was a repetition of it on a different side of the room, but that has been destroyed by the making of an additional window.

It has been observed,[p] that "she had, perhaps, a latent meaning in this repetition of her signature *Jane;* by which she at once styled herself a queen, and intimated, that not even the horrors of a prison could force her to relinquish that title."

Whatever is connected with the name of lady Jane Grey cannot fail to excite interest; but those who assume the character of historians are not justified in adopting things for facts, which rest only on conjecture, and are unsupported even by probability. The above idea, to which the repetition of the word *Jane* has given rise, is not borne out by history, even if it were proved to have been made by the fair hand of that illustrious victim to royalty: but doubts arise on this subject, which almost amount to a contradiction of it; for, however severe might formerly have been the treatment of state delinquents, a sense of delicacy seems always to have been preserved towards the weaker sex; and when a female of distinction had the misfortune to be committed to the Tower, she was usually confined in the private house of the lieutenant, or some other respectable officer of the fortress. It is therefore highly improbable that this room could have been the place of confinement of the lady Jane; indeed we are almost certain that it was not; for, at that period, we have proof that it was the prison of some, at least, of the Dudleys; and it is hardly to be imagined that she should have been placed in the same apartment with them. There seems better reason to conjecture that these two inscriptions, instead of having been made by lady Jane Grey herself, were cut by one of the sons of the duke of Northumberland; and, supposing the unhappy Guildford to have been immured here, as were his brothers, nothing can be conceived more natural, than that he should have thus dwelt upon the name of her who was so near and dear to him; to whom he was bound by the strongest ties of affection, and whose fate was so closely interwoven with his own. We are further informed,[q] that on the wall of the room in which this unfortunate lady was imprisoned in the Tower, she wrote with a pin the following lines:—

---

[o] "God soweth in tears to reap in joy."

[p] Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 70.

> "Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt,
> Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi.[r]
> JANE DUDLEY."

The most diligent search, however, in every part of the Tower, to discover this interesting autograph, has proved fruitless; which, considering the lapse of years, and the very slight manner in which it must necessarily have been made, cannot be a matter of surprise.

On the left hand side of the last recess are the words, *I hope in th' end to deserve that I would have. Men: Novem: a°.* 1573. and closely underneath, in the same character, is the name, *Hugh Longworthe*, with the figure of a man recumbent.

This person does not appear to have been a prisoner, but the following particulars respecting him are not unworthy of notice. On the 11th of October, in that year, one Peter Burchet, a frantic gentleman of the Middle Temple, taking sir John Hawkins, the celebrated admiral, for Hatton, who was then in great favor at court, and considered an enemy to the innovators,[s] he drew his dagger and wounded him. Being committed to prison and brought to trial, he maintained, that what he had done was consonant to the holy scriptures; holding, that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel. "Whereupon," says Camden, "sentence of death being about to be pronounced against him for heresy, he promised to renounce his opinions; yet still shifted it off, and was therefore committed to the Tower;" where, on the morrow about noon, one of his keepers having gone down, "leaving another with him, called Hugh Longworth, who stoode at the window reading in the Bible, the sayd Burchet walking up and down in the chamber, took a billet's ende out of the fire, and knocked the sayd Longworth on the head, and left him not till he had stryken him starke dead;"[t] for which on the next day, being the 11th of November, he was tried at Westminster and condemned; and on the morrow, after having had his right hand cut off for striking a blow within the Tower, one of the queen's palaces, was hanged without Temple Bar, near the place where he wounded sir John Hawkins.

---

[q] Fox's Book of Martyrs. Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. iv. p. 129.

[r] "To mortals' common fate thy mind resign,
My lot to-day,—to-morrow may be thine."

[s] Camden's Annals of Queen Eliz., in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 449.

We come next to a deep piece of sculpture representing a pair of scales, with this inscription: 1585. *Thomas Bawdewin. Juli.—As vertue maketh life, so sin causeth death.* No account has been left us of such a prisoner.

Near to the above, between the last recess and the entrance to the cells, are the following words: AS : VT : IS : TAKY. . THOMAS . FITZGERALD.

This prisoner was eldest son to Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare, and lord deputy of Ireland. His father being accused by his implacable enemy, the earl of Ossory, of having invited O'Neale, and other Irish rebels to ravage the territory of that nobleman, was commanded, in 1534, to appoint some able person to the government during his absence, and to appear before the king. He accordingly left this Thomas Fitzgerald in the execution of his office,[u] and on his arrival in England was sent prisoner to the Tower. This event was no sooner known to his family, than his son rose in arms, and, joining with O'Neale, O'Carrol, and other of the Irish nobility, committed most wanton outrages. An army was dispatched into Ireland under sir William Skiffington, in order to suppress the rebellion.[x] Fitzgerald sent to the emperor for assistance; he wrote to the Pope, complaining of the king's defection from the Roman Catholic faith, and offered to hold the kingdom of Ireland of his holiness by payment of an annual tribute.[y] His army was numerous in comparison to his father's popularity, and he withstood the king's forces till the middle of the following year; when, lord Leonard Grey being appointed deputy, he was prevailed upon to submit to his majesty's mercy, and accordingly conducted into England;[z] where he remained prisoner for some time, and finally, on the 3d of February 1537, was hanged and quartered at Tyburn, together with his five uncles.[a]

---

[t] Hollinshed's Chronicle.

[u] Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII., in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 181.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Ibid.

Near to the inscription of Thomas Fitzgerald we find the name ADAM : SEDBAR : ABBAS : JOREVALL. 1537.

This Adam Sedbar, or Sedburgh, was the eighteenth and last abbot of Joreval, Jerveaux, or Gervis, in Yorkshire.[b] He was committed to the Tower for opposing King Henry the Eighth's measures; was arraigned with several others, favorers of Aske's rebellion in the north; and executed at Tyburn in the month of June,[c] the year of the above inscription.

In several parts of this chamber occur, in cipher, the initials I. C. and on the sides of the original window, towards the east, they are subjoined to the following memorials: LERNE : TO FEARE : GOD : I.C.—REPRENS : LE : SAGE : ET : IL : TE : AVMERA : I. C. 1538.

Concerning the prisoner who has left us the above marks of his piety no account can be given.

On the left hand side of the window above mentioned, under the word *Thomas*, is a great A. upon a bell, evidently meant for Thomas Abel: who, on the authority of Dodd,[e] was educated at Oxford, where he completed his degrees in arts, in the year 1516, and, proceeding in divinity, became a doctor of that faculty. He was a man of learning; a great master of instrumental music; and well skilled in the modern languages. These qualifications introduced him at court, and he became domestic chaplain to queen Catherine of Arragon, wife of King Henry the Eighth, and had the honour of serving her majesty in the capacities above mentioned. When the validity of the marriage between Henry and Catherine became a question, the affection which

---

[z] Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII., in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 182.

[a] Hall and Hollinshed.

[b] Willis's History of Mitred Abbies, p. 275. Burton's Monasticon Eboracense, p. 373.

[c] Ibid. Hall, Stow, and Hollinshed's Chronicles.

[e] Church History, vol. i. p. 208.

Dr. Abel bore towards his mistress led him into the controversies to which it gave rise, and he opposed the divorce both by words and writings.[f] By giving in to the delusions of Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy maid of Kent,[g] he incurred a misprision; and afterwards was condemned and executed in Smithfield, July 30, 1540, together with Dr. Edward Powel and Dr. Richard Fetherstone, for denying the king's supremacy, and affirming his marriage with queen Catherine to be good.[h]

Just below this punning rebus of Thomas Abel is the following undated inscription: DOCTOR : COOK.

There can be little doubt but that this Doctor Cook, was Lawrence Cook, prior of Doncaster, of whom we find mention as having been, with five others, attainted by parliament for their denial of the king's supremacy, and accordingly hanged and quartered at Tyburn in 1540.[i]

Close to the two last-mentioned carvings occurs the name of *Thomas Cobham*, with the date 1555. He was the youngest son of lord Cobham, and one of the principal leaders in the insurrection of sir Thomas Wyat, with whom he was committed to the Tower on the 7th of February, 1554;[k] and on the 19th of the same month, being brought to trial with four others, at Westminster, was condemned.[l]

On the opposite of the same window is a large cluster of inscriptions, coats of arms, &c. The uppermost is a panel containing the words, O MISER HVON CHE PENSI OD ESSERO.

This appears to have been left unfinished. Below is the name *John Marten*, with a coat of arms and an illegible inscription underneath; and next occurs a large square mass, consisting of the following name and memorials: IHON SEYMOR. CCHOWT. 1537.

The *first* of these prisoners was, probably, concerned in Aske's rebellion, and the latter, perhaps, was the John Seymour who was arrested and committed to the Tower, with

---

[f] Hall's Chronicle, and Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. p. 224. — He wrote a book entitled, "Tractatus de non desolvendo Henrici et Catherinæ matrimonio," 1534.

[g] Hall's Chronicle.

[h] Ibid., and Hollinshed.

[i] Stow's Annals, and Dodd's Church History, vol. i. p. 231.

[k] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 141.

[l] Hollinshed.

M

the duke of Somerset and several others, on the 16th of October 1551.[m]

The duke was beheaded on Tower Hill the 22d of January in the following year; soon afterwards sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged, and sir Michael Stanhope and sir Thomas Arundel beheaded, in the same place.[n] It is likely that John Seymour and the rest of the prisoners were pardoned, as no mention is made of their execution.

Adjoining these names is a coat of arms; and further on are the words *Lancaster Herald,* two crosses, and the name *Francis Eul;* of which no account can be given. There are also the names *Thomas Steven,* and *James Rogers,* which are equally uninteresting.

Next to the above is a piece of carving which represents an oak tree, bearing acorns; and underneath are the initials R. D., which, in all probability, are those of Robert, second surviving son of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. He was confined in the Tower for the part he took with his father and others in the attempted usurpation of lady Jane Grey, and, being arraigned of high treason in the guild hall of London, confessed the indictment, and had judgment given by the earl of Sussex, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered;[o] but, after remaining some time in prison, was pardoned, and early in the following reign created earl of Leicester: in which character, and as the celebrated favorite of queen Elizabeth, he is too well known to require here a detail of his extraordinary career.

VERBVM DOMINI MANET. 1568. IOHN PRINE.

The date, as well as the words of this inscription, renders it highly probable, that the person who made it was some priest of the Roman Catholic communion; but we find no account of him.

SARO FIDELI : INGGRAM : PERCY : 1537.

This Inggram, or sir Ingram Percy, was third son of Henry, the fifth earl of Northumberland. There is every reason to believe that he was implicated in the northern rebellion; for which his brother, sir Thomas Percy, knight, was executed, with several others, at Tyburn, in the month of June 1537.[p] He appears to have been pardoned, and to have died about the latter end of the following year.

---

[m] Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI., in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 321.

[n] Hollinshed, and Hayward, ut supra, p. 325.

[o] Stow's Annals, by Howes, p. 618.

Adjoining the above inscription is an oak sprig with acorns, and below are the words, SPERANDO MI GODERO. 1537.

This, too, was probably made by some person who had been concerned in Aske's rebellion: near to it are the words EN DIEV EST MON ESPERANCE. F. PAGE.

We are told, that "Francis Page, after spending some time in studying the municipal laws in England, went abroad, and, being ordained priest, returned as a missionary into his own country. He resided, for the most part, with Mrs. Anne Line, a widow gentlewoman; and being at last seized, and condemned to die, for receiving orders, he was executed at Tyburn in the year 1601. He insisted at his trial, that being a reputed alien, born at Antwerp, the law did not reach him. But, not being able to produce his proofs immediately, his plea was over-ruled; though it was looked upon to be a great hardship that he had not time allowed him to make good his allegation. Mrs. Line was also prosecuted, and suffered death for entertaining him. Alegambe gives Mr. Page a place in his catalogue, but I do not find that he was ever admitted among the Jesuits: neither indeed, does Alegambe affirm it.[q]

FRANCIS OWDAL. 1541.

Respecting this person no particulars have hitherto been discovered. Just below is the name of *George Ardern*, which is likewise uninteresting.

RAVLFE BVLMAR. 1537.

We find no mention of this prisoner; but it is extremely probable that he was of the ancient and respectable family of that name in the northern parts of England, and imprisoned, perhaps, on suspicion of being concerned in Aske's rebellion; a conjecture which is not only supported by the date, but also by the circumstance of sir John Bulmer being one of the leaders in that insurrection, for which he was committed to the Tower, together with his wife, or paramour, and many others, all of whom were tried, found guilty of high treason, and executed.[r]

---

[p] Hall, Stow, and Hollinshed's Chronicles.

[q] Dodd's Church History, vol. ii. p. 112.

IOHN COLLETON . PRIST . 1581 . IVLY . 22.

John Colleton, or Collington, on the authority of Dodd,[s] was son of Edmund Colleton, gent., and born at Milverton, in Somersetshire. In 1565, when about seventeen years of age, he was sent to the university of Oxford, and had a good character, both for his learning and prudent behaviour during his stay there, which was but a few years; for, when about twenty-three years old, he left the university, his friends, and native country, on account of his religion, being unable to answer the exceptions some of his fellow-students had taken against the reformation. Retiring to Lovain, he entertained thoughts of entirely forsaking the world, and becoming a Carthusian; and, being encouraged in this resolution by father Cullum, an English Jesuit then residing in Lovain, he entered into the noviceship, and remained upon his trial eleven months; but a constant ill state of health, and a melancholy disposition, not suitable to that order, rendered him incapable of proceeding further. Upon this disappointment he went to the English college at Douay, where he was admitted in 1574; and having before made considerable progress in the study of divinity, was ordained priest, and sent upon the mission in 1576. On his arrival in England, he paid his first visit to his father in Somersetshire, "a grave old gentleman," says Dodd, "greatly esteemed in his neighbourhood for his prudence, charity, and usefulness, in all the requisites of a social life; and left him not till he had reconciled him again to the Catholic church, whereof he had been a member, before there were any thoughts of a reformation." He then laboured upon the mission in several parts of the kingdom till 1581, when he was taken prisoner, arraigned, and tried at the same time with Campian and others, for conspiring abroad against the queen and government. Although the same evidence appeared against him as that on which the rest were found guilty, Mr. Colleton happened to be acquitted upon a manifest inconsistency as to time and place. The indictment specified that he, Campian, and the rest, had concerted an invasion, and machinated the queen's death, by a conspiracy carried on at Rheims and Rome, in such a year; but by the evidence of Mr. Lancaster, a gentleman of character, it was shewn to the court, that Colleton was actually in England at the time mentioned in the indictment; and it was moreover proved that he had neither been at Rheims nor at Rome in his whole life. Notwithstanding this blunder in the queen's evidence, he was not discharged, but detained prisoner in the Tower till 1584; when he was sent into banishment with several others of the same character. In 1587 he returned into England, and lived chiefly in London and Kent. He was afterwards made archdeacon, and on the death of Birket the archpriest, supplied his place till the nomination of Dr. Harrison.

---

[r] Hall and Hollinshed.

[s] Church History, vol. ii. p. 183.

In 1610, all the prisons in and about London were filled with priests and recusants, on account of the oath of allegiance, and Mr. Colleton was again in confinement. When the bishop Chalcedon came into this country, in 1623, and erected a chapter, he was made dean, and appointed his lordship's vicar-general. The latter part of his days he lived altogether with Mr. Roper, at Eltham, in Kent; where he died in 1635, aged eighty-seven years. His candid behaviour and long experience had gained him great esteem, not only among his brethren, but also with the moderate part of the established church: even King James the First depended very much upon his sincerity in matters relating to the catholics. He shewed great resolution, and was indefatigable in opposing the schemes of father Parsons, which, he thought, aimed at depressing the clergy, and making them subject to the Jesuits. He was author of the following works:—"A just Defence of the slandered Priests," &c. 4to. 1602.—"A supplication to his Majesty for a Toleration,"—and "A Letter to Pope Paul V."

The following inscription now only remains to finish the account of this interesting chamber:—"Eagremond . Radclyffe: 1576. Povr . parvenir."

Eagremond, or Egremont Radclyffe, was only son of Henry Radcliffe, second earl of Sussex, by his second wife Anne, daughter of sir Philip Calthorpe, of Norwich, knight. He was brother of the half blood to Thomas and Henry Radcliffe, successively earls of Sussex, and of the whole blood to lady Frances Radcliffe, married to sir Thomas Mildmay, knight, whose posterity in her right succeeded to the ancient barony of Fitzwalter, in the reign of King Charles the Second. Being young, of a haughty spirit, and a papist, he was engaged in the rebellion in the north, in 1569; and, consequently, fled into Spain, and thence to Flanders, where he continued rambling about for several years, reduced to the last extremities of want and wretchedness. At length depressed by poverty, worn out by sorrow, and desirous of returning to his native country, he ventured to address a letter to lord treasurer Burghley,[t] imploring his lordship to intercede with the queen for her most gracious pardon; attributing his offence to youthful heat and ignorance, and not to any malice. His half brother, the earl of Sussex, then lord chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household, seems to have borne an implacable hatred towards him, and was, probably, the cause of most of his after-sufferings. To gain his reconciliation he also besought lord Burghley, "even for God's sake, to intercede; for that, if the earl continued his indignation towards him, he knew it would be his destruction."

Little benefit appears to have resulted from this letter; for, about six months afterwards, we find the unhappy fugitive renewing his solicitation to his lordship from Bruges.[u]—"Not daring," as he says, "to presume to write to her majesty, he was emboldened by his lordship's virtuous inclinations, to move him to stand his good lord, in being a means to her majesty for him, that it might please her, of her accustomed clemency, to pardon his faults, by which, through ignorance of youth and not of malice, as God was his judge, he had offended; and which, riper understanding and further grace did cause him to be most heartily sorry for. Prostrate at her majesty's feet he humbly craved forgiveness; hoping she would follow the precepts of our Saviour Christ, who willeth no pardon to be refused him, who with humility and repentance asketh it; for which most gracious benefit, he promised to God and to her majesty, his life should be ever ready to be yielded in any service in which it should please her to employ him; as well to repair his former fault, as also to win of her majesty a degree of credit. And he hoped that these few years of tribulation had taught him to know good from evil, and increased his ability to serve his prince and country; which, above all things, he most desired."

---

[t] Dated from Antwerp, in 1574.—See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 497.

[u] Ibid. pp. 497, 498.

It should seem that his lordship's reply to this petition afforded him some reason to anticipate a termination of his miseries; for in his next letter, which is dated from Calais, March 25, 1575,[x] he acknowledges, "that if small benefits did bind good natures, how much ought he to think himself bound to his lordship; since by his only friendship, he had recovered grace at her majesty's hands, and good liking of the earl, his brother, which he esteemed more than life; as he trusted sufficiently to testify by his faithful service in all it should please her majesty to employ him in. And that undoubtedly his lordship might assure himself of his service during life, with no less fidelity and affection than if he were his own child. He besought his lordship to continue his favor, and to prevail upon his brother to support him with sufficient maintenance until such time as it should please her majesty to licence his return; and, lest he should offend, he also craved of his lordship, that he might have some place appointed where he might serve, and if it should not displease her majesty he would gladly go against the Turk, where he thought he should see best service. And he trusted that his endeavours should be such, as neither the queen, his brother, nor his lordship, should mislike them."

Soon after this, buoyed up with hope and impatient to revisit his native land, he ventured to cross over into England with a merchant,[y] and repaired to lord Burghley, in order to his lordship's recommending him to the queen; but her majesty understanding his coming and request, shewed herself displeased, and ordered secretary Walsingham to tell lord Burghley, "That he should, as of himself, advise Radcliff to slip away; for that he understood secretly from his friends in court, that her majesty was greatly displeased with his presumptuous manner of coming over, and that otherwise he doubted, that her majesty, as in justice she was bound, would be driven, for example's sake, to extend the punishment towards him that was due for his former offences. And as she was doubtful of his lingering in the realm, whatsoever promises his lordship had made him, her pleasure was that he should so order the matter, that Reins, the merchant with whom he came over, should see him embarked; whereby she might be assured of his departure;[z] but not taking this seasonable warning, he was apprehended and committed to the Tower;[a] whence we find two more letters from him addressed to the lord treasurer; the first of these, which is dated in April 1577, speaks of his miserable state and long imprisonment; praying his lordship, of his accustomed goodness and consideration towards him, to understand the extremity he was in; and that he doubted not but God would so work in his noble heart, that he should find by some suit made to her majesty in his behalf, a remedy of his sorrows, wherein he pined and consumed, as one weary of life and utterly void of consolation. For that in truth he had done all which in him lay to manifest unto the world both his hearty remorse and contrition for his offence, and also his dutiful and earnest desire to recover her majesty's favor; yet perceiving her indignation, and his brother's, to continue still more heavily against him, he was driven to great despair, lest he should consume in captivity those days, which he desired, as became the duty of a faithful subject, to employ to the last of his breath in her majesty's service. He professed to God that he rather wished, with all his heart, present death, than any longer continuance in such misery; and most humbly implored, for God's sake, that her majesty would command him rather to be executed, than to let him live in such torment of body and mind as he was then in: but, if the clemency of her Highness would not suffer her to have the law pass upon him, then he humbly besought her to grant him some further liberty, that he might have opportunity to obtain remission and her royal favor. He professed to lord Burghley that he had no power to compass this benefit except by the favor and aid of his lordship; to whom he was so much bound, as he knew not how he might ever be able dutifully to acknowledge the least part of his noble dealings towards him; howbeit his lordship should always find him so grateful, as the expense of his poor life might enable him in any service it should ever please his honour to command him. And thus once again he was bold humbly to beseech his lordship to deal for him, and to send him such answer as should stand with her majesty's pleasure; that through her mercy and justice he might be delivered from the desperation, which, as the Almighty knew, afflicted his very soul."

---

[x] See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 498.

---

[y] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 498.

[z] Ibid. p. 499.

[a] Ibid.

In answer to this letter he appears to have received a verbal communication, signifying that the queen was inexorable, and would grant him no other favor, than that he might depart the realm. In reply to this message he addressed his second and last letter[b] from his prison to the lord treasurer, acknowledging "that he was given to understand from his honor by the bearer, Mr. Gray, how it pleased his lordship to move the queen in his behalf; for which, and a number of other favors, he rendered his most humble thanks. The effect of her majesty's decision being, that it was not her pleasure ever to employ him in her service, or to grant him pardon, but that he should be dismissed the realm; he protested before God and the world, that nothing caused him to yield to her majesty's mercy, but a just remorse for the offences of his ignorant youth, and a dutiful desire to repair them by all loyal obedience during the residue of his life; which humble submission, if it did not stand with the queen's pleasure to accept, he, as became an humble vassal, should be contented with whatsoever it might please her majesty and her grave council to ordain concerning him; so that it might please her majesty to take compassion on his poor afflicted soul, in delivering it from desperation: for no death could be so bitter, but that he would rather suffer it, than to remain in his present torment of mind. To find his soul in his sovereign's indignation; in no assurance of life; often threatened to be banished his country; forsaken of all his friends; a close prisoner; an occasion to the ill-disposed to blaspheme against her majesty's and her council's mercy; a laughing-stock to all those that are become his enemies, for the great desire he has always had to recover her majesty's favor and his country; and, in conclusion, void of all comfort and relief, he sums up as the grievous catalogue of miseries which continually assault him: wherefore he again most humbly besought his lordship, that, for pity's sake, it would please him to impart to her majesty and the council this his wretched state, and to procure that there might be some speedy order taken for him; wherein his honor, as the Almighty knew, would do a work of the greatest charity."

---

[b] Dated from the Tower, May 6, 1577.—See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 496.

The result of this letter was an annihilation of all the hopes, a consummation of the misfortunes, and a prelude to the tragical end "of this penitent rebel, but of a turbulent spirit, Egremont Radclyffe."

Being banished the kingdom he returned into Flanders, and, from necessity, perhaps, entered the service of Don John of Austria, the governor of that country: but such was his evil fate, that soon afterwards an accusation was brought against him of having conspired Don John's death, with the concurrence of secretary Walsingham, who, as it was pretended, had set him at liberty for that purpose. He was taken in the camp before Namur, and executed by order of the emperor; although he protested his innocence to the last.

During his imprisonment in the Tower he occupied himself in translating from the French, a small work, entitled, "Politique Discourses," which he dedicated to sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state, probably out of gratitude for his exertions in his behalf. He married, at an early age, Eleanor, only daughter of sir Edward Darrell, of Littlecoat, knight, and sole heir of her brother William Darrell, esquire; but left no issue.

In the apartment which forms the basement floor of this tower, and which is now used as a kitchen, there are also traces of several inscriptions, left on the walls by prisoners; but most of them have been rendered illegible by the frequent white-washing of the room. The name of Charles Bailly, a prisoner already noticed, occurs subscribed to one memorial; and the following lines, without name or date, were, till lately, to be made out:

THE MAN WHOM THIS HOUSE CAN NOT MEND
HATHE EVILL BECOOM AND WORSE WILL END.

The uppermost story of the Beauchamp Tower has likewise been used as a prison. It consists of one gloomy apartment, retaining much of its original character, and in some degree assimilating in form and dimensions to that immediately under it. The floor, which appears to be very ancient, coeval, perhaps, with the building itself, is formed of thick oak plank, in a rough state, and fastened down with nails of an extraordinary size. It has but one small window, which fronts the inner ward, and is secured by strong iron grating on the outside.

Although this apartment has been plastered and white-washed, some memorials of prisoners are still to be seen on the walls. One on the left hand side of the window remains in a very perfect state. It consists of a crest formed of three salmons; the date 1622; and a coat of arms surmounted by the name "T. Salmon," with the motto, *Nec timere nec timore*, underneath. There is also a star containing an abbreviation of the name of Christ, in Greek, encircled with the words *Sic vive ut vivas*, and death's head, surrounded by the sentence, *Et morire ne moriaris.*—It is probable that this was made by some adherent to the Roman Catholic communion, but we find no account of him. Over the carving above described, he has thus recorded the tedious period of his confinement—*Close prisoner* 8 *monethes*—32 *wekes*—224 *dayes*—5376 *houres.*

On the opposite side of the window is an inscription of "Edmund Poole," who, as it should seem, was imprisoned here, whilst his brother was confined in the chamber below.

There is a tradition that this uppermost apartment in the Beauchamp Tower was the place of confinement of the ill-fated Anne Boleyn, but it appears from historical facts to be entirely void of foundation. In a letter from sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, to secretary Cromwell,[d] soon after that unfortunate queen's commitment to prison, he says, "Thys ys to advertyse you that upon my lord of Norfolk's & the kyng's con̄sell departyng from the Towre, I went before the quene in to hyr logyng, & she sayd unto me, Mr Kyngston shall I go into a dungyn? Noo madam you shall go into your logyng that you lay in at your coronacion." And afterwards, speaking of a charge which he was to give to the gentlewomen who were appointed to attend upon her majesty, "that ys to say, that thay shuld have no com̄ynycasion with hyr in lese my wyf ware present," he says, "I dyd it, notwithstandyng it cannot be so; for, my lady Bolen and mestrys Cofyn lyes on the quene's palet, and I and my wyf at the dore with yowt, so that thay most nedes talke that be within; bot I have every thyng told me by mestrys Cofyn that she thynkes met for me to know; and tother ii gentlewemen lyes with yowt me."—From this, and another letter,[e] in which he says that, "the quene hathe meche desyred to have here in the closet the sacrament," it is clearly shewn that this could not have been the prison of Anne Boleyn, and moreover places it beyond a doubt that she must have been confined either in some apartment of the palace, or in the lieutenant's house.

Written on the wall at the top of the Beauchamp Tower, lately existed the following lines; which, although neither rendered valuable by their antiquity, nor by any thing worthy of remembrance in their author, may not be improperly introduced by way of concluding the description of this interesting building.

---

[d] MSS. in Bibl. Cotton. Otho. c. x. p. 225. [e] Ibid. p. 224.

EPITAPH ON A GOLDFINCH.

"Where Raleigh pin'd, within a prison's gloom,
I chearful sung, nor murmur'd at my doom;
Where heroes bold, and patriots firm could dwell,
A goldfinch in content his note might swell:
But death, more gentle than the law's decree,
Hath paid my ransom from captivity.
Buried June 23, 1794, by a fellow-
prisoner in the Tower of London."

EPITAPH ON A CAT, NAMED CITIZEN,

BURIED IN THE TOWER WALL.

1.

If led by fancy o'er this seat of woe
In search of relics hid within these walls,
Thy eye, kind reader, thou shouldst chance to throw
On the small spot where my poor dwelling falls.

2.

Think not, within this cell there is comprest,
Ought which the world could envy, or could fear;
Nor stars, nor ribbands deck'd my honest breast,
An humble citizen lies buried here.

3.

A friend that could my lowly talents prize,
(At his fond kindness, reader, do not laugh)
Sooth'd my last moments, closed my dying eyes;
Dug here my grave, and wrote my epitaph.

4.

But lest these lines thy fancy should deceive,
And thou shouldst think some patriot claims a tear,
Thy rising anguish let me now relieve,
'Tis only Puss the citizen lies here.
I. A. B. Aug. 22, 1794.

The above verses were written, perhaps, by John Augustus

Bonney, whose initials are subscribed to the last of them. He was a person committed to the Tower in 1794, together with John Horne Tooke, John Thelwall, and some others of low character, on charges of high treason.

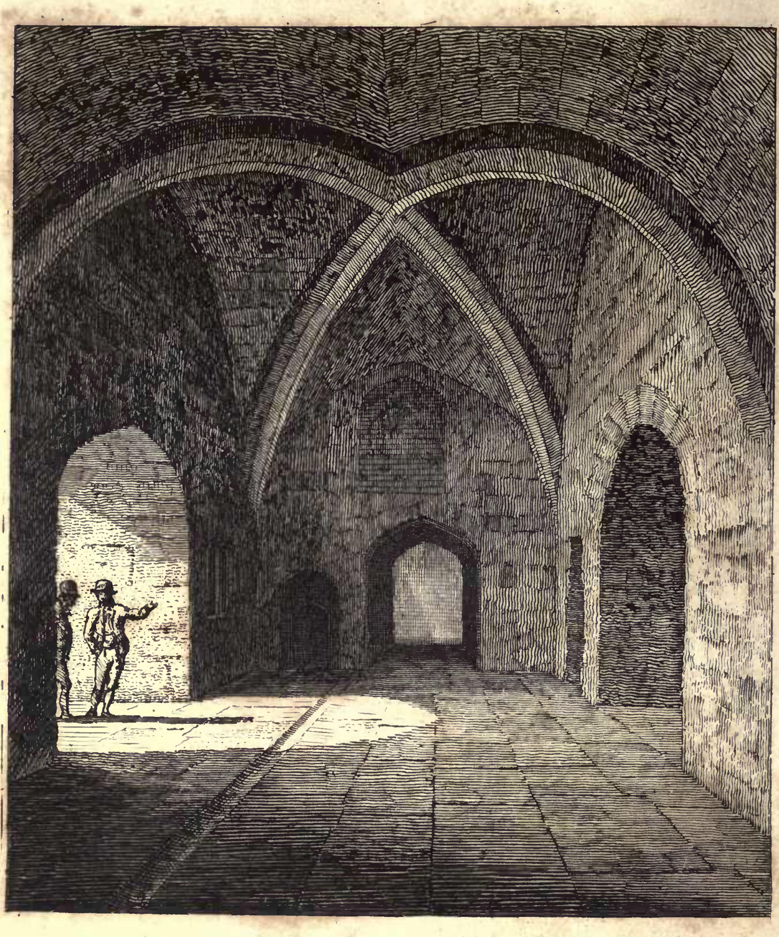
Leaving the Beauchamp Tower, we continue the course of the ancient wall to the north-east angle of the inner ward, which is at the distance of one hundred and twenty-six feet, and is the situation of another tower, denominated

THE DEVEREUX TOWER.

In the survey taken of the fortress in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, this building is called "Robyn the Devyll's Tower," and in that of 1597, the "Develin Tower;" a name which it soon afterwards changed for its present appellation, in consequence of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the celebrated favorite of queen Elizabeth, having been confined in it in the year 1601.

The style of architecture observable in this building differs from that of the Beauchamp Tower: it is less pointed, and seems to be a work of an earlier date. It retains, for the most part, its original character, having undergone little or no alteration, except in the enlargement and modernising of the windows. In form it approaches almost to a circle, and consists of two stories, with one apartment on each, ascended by a small winding staircase of stone. The basement floor, which is vaulted and groined, is about nineteen feet in diameter, and the walls, in which there are some peculiar features of construction, are eleven in thickness.

The Devereux Tower, like most of the others, was formerly used as a prison for state delinquents, and it still retains much of that appearance: the iron grating over the doors and in the windows, is yet to be seen in some parts of the building, and from the staircase, between the basement and the first floors, there is an entrance to a small cell, about six feet long, and three wide, made in the thickness of the ballium wall; and higher up, is a similar entrance to what appears to have been another cell, or a passage in the substance of the wall, forming a secret communication with the next tower.



Inside of Bowyer's Tower.
The room in which (it is said) the Duke of Clarence was drowned in a but of Malmsey wine.

Published May 15 18[illegible] by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin, [illegible] Cheapside

Some years ago, under part of the stair in this building, were discovered two ancient and very curious snuff boxes, which were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1797,[g] by colonel Matthew Smith, then resident governor of the Tower. They were of an oval shape, with small screw tops, and in one of them remained the spoon: rude representations of stag-hunting, bull-baiting, and other sports, appeared on them, and one bore two inscriptions in barbarous French, of which one could not be made out, but the other seemed to be; DONEVR EVX QVI IY RCVRAIRE AVTANT.

This building now belongs to the Office of Ordnance, and is the residence of the Master-Furbisher of small arms.

From the Devereux Tower the ancient enclosure wall runs in a north-easterly direction to the distance of ninety feet, where it was studded with another fortification called

THE FLINT TOWER.

Of this building there are now no other remains than the foundation: it appears, however, to have closely assimilated, both in form and dimensions, to the rest of the towers which fortify the inner ward, and in early times was appropriated to the same purpose. Having fallen greatly into decay, about thirty years ago it was taken down, nearly to the ground, by order of the Board of Ordnance, and a plain brick structure of a similar form has since been erected in its place.

Proceeding to the distance of ninety feet further in the same direction, we come to the remains of another tower entitled

THE BOWYER'S TOWER.

This building took its name from having, in early times, been the residence of the master and provider of the king's bows; an officer of whom mention will be made hereafter. The basement floor, which is the only part now extant of the original building, is vaulted and groined, and in the walls, which are about ten feet thick, are three recesses, in each of which was anciently a narrow embrasure; but these have been considerably enlarged and modernised. By the side of the present door-way is an entrance to a small cell formed in the substance of the wall; or, perhaps, what may have formerly been a secret passage leading to the next tower.

---

[g] Vide Archaeologia, vol. xiii. plate xxiv. and page 395.

There is a tradition that in this room George, duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward the Fourth, was secretly put to death, as it is said, in a butt of malmsey; and if the perpetrators of that foul deed considered it necessary to choose a spot more dismal and secluded than another, for the scene of such a tragedy, the story derives a probability from the situation and character of the place in question; but it is unsupported by any historical evidence.[h]

The upper part of this building is of modern brick work, and the basement floor is now used as a repository of old armour; of which there are some curious specimens, brought from Malta.

From the Bowyer's Tower the enclosure wall of the inner ward declines rather to the south-east, and, at the distance of fifty-four feet, is fortified with a tower, denominated

THE BRICK TOWER.

In the survey before mentioned, which was taken of the Tower in 1532, this building is stated to be the lodging of the master of the Ordnance, and as such it was described in the year 1641.[i] The ground floor, which is the only part that exists of the original work, corresponds with that of the building last described; and from here there appears to have been a secret communication with the next tower, eastward. The upper part, which is of brick, seems to have been built as early as the reign of King Edward the Fourth, or Richard the Third, and the interior exhibits remains of old-fashioned magnificence; but it is now altogether in a state of decay.

From the Brick Tower we proceed forty-seven feet further, which brings us to the north-east angle of the enclosure which is occupied by

THE JEWEL TOWER.

This building seems originally to have nearly corresponded, in form and extent, with the Devereux Tower; but little now remains of the primitive structure, except the part which faces the inner ward; the rest being of comparatively modern brick-work. In the ancient part, the roof of the ground floor is vaulted and groined in the elegant style of architecture that prevailed in the reign of King Henry the Third; and on the left hand side of the entrance is a small cell, formed in the substance, of the wall; the circular stone staircase also exists, and, till lately, there were to be seen some coats of arms and fragments of inscriptions, which had been left on the walls by prisoners; but these have been obscured by recent alterations in the apartments.

---

[h] See page 52.

[i] Harleian MSS. in Mus. Brit. N°. 1326.

This tower, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was designated the Martin Tower, and in the year 1641, was known by that appellation, and described as a prison-lodging; but it soon afterwards assumed its present name, from having been made the repository of the royal jewels and plate, which had previously been kept in a small building on the south side of the White Tower.

In very early times, the jewels and other ensigns of royalty, were sometimes placed, for security, within the walls of religious houses,[k] but most generally in the treasury of the Temple; and it was not, perhaps, before the reign of King Henry the Third that they were deposited in the Tower of London.

When the king went abroad, his crown and other ornaments of majesty usually accompanied him;[l] and on the return of Henry the Third from France, in 1230, he commanded the bishop of Carlisle[m] to replace the jewels in the Tower as they had been before; which is the first mention we find of their being kept there.

In the year 1204, we have an account of jewels which were taken to Reading by the master and almoner of the New Temple, and delivered to King John,[n] preparatory to his celebrating the feast of Christmas in that town. This unhappy monarch appears to have found it less difficult to procure the ensigns of royalty than it was to enjoy those he already possessed: in the ninth year of his reign he received a large crown, and other precious articles, from Germany,[o] which seem to have been of the most splendid description.

---

[k] Rot. Pat. de anno 6to. Regis Johannis. m. 4. N° 9. Ibid. 17 Joh. m. 19. in Turr. Lond.

[l] Rot. Pat. 15 Joh. m. 3. N° 7. Ibid. 16 Joh. p. 2. m. 8.

[m] Rot. Claus. 14 Hen. III. m. 23.

[n] Rex &c. omnibus &c. Sciatis quod die Lune proxima ante Natale Do'mini anno regni nostri vj^to apud Rading' per manum fratris Alani preceptoris Novi Templi London' & fratris Rogeri elemosinarii, recepimus, coronam nostram auream factam apud London'; mantell' de samitto vermeill' frettatum cum saphiris & kathmath' & perlis, cum uno firmaculo an' insuto; dalmaticam de eodem samitto; urlatam de

During the troubles which embittered the latter part of the

---

orfreis & cum lapidibus; tunicam de diaspro albo; unum pannum serricum quadratum ad sedem regiam; sandalia & soculares de prædicto samitto, bondatos de orfreis; baldredum de eodem samitto cum kathmath' & aliis lapidibus; & cyrotecas albas cum uno saphiro & una amatista; et gladium qui factus fuit ad coronationem nostram cum scabberg' de orfreis. Item duas zonas cum esmall', & iiij^{or} . . . as cum membris aureis, & unam magnam cum granatis et saphiris et perlis. Item, unum firmaculum cum rubis; unum firmaculum cum smaragdinibus & rubis quod episcopus Norewic' dedit nobis; unum firmaculum cum saphiris de opere London. Item, unum firmaculum cum saphiris. Item, unum firmaculum cum iiij^{or} smaragdinibus & iiij^{or} baleis. Item, unum firmaculum cum ix. bonis saphiris. Item, unum firmaculum cum ij. saphiris, ij. smaragdinibus, & ij. baleis. Item, unum firmaculum cum iij smaragdinibus, iij. saphiris, & iij baleis. Item, unum firmaculum cum iiij^{or} smaragdinibus, iiij^{or} saphiris & iiij^{or} bal' & j. turkeis' in hardillone. Item, unum firmaculum cum ij. saphiris & j. topac', & cum grossis perlis & minutis saphiris. Item, unum firmaculum cum saphiris quod camerarius nobis dedit. Item, unum firmaculum cum iiij bal' & iiij. smaragdinibus. Item, unum firmaculum cum iij smaragdinibus & iij. saphiris, & j. turkeis' & minutis perlis & parvis rubis. Item, unum baculum, cum x. saphiris grossis. Item, unum baculum cum xxviij. diamant'. Item, unum baculum, cum lx. smaragdinibus. Item, unum baculum cum lvij. smaragdinibus. Item, unum baculum cum vij. topac' bonis, & j. lapide qui ignoratur. Item, unum baculum cum ix. turkeis'. Item, unum baculum cum xiiij. saphiris bonis in caston' Item, ij. magna pectina aur' cum diversis lapidibus, ponderantes ij. marc' vj. unc' & dimid'. Et ideo volumus quod magister Templi & fratres Templi de omnibus suprascriptis quieti sint; et in hujus rei testimonium &c. Teste G. fil' Petri com' Essex' apud Rading' xviij. die Dec'.—*Rot. Pat. 6 Joh. m. 6. dors. in Turr. Lond.*

[o] Rex omnibus &c. Sciatis quod recepimus sabbato proximo post festum sancti Nicholai apud Clarendon' anno regni nostri ix^{o}. per manus Hug' de Roppell' & Rad' de Riparia & Johannis Ruffi, hominum Roberti de Roppell', magnam coronam, quæ venit de Alemanniâ, & j. tunicam de purpura, & sandalia de eodem panno, & balton' de orfrasio cum lapidibus; unum par socularium & frettas de ofrasio, & j. par cirothecar' & dalmaticum de nigra purpura, & pallium regale de purpura cum morsu & brochar auri, & pannum sericum ad ferendum supra regem in coronatione suâ & magnum ceptrum ejusdem regal'; virgam auream cum columba in summo; & ij. enses, scilicet, ensem tristra . . & alium ensem de eodem regali; et calcaria aurea de eodem regali; cupam auri ponderis viij^{o} marc' & duarum untiar' & unius q^{t}; crucem auri ponderis trium m. & vij. untiar' & dimid'. Et ut prædicti Rob' de Roppell' & homines sui inde sint quieti, has litteras nostras patentes eis fecimus. Teste domino P. Wint' episcopo apud Clarendon' ix. die Dec'. per eundem.—*Rot. Pat. de anno 9 Reg. Johannis. m. 4 No. 24.*

reign of King Henry the Third he conveyed his plate and jewels abroad, and confided them to the care of Margaret, Queen of France.[p] They were laid up in the Temple at Paris,[q] and afterwards pledged to certain merchants of that nation, in order to raise money for the maintenance of his royal estate, in the necessities to which he was reduced by the rebellion of his barons.[r] In 1272 they were redeemed and brought back into England; and we find on that occasion not only a list of them, but a statement of their respective values.[s]

Edward the Third's expensive wars with France obliged him to pledge his crown and jewels[t] to the merchants of Flanders; and soon after the accession of his grandson King Richard the Second, they were placed in the hands of the bishop of London and the earl of Arundel, as security for the sum of ten thousand pounds, which that monarch had borrowed of John Philipot and other merchants of London.[u]

Henry the Fifth, to enable him to carry on his wars, pledged his great collar called the Pusan, or Rich collar, to the mayor and commonalty of London, as security for ten thousand marks;[x] and in the following year, having obtained large sums of money from the nobility and others, empowered Thomas Chitterne, keeper of his jewels, to deliver them to those persons, as pledges for the repayment of their respective loans.[y]

King Henry the Sixth was, on several occasions, reduced to the necessity of pawning his jewels,[z] in order to raise money. in the seventeenth year of his reign, appears the following curious account of articles, which by advice and assent of his council, were delivered to his uncle Henry bishop of Winchester, the rich cardinal of England, as security for a loan of seven thousand marks, which was to be fully repaid by the feast of Easter in the year 1440, and if were not, that then the said jewels should become the absolute property of the cardinal, to dispose of as he thought fit.[a]

---

[p] Rot. Pat. 26 Hen. III. m. 20.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Rot. Pat. 51 Hen. III. m. 17, 18; 55 Hen. III. m. 22.; 56 Hen. III. m. 21.

[s] Rot. Pat. 56 Hen III. m. 21. Fœdera, vol. i. pars. 1. p. 492.

[t] Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 8.

[u] Ibid. 1 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 5.

[x] Ibid. 4 Hen. V. m. 4.

[y] Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 25.

[z] Rot. Pat. 21 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 27. & p. 2. m. 9; 27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m 2; 28 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 2; 29 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 7.

" A pusan of gold called the riche coler contenyng xvj. culpons or peces, upon the which beth viij antelopes garnished with xx greet perles, and upon the same coler beth. v. baleys, wherof iiij. are of entaille square and the v^{the} is vj quartered, and upon the same coler beth ij greet perles joyning unto ye baleys; also upon the same coler beth viij. crownes of gold, ich of hem enamyled with a reson of ung saunz pluis, and upon the same crownes beth ij. greet diamandes, square and pointed; also upon the same coler beth x. onches, yche of hem with double floures of gold garnisshed, and upon yche of the same onches is a greet baleys, and vj. greet perles, of which baleys vij. beth of entaille square, and iij. of hem beth rounde and ragged; also upon ye same coler is a nother littel onche with double floures of gold, garnished with a baleys of entaille square, and v. perles; also ther is in a little bagge of canvas with the same coler a greet longe perle, and ix. other rounde perles; also ther beth in ye same bagge xiiij. littel floures of gold, weyng in all lx. unces and di. quatr' of troye, the price M^l. M^l. D.CCC. li.

Also a swerd of gold called the swerd of Spaigne, garnished with v. greet baleys, vi. greet saphirs $iiij^{xx}$. xix. greet perles upon the scaberge; and the hilt is garnished with iij. baleys, ij. saphirs, xvj. greet perles; and the pomell of the same is garnisshed with a baleys, a saphir, x. perles, weyng in all x. marc and an half and half an unce of troye, the price ccc. xxxiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.

Also a tablet of gold of the passion of Crist, maade in the maner of a boke, garnished with xliij. diamandes, xx. baleys, xx. saphirs; with inne which tablet are xl. troches, yche troche contenyng iiij. perles; and withoute ye same tablet are xviij. troches, ych troche contenyng iiij. perles; and in the same tablet is a rube and xxxv. garnades; which tablet weith lx. unces of troye, the price cx. li.

Also a tablet of Seint George, of gold garnisshed with a rube, viij. diamandes; and in that oon parte is an angel holdyng an helme, garnished with a rube and littel perles; and in yat other partie is a pusell knelyng, with a lambe garnisshed with a rube, and ye tablet all aboute is garnisshed with xxv. baleys, xxv. saphirs, iij. emeraudes, lv. greet perles, and iiij^{xx}. xix. perles of a nother sort, and a greet compaigne of other perles, weyng lxxix. unces di. the price ciiij^{xx}. ƚi.

---

[a] Rot. Pat. 17 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 82.

Also a pusan of gold called Iklyngton Coler, garnisshed with iiij. rubes, iiij. greet saphirs, xxxij. greet perles, and liij. other perles; the price. ccc. ƚi.

Also ij. salers of gold, whereof that oon is a man, and that other a woman, haldying the saler, in here handes; and the man is garnisshed with vij. rubes and vij. troches, every troche of iij. perles; and upon the topet is a saphir, and the fote of the same man is garnisshed with vj. rubes, vj. saphirs, and xlviij. perles; and ye woman haldyng a nother saler, garnisshed with vij. rubes and vij. troches, every troche with iij. perles, and upon ye topet is a saphir, and the fote is garnished with vj. rubes, vj. saphirs, and xlviij. perles, weyng all to gidre iiij.^{xx}. xiiij. unces; the price of all cxl. ƚi.

Also ij. pottes, of gold, weyng xxxiij. unces and đi. the price of every unce xxiij. s. iiij. d. s^{a} xxxix. li. xx. d.

Also a chales and ij. cruettes of gold weyng to gidre xxix. unces; the price of every unce xxiij. s. iiij. d. s^{a} xxxiij. ƚi. xvj. s. viij. d.

Also a tablet of gold, of the Salutacion of oure Lady, garnisshed with v. baleys, v. saphirs, and xxv. greet perles, weyng xxxv. unces; the price lx. ƚi.

Also an ymage of Seint George beyng upon a green tarage with a damysell knelyng, garnisshed with xiiij. baleys, viij. saphirs, xvj. troches, every troche conteynyng iij. perles, weyng lj. unces and di; the price lxviij. ƚi. xiij. s. iiij. d.

Also a paire of basyns, of silver and overgilt, chaced with double roses and pounced, the bursell of kermerye, weyng xx. ƚi. viij. unces; also a greet almes dyssh, of silver and overgilt, maade in maner of a shipp full of men of armes feyghtyng upon the ship syde, weyng in all lxvij. ƚi. ix. unces of troye; also ij. greet chargeours, vj. lasse chargeours, xl. dysshes of diverses sortes, and xxiij. saucers gilt, pois' cliij. ƚi. j. unc'; the sōme total of ye weght of the saide basyns, almes dyssh, and vessell cometh ccxlj. ƚi. vj. unces; the price of every pounde xxxiij. s. iv. d. s^{a}. ccccij. ƚi. x. s.

Also a standyng tablet of gold with a pece of tunica inconsutul', garnisshed with vj. baleys, vj. saphirs, xij. greet perles and xij. other lasse perles, with an ymage of Oure Lady, white enamiled in the toppe and on every syde an angel, weyng xxviij. unc' iij. quatr'; price of every unce xxiij. s. iiij. d. s^{a} xxxiij. ƚi. x. s. x. d.

Also a standyng coppe of gold, garnisshed with xlv. perles, and upon the topet is a saphir; and an ewere of gold, garnisshed with xxix. perles; weyng all to gidre lxvj. unc' of troye, price every unce xviij. s. iv. d. s^{a} lxxvij. ƚi.

Also a flatte tablet of gold with a pece of tunica inconsutil', garnisshed with xxv. greet perles, weyng lxi. unc'; price of every unce xxiij. s. iiij. d. s^{a} lxxj. ƚi. iij. s. iiij. d. and the price of the perreye xiij. ƚi. x. s. x. d. the hole sōme of ye tablet cōmeth to iiij.^{xx}. iiij. ƚi. xiiij. s. ij. d."

A few years afterwards the following articles belonging to the crown jewels were delivered to Humphrey earl of Buckingham, as a pledge for the payment of a thousand marcs at the following Easter, being part of a larger sum which was due to him for his own wages and those of the soldiers in the town of Calais:[b] and in case he did not receive satisfaction by the time specified, he had the power of disposing of the said jewels as he thought proper

" Two basyns of gold chased in the manier of roses pounced w^{t} greet bosseletts, garnysshed w^{t} divers scocheons, that is to say, in the myddes of the saide basyns the armes of Seint George, and aboute theim tharmes of Seint Edward, Seint Edmund, tharmes of Themperoure, tharmes of Engeland and France departed, tharmes of the princepaltee and the armes of the duchie of Guyenne; whiche basyns weyen xliij. marc' of troye, price y^{e} unce xxvj. s. viij. d. the price of the said basyns cccc. lviij. ƚi. xiij. s. iiij. d.

Also a tablet of Seint George, of golde garnisshed w^{t} a rubie

---

[a] Rot. Pat. 21 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 27. in Turr. Lond.

viij. dyamandes; and in that oon partie is an angel haldyng an helme garnished w^{t} a rubie and litel perles; and in that other partie is a pucele knelyng w^{t} a lambe garnisshed w^{t} a rubie, and the tablet is garnisshed aboute w^{t} xxv. baleys, xxv. saphiers, thre emeraudes l. greet perles, iiij.^{xx}. ix. perles of another sorte, and a grete compaignye of other perles, weyng lxxix. unces and an half the price ciiij^{xx}. iiij. li. vi. s. viij. d.

Also a litel belle of gold weyng xx. unces, price of every unce xxiij. s. iiij. d. the somme xxiij. li. vi. s. viij. d."

Several other interesting accounts appear upon record, particularly in the reign of that unhappy prince, King Henry VI., of jewels and plate pledged on different occasions to satisfy the wants of the state; and some of them might merit recital, but a detailed history of these ornaments would require a space which neither the limits nor intention of this work will allow; though the following curious inventory of the regalia, as it existed in the time of King James the First, must not be omitted: it is taken from the original, signed at the beginning and end with the king's own hand, and preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster.[c]

"JAMES R.

Jewelles remayninge in an yron cheste in the secrete Jewelhouse w^{t}in the Tower of London.

Fyrst a crowne imperyall of golde sett about the nether border w^{t} ix^{en} greate pointed dyamondes, and betwene everye dyamonde a knott of perle, sett by fyve perles in a knott, in the upper border eight rocke rubies and xx^{tie} rounde perles, the fower arches being sett eche of them wth a table dyamonde, a table rubye, an emeralde, and uppon twoe of the arches xviij^{en} perles and uppon the other twoe arches xvij^{en} perles, and betwene everye arche a greate ballace sett in a collett of golde, and uppon the topp a verye great ballace perced, and a lytle crosse of golde upon the top enamelled blewe.

---

[c] This curious and valuable document was obligingly communicated by John Caley, Esq., keeper of the records in the Chapter-house: it is preserved in a book, entitled, "A booke conteyninge the remayne of all suche jewells and other p'cells as are remayninge in the kinges ma^{ts} secrete Jewelhouse wthin the Tower of London, accordinge to a survey thereof taken by th'erle of Dorsett, lorde high th'rer of Englande, and others, by vertue of his highnes warr^{a}unte under the privie seale dated the xxijth. daye of Marche in the seconde yeare of his ma^{s} raigne of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, and of Scottlande the xxxviijth."

It'm a coronett of golde sett about the nether border wth iiij. blewe saphyrs, iiij. ballaces, one emeralde, v. roses of dyamondes, and xiiijen rounde perles, and about the upper border sett with three blewe saphyrs, three ballaces, and vj. quaters of perles, every quater havinge in the middest a small pointed dyamonde.

It'm a circlett of golde sette wth a greate ballace rubye, viij. table dyamondes, ixen emeraldes, xxxvj. rocke rubies, and lvj. rounde perles.

It'm one circlett, newe made for the quene, conteyninge in the myddest viij. fayre dyamondes of dyverse fashions, viij. fayre rubies, viij. emeraldes, and viij. saphyrs, garnished wth xxxij. smalle dyamondes, xxxij. small rubies, and lxiiijor p'les fixed, and on eche border xxxij. small dyamondes, and xxxij. small rubyes, nowe remayninge wth the quene.

It'm a coller of serpentes of golde enamelled, conteyninge viij. table dyamondes, wth a flower hanginge at it, wth a table and rubye, a fayre dyamonde cutt lozengewise.

It'm a coller of gold, conteyninge xiijen greate ballaces, and xiij. peces of golde, with xiijen cinques of perles betwene them.

It'm a coller of golde conteyninge xiiijen greate table dyamondes and twoe other much bigger, beinge in nomber xvjen, and xiiijen quaters of greate perles.

It'm a coller of golde conteyninge fyve fayre table dyamondes, three greate rocke rubies, twoe table rubyes, lxiij. litle rubyes, and xij. quaters of perles wantinge twoe perles, and xxxvj. small dyamondes in the peces.

It'm a coller of golde, conteyninge viij. fayre poynted dyamondes and one table dyamonde, wth l'res of P. and M. havinge to each of them a perle pendaunte.

It'm a coller of golde, wth viij. greate rocke rubyes, and one greate poynted dyamonde in the myddest and xx. greate perles sett in twoes wth one long perle pendaunte.

It'm a coller of golde conteyninge xiiijen knottes of golde sett wth vijen fayre dyamondes and xiiijen lytle rubyes wth xiijen perles pendaunte, whereoft one dyamonde in the myddest is greate.

It'm one coller of twoe ioyntes sett with vj. table dyamondes, vij^{en} rocke rubies, vij^{en} emeraldes, and xviij^{en} knotts of perles, twoe perles in a knott.

It'm one coller of golde sett wth x^{en} blewe saphyres in collets of golde, and x^{en} knotts of rounde perles, every knott conteyninge xiiij^{en} perles, one knott wantinge iiij^{or} perles.

It'm one coller of golde sett wth xiiij^{en} emeraldes in collets of golde, and xiiij^{en} knotts of rounde perles, in everye knott ix^{en} perles.

It'm one coller of golde sett wth ix^{en} verye greate ballaces in colletts of golde and x. knotts of perles, everye knott conteyninge xvj^{en} rounde perles.

It'm one coller of golde wthout stone of the order of S^{t}. Michaell, conteyninge xxiiij^{or} knotts of golde, and xxiiij^{or} knottes of duble skalloppe shelles havinge at thends of it S^{t}. Michaell hanginge by twoe lytle cheynes.

It'm one coller of golde devyded into twoe braunches conteyninge in the same x^{en} table dyamondes, one bygger then the rest, x^{en} rubies, viij. beinge rocke rubies, and twoe table rubies, and xxxvj. rounde perles in twoes.

It'm one ryche coller of golde conteyninge x^{en} fayre table dyamondes, one poynted dyamonde in the myddest, xij. peces of goldsmytheswoorke wrought lyke friers knottes and set wth iiij^{xx}. xij. perles wth a flower of golde, therein a fayre table dyamonde and three perles pendaunte, twoe fayre and the thirde meane.

It'm a shorte coller of golde conteyninge iiij^{or} table dyamondes, three rubyes and viij. peces of golde, in eche twoe perles, one lytle dyamonde and one small rubie.

It'm one upper habillamente conteyninge xiiij^{en} peces of golde eche havinge one fayre table dyamonde.

It'm one upper habillament conteyning x. peces of golde, eche havinge one table dyamonde, and vj. peces of golde, each havinge one rubye.

It'm tenne buttons sett wth tenne dyamondes for His Ma^{tes} wearinge, remayninge in the chardge of the lorde Barwycke.

It'm one upper habilliamente conteyninge xiij^{en} peces of golde havinge in eache fower perles.

It'm twoe rynges of golde, th'one sett wth a topas, and th'other wth a white saphyr.

It'm one rynge of golde enamelled grene and white, havinge a fayre rocke rubie sett in fower clawes.

It'm a ringe of golde enamelled blacke, blewe, white, and grene, havinge a great rocke rubye in fower clawes enamelled grene.

It'm tenne buttons of golde sett wth tenne table dyamondes remayninge in the chardge of the lorde Barwycke.

It'm parte of a byllamente conteyninge twoe peces of golde sett wth twoe dyamondes.

It'm one brouche of golde enamelled and sett wth a dyamonde.

It'm one button of golde sett wth a dyamonde, and one greate ragged perle pendaunte.

It'm fyftene perles p'cell of one and fortie ragged perles pendaunte and eight pendaunte perles tyed unto a purple stringe.

It'm twentie buttons of golde sette wth fower perles a pece and truelove knotts.

It'm one greate blewe saphyer unsett.

It'm one greate amatiste sett in golde.

It'm xxiiij^{or} buttons of golde, eche havinge one fayre dyamonde of dyverse cuttes.

It'm xix^{en} rounde buttons of golde, eche havinge a dyamonde, some fayrer then other, rem' in the chardge of the lorde Barwycke.

It'm eight longe peces of goldsmytheswoorke eche havinge one fayre dyamonde.

It'm three longe peces of golde eche havinge one rocke rubye.

It'm a parte of a flower of golde beinge a rock rubye wth a longe p'le pendaunte.

It'm a flower wth a verye greate table dyamonde sett in golde called the myrror.

It'm a fayre flower wth three greate ballaces in the myddest, a greate poynted dyamonde, and three greate perles fixed wth a fayre greate p'le pendaunte called the Brethren.

It'm a flower of golde wth a table dyamonde, and a greate p'le pendaunte.

It'm a fayre rubye ballace wthout foyle, hanginge in a case of golde enamelled.

It'm a jewell, beinge a fayre rocke rubye ballace without foyle, and a fayre longe perle pendaunte at it.

It'm a perle pendaunte and a snayle on it.

It'm one lardge agatt, graven wth the picture of kinge Henrye the viijth. and kinge Edwarde the vjth.

It'm a pendaunte of fower perles in a cluster.

It'm a flower of golde wth a rocke rubye and a perle pendaunte.

It'm a fayre greate blewe saphyr wthout foyle, and a longe perle pendaunte.

It'm one fanne of feathers of sondry coulors, the handle of golde fullie furnished wth dyamondes and rubyes, wth a dyamonde lyke a nayle of th'one syde and an emeralde on the other, beinge loose wth a ringe on th'ende of the handle, wth a sharpe pointed dyamonde.

It'm a greate and ryche jewell of golde called the myrror of Greate Brytaigne, conteyning one verye fayre table dyamonde, one verye fayre table rubye, twoe other lardge dyamondes cutt lozengewise, th'one of them called the stone of the l're H. oft Scottlande, garnished wth small dyamondes twoe rounde perles fixed, and one fayre dyamonde cutt in fawcetts, bought of Sauncy.

It'm one fayre jewell lyke a feather of golde, conteyninge one fayre table dyamonde in the myddest, and xxv. diamondes of diverse formes delivered by the lo. Barwyck.

It'm one jewell of golde of the l're J. havinge one fayre longe dyamonde in the myddest, twoe greate ballace rubies, and one small tryangle dyamonde in the topp.

It'm dyverse antiquyties in a purse of blacke velvett, in all weyinge ∽ xv. oz. di. di. q^{a}rter.

It'm one lesser bagge wth sondrye sylver mettalls.

It'm a purse of blacke velvett wth medalias of golde, some of them cheyned together.

It'm a purse wth sondrye mettalls of copper.

It'm one longe pece estemed for an unicornes horne.

It'm three other peces estemed lykewise to be unycornes horne.

It'm one greate twoe handed sworde garnyshed wth sylver and guylte, presented to kinge Henry the viijth by the Pope.

JAMES R.

This booke is agreable to a former booke made by me, and doth conteyne the entrye of all the kinges mats jewells remayning in the Tower of London. FRA: GOFTON.

JAMES R.

Jewelles of the saide secrete jewelhouse in the Tower geven by the kinges matie owne handes to the quene at severall tymes.

Fyrste one jewell wth a dyamonde and a spynell or rubye and fyve perles wth a longe ragged ꝑle pendaunte.

It'm a jewell beinge an H. conteyninge seven Dyamondes, thereof fyve poynted and twoe tabled with three perles pendaunte.

It'm a crosse of golde wth fyve longe dyamondes and a fayre ꝑle pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a sharpe pointed dyamonde, a rubye, an emeralde, and a longe perle pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a sharpe poynted dyamonde and a rubye, wth a ꝑle pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a table dyamonde, a table rubye, and a small perle pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a pointed dyamonde, a table rubye, and a perle pendaunte.

It'm eight and fortye perles ꝑcell of one hundreth and xij rounde perles.

It'm one hundreth fourescore nynetene perles.

It'm one greate longe perle pendaunte taken from a flower of golde wth a verye greate table dyamonde.

It'm a shorte coller of golde havinge three greate dyamondes, three fayre rubyes, and three greate emeraldes, wth xxtie perles sett in twoes of goldsmythes woorke.

It'm one carkanett or billamente of golde conteyninge seventene peces of golde sett wth seventene dyamondes.

It'm a crosse of golde wthout a heade havinge twoe poynted dyamondes, twoe fayre table dyamondes, and one lozenge dyamonde wth a perle pendaunte.

It'm a crosse wth fower longe dyamondes and three Scottishe perles pendaunte.

It'm a fayre tablett wth a crosse of xxiij. dyamondes on the one syde and a worde conteyninge sixtene l'res of dyamondes, *Dieu et mon droyt*, wth a lytle knobb pendaunte, therein two litle table dyamondes and twoe rubyes, wth a clocke in it.

It'm one lytle bottle of an agatt sett wth one rubye, and a small cheyne of golde.

It'm a jewell of golde wth a greate dyamonde, a greate rubye, and a longe perle pendaunte.

It'm a jewell of golde sett wth three dyamondes, and one rocke rubye, and one greate ragged ꝑle pendaunte.

It'm a jewell of golde sett wth a pointed dyamonde, twoe rubies, and one emeralde, and twoe ragged perles pendaunte, beinge a whistle.

It'm a jewell of golde garnished wth fyve pendaunte perles, fyve rocke rubies, fower dyamondes, and twoe emeraldes, and a ragged ꝑle in the myddest.

It'm one castinge bottle of golde sett wth small dyamondes and sparkes of rubyes.

It'm a flower of golde conteyninge three dyamondes, twoe tabled and one poynted, wth a flatt perle pendaunte at it.

It'm a tablett of golde like a sheilde wth a rose of dyamondes in the myddest uppon a spredd eagle wth a table dyamonde, a poynted dyamonde, an emeralde, and a rubie, and three fayre perles pendaunte.

It'm a crosse of golde wth xij dyamondes.

It'm a jewell of golde wth one dyamonde cutt lyke a nayle, wth one rubye, one emeralde, and a longe perle pendaunte.

JAMES R.

This agreeth wth a former booke made by me w^{ch} was signed by the kinges ma^{tie} and dothe conteyne an

> entre of such jewells remayninge in the Tower of London as have bene delivered by the kinges owne hands to the quene.—Fra : Gofton.

From the time of King Henry the Third, the usual repository of the crown jewels was the Tower of London, and they were generally under the care of a keeper, appointed by the king's letters patent, with a stated salary.

Edward the Third granted the office of keeper of his jewels, armories, and other things in the Tower, to John de Flete, during pleasure, with wages of twelve pence per diem;[d] and afterwards, in the same reign, it was enjoyed by John de Mildenhall.[e]

Subsequently the office became one of great honour and emolument, and was holden by persons of distinction; as, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, by the famous Thomas Cromwell, who was afterwards Earl of Essex.[f] The keeper was styled master and treasurer of the Jewel-house; and, besides the care the regalia in the Tower, he had the purchasing and custody of all royal plate; the appointment of the king and queen's goldsmiths and jewellers; the furnishing of plate to ambassadors, and great officers of state; and the remanding of it when the ambassadors returned, or the officers died or were removed; he had lodgings in all the king's houses, and conveyance as well for the plate, as for his own household, on removals of the court.[g]

The salary attached to his office was only fifty pounds per annum, but his perquisites were very considerable, and in the reign of King Charles the Second, after they had undergone considerable reduction, amounted to 1300 pounds yearly.[h] He was allowed a table of fourteen dishes, with beer, wine, &c., or thirty-eight shillings daily for board wages:[i] three hundred pounds came to him every year out of the new-year's-gift money; and about three hundred more he obtained by carrying presents to ambassadors:[k] he had an allowance of twenty-eight ounces of gilt plate yearly, and the small presents sent to the king, anciently valued at thirty or forty pounds; as also the purses wherein the lords presented their gold, which were usually worth thirty or forty pounds each.[l]

---

[d] Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 33.

[e] Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 29.

[f] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii p. 370.

[g] Harleian MSS. N° 1843.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Ibid.

[k] Ibid.

In public processions he had precedence next to privy counsellors;[m] at coronations he wore a scarlet robe, and dined at the barons' table in Westminster-hall;[n] and at opening and closing sessions of parliament, and on passing of bills, when the king appeared in his robes, he attended to put on and take off the crown from his majesty's head.[o]

These and other privileges and emoluments were enjoyed by Sir Henry Mildmay, who was master and treasurer of the Jewel House during the interregnum; but on the restoration of King Charles the Second and the attainder of Sir Henry, the office was given to Sir Gilbert Talbot; when, at the instance of lord chancellor Hyde,[p] many of the perquisites were either abolished, or came into other hands; and, since that period, all the duties and advantages of the place have either been done away with, or have merged in the office of the lord chamberlain, except the custody of the regalia in the Tower; the appointment to which is also in his lordship's gift.

The master had lodgings for himself and servants in the Tower, but formerly he did not reside there, except on extraordinary occasions, that part of his charge being confided to a trusty servant.

It was soon after the appointment of Sir Gilbert Talbot that the regalia in the Tower first became objects of public inspection, which King Charles allowed in consequence of the above-mentioned reduction in the emoluments of the master's office.[q] The profits which arose from shewing the jewels to strangers, Sir Gilbert assigned, in lieu of a salary, to the person whom he had appointed to the care of them. This was an old confidential servant of his father's, one Talbot Edwards, whose name is handed down to posterity as keeper of the regalia when the notorious attempt to steal the crown was made by Blood, a desperate ruffian, in the year 1673; the following account of which is chiefly derived from a relation which Mr. Edwards himself made of the transaction.[q]

---

[l] Harleian MSS. Nº 1843.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Ibid.

About three weeks before this audacious villain made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a parson, with a long cloak cassock and canonical girdle, accompanied by a woman whom he called his wife. They desired to see the regalia, and just as their wishes had been gratified, the lady feigned sudden indisposition: this called forth the kind offices of Mrs. Edwards, the keeper's wife, who having courteously invited her into their house to repose herself, she soon recovered, and on their departure professed themselves thankful for this civility.

A few days after, Blood came again, bringing a present to Mrs. Edwards of four pairs of white gloves from his pretended wife; and, having thus begun the acquaintance, they made frequent visits to improve it. After a short respite of their compliments, the disguised ruffian returned again; and, in conversation with Mrs. Edwards, said that his wife could discourse of nothing but the kindness of those good people in the Tower, that she had long studied, and at length bethought herself of a handsome way of requital. You have, quoth he, a pretty young gentlewoman for your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred a year in land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve it, I'll bring him here to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match. This was easily assented to by old Mr. Edwards, who invited the parson to dine with him on that day: he readily accepted the invitation; and, taking upon him to say grace, performed it with great seeming devotion, and, casting up his eyes, concluded it with a prayer for the king, queen, and royal family. After dinner he went up to see the rooms, and observing a handsome case of pistols hang there, expressed a great desire to buy them, to present to a young lord who was his neighbour; a pretence by which he thought of disarming the house against the period intended for the execution of his design. At his departure, "which was a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to see his mistress; which was the very day that he made his daring attempt."

---

[q] See Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 580. Stow's Survey by Strype, vol. i. pp 99, 100. edit. 1754.

The good old gentleman had got up ready to receive his guest, and the daughter was in her best dress to entertain her expected lover; when, behold, parson Blood, with three more, came to the Jewel house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a brace of pocket pistols. Two of his companions entered in with him, on pretence of seeing the crown, and the third stayed at the door, as if to look after the young lady, a jewel of a more charming description, but in reality as a watch. The daughter, who thought it not modest to come down till she was called, sent the maid to take a view of the company, and bring a description of her gallant; and the servant conceiving that he was the intended bridegroom who stayed at the door, being the youngest of the party, returned to soothe the anxiety of her young mistress with the idea she had formed of his person.

" Blood told Mr. Edwards, that they would not go up stairs till his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the crown to pass the time till then; and they had no sooner entered the room, and the door, as usual, shut, than a cloak was thrown over the old man's head, and a gag put in his mouth.

" Thus secured, they told him, that their resolution was to have the crown, globe, and sceptre; and, if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life; otherwise he was to expect no mercy. He thereupon endeavoured to make all the noise he possibly could, to be heard above; they then knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, that, if yet he would lie quietly, they would spare his life; but if not, upon his next attempt to discover them, they would kill him:" Mr. Edwards, however, according to his own account, was not intimidated by this threat, but strained himself to make the greater noise, and in consequence received several more blows on the head with the mallet, and was stabbed in the belly: this again brought the poor old man to the ground, where he lay for some time in so senseless a state, that one of the villains pronounced him dead. Edwards had come a little to himself, and, hearing this, lay quietly, conceiving it best to be thought so. The booty was now to be disposed of, and one of them, named Parrot, secreted the orb: Blood held the crown under his cloak; and the third was about to file the sceptre in two, in order that it might be placed in a bag, brought for that purpose; but fortunately, the son of Mr. Edwards, who had been in Flanders with sir John Talbot, and on his landing in England had obtained leave to come away, post, to visit his father, happened to arrive whilst this scene was acting; and on coming to the door the person that stood centinel asked, with whom he would speak? to which he answered, that he belonged to the house; and, perceiving the person to be a stranger, told him that if he had any business with his father that he would acquaint him with it, and so hastened up stairs to salute his friends. This unexpected accident spread confusion amongst the party, and they instantly decamped with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre yet unfiled.

The aged keeper now raised himself upon his legs, forced the gag from his mouth, and cried, *treason! murder!* which being heard by his daughter, who was, perhaps, anxiously expecting far other sounds, ran out and reiterated the cry. The alarm now became general, and young Edwards and his brother-in-law, captain Beckman, ran after the conspirators; whom a warder put himself in a position to stop; but Blood discharged a pistol at him, and he fell, although unhurt, and the thieves proceeded safely to the next post; where one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell, stood centinel: but he offered no opposition, and they accordingly passed the drawbridge. Horses were waiting for them at St. Catherine's gate, and as they ran that way along the Tower wharf, they themselves cried out, *stop the rogues;* by which they passed on unsuspected till captain Beckman overtook them. At his head Blood fired another pistol, but missed him, and was seized. Under the cloak of this daring villain was found the crown, and, although he saw himself a prisoner, he had yet the impudence to struggle for his prey; and when it was finally wrested from him, said, *It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful: it was for a crown!*

Parrot, who had formerly served under general Harrison, was also taken; but Hunt, Blood's son-in-law, reached his horse and rode off, as did two other of the thieves; but he was soon afterwards stopped, and likewise committed to custody.

In this struggle and confusion, the great pearl, a large diamond, and several smaller stones, were lost from the crown; but the two former, and some of the latter, were afterwards found, and restored; and the Ballas ruby, broken off the sceptre, being found in Parrot's pocket, nothing considerable was eventually missing.

As soon as the prisoners were secured, young Edwards hastened to sir Gilbert Talbot, who was then master and treasurer of the Jewel-house, and gave him an account of the transaction. Sir Gilbert instantly went to the king and acquainted his majesty with it; and his majesty commanded him to proceed forthwith to the Tower, to see how matters stood; to take the examination of Blood, and the others; and to return and report it to him. Sir Gilbert accordingly went; but the king in the mean time was persuaded by some about him, to hear the examination himself, and the prisoners were in consequence sent for to Whitehall; a circumstance which is supposed to have saved these daring wretches from the gallows.

Blood, who had previously been the leader in an attempt upon the life of the duke of Ormond, during his examination respecting the crown, was also interrogated on that subject, and, as if he valued himself upon the action, and, possibly, suspecting that some discovery had already been made concerning it, without any scruple acknowledged that he was one of the party; but, on being asked respecting his associates, he answered, that *he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own!* As to the provocation which he had for that assault, he said, that the duke had taken away his estate, and had executed some of his friends; for which he and many others were bound by a solemn oath to be revenged. Lest the concealment of any of his audacities should detract from the romance of his life, he also voluntarily confessed to the king that he had been engaged in a design to kill his majesty with a carbine from among the reeds by Thames' side above Battersea;

and, that the cause of this resolution in himself and others, was, his majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly, in suppressing the freedom of religious assemblies; but, that when he had put himself in wait for that purpose, his heart was checked by an awe of majesty; and he did not only himself relent, but also diverted his associates from the design.

By these confessions, he told the king, that he had sufficiently laid himself open to the law, and might reasonably anticipate its utmost rigour; for which, as far as concerned himself, he was prepared: inasmuch as there were hundreds of their friends, yet undiscovered, who were bound to each other, by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of their colleagues, upon those who should bring them to justice; and that, therefore, his majesty, and all his ministers, would be exposed to the daily fear and expectation of a massacre. On the other hand, however, if his majesty, would spare the lives of a few, he might win the hearts of many; who, as they had been daring in mischiefs, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favor, to distinguish themselves in the service of the state.

Thus did that audacious and wary villain partly overawe, and partly captivate, the good-nature of the king: in short, after being remanded to prison, he and his accomplices were not only pardoned, but that vile wretch himself received into favor; had five hundred pounds a year conferred upon him in Ireland; was admitted to the private intimacy of that abandoned court, enjoying the smiles of majesty, and even frequently seen employing his influence as a most successful patron. "Many courted his acquaintance, as the Indians reverence devils — that they may not hurt them; but all good men inwardly despised and looked upon him with horror." He died peacefully in his bed, on the 29th of August 1680, fearlessly, and without the signs of penitence, totally hardened and forsaken by heaven.[r]

The venerable Talbot Edwards, so far from receiving the merited reward of his fidelity, through the great intercession of his friends, obtained a grant from the Exchequer of two hundred pounds for himself, and one hundred more for his son;

---

[r] Pennant's Account of London.

but the payment even of these small sums, was so long delayed, and the expenses attendant on the old man's wounds so great, that they were obliged at last to sell their orders, for half of their amount in ready money.[s] This good and faithful servant survived his injuries till the 30th of September 1674, when he died, aged eighty years and nine months.[t]

What could have been King Charles's real motive for extending mercy to such a wretch as Blood, must ever be a mystery to the world. Few will be inclined to believe that the proffer of service from so vile a miscreant could have prevailed upon his majesty's judgment; for, base indeed must be the government that could have recourse to such instruments to support it, and despicable must be that authority which would be intimidated from the execution of justice upon so great a malefactor; yet both these seem to have operated in the villain's favor, and he was ever after regarded as "a sicarius to a profligate set of men, to overawe any who had integrity enough to resist the measures of a most profligate court." [u]

As Blood was also charged, and by his own confession guilty, of the attempt upon the duke of Ormond's life, lord Arlington was sent, when the villain's pardon was decided upon, in order to inform his grace that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should not be prosecuted; and his lordship was about to assign the king's reasons, but the duke interrupted him, and nobly answered, *If his majesty can forgive Blood's stealing the crown, he may easily pardon his attempt upon my life; and if such be his majesty's pleasure, that is a sufficient reason for me; — your lordship may spare the rest.*

Without pretending to enter into a minute description of the regalia, the following short account may be offered of such parts of the crown jewels as are most particularly deserving of notice.

There are five crowns; the first of which is called St. Edward's,[x] being the imperial crown that the kings of England are crowned with. It was made for the coronation of King Charles the Second, and is embellished with pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, with a mound of gold on the top, encircled with a band or fillet of gold, garnished also with precious stones, and three very large oval pearls, one at the top, and the others pendant to the ends of the cross. This crown is formed of four crosses, and as many fleurs-de-lis of gold, rising from a rim or circlet also of gold, and set with precious stones; and the cap within is made of purple velvet, lined with taffeta, and turned up with ermine.

---

[s] Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 100.

[t] See page 122.

[u] Pennant's Account of London.

[x] It derives its name from the ancient crown, supposed to have been worn by King Edward the Confessor, and which was preserved in Westminster Abbey till the rebellion in the reign of King Charles I., when it was sacrilegiously taken away, together with many other articles belonging to the regalia.

THE CROWN OF STATE, which is so called, because worn by the king or queen when they go in state to parliament,[y] was also made at the coronation of King Charles II. It is exceedingly rich, being garnished with a profusion of diamonds and other stones; but is particularly remarkable as being embellished with an emerald seven inches in circumference, a pearl, the finest in the world, and a ruby of inestimable value.

THE QUEEN'S CIRCLET OF GOLD.—This was worn by Queen Mary, consort of King James II. in proceeding to her coronation: it is a rim or circle of gold, richly adorned with large diamonds, curiously set, and around the upper edge a string of pearl; the cap is of purple velvet, lined with white taffeta, and turned up with ermine, richly powdered.

THE QUEEN'S CROWN, being that with which the queens are crowned, is a very rich crown of gold set with diamonds of great value, intermixed with other precious stones and pearls; the cap being similar to the preceding.

Another crown, which is called the QUEEN'S RICH CROWN, is worn by the queen on her return to Westminster-hall after the ceremony of her coronation. It is of gold, most splendidly adorned with diamonds and pearls, and, like the other imperial crowns, composed of crosses and fleurs-de-lis, rising from a rim or circle of gold.

---

[y] In ancient times our kings observed the principal feasts with great hospitality and pomp, particularly those of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when they always wore their crowns of state. William the Conqueror usually kept his Christmas at Glocester; Easter at Winchester; and Whitsuntide at Westminster. The strict observance of wearing the crown at these festivals was first neglected by King Edward the First; and afterwards the custom gradually became forgotten.

THE ORB, which rests in the king's right hand at his coronation,[z] and is borne in his left on his return to Westminster-hall, is a ball of gold, six inches in diameter, encompassed with a band or fillet of gold, embellished with roses of diamonds encircling other precious stones, and edged with pearl. On the top is an extraordinary fine amethyst, of an oval shape, near an inch and a half in height, which forms the foot or pedestal of a cross of gold, three inches and a quarter high, set very thick with diamonds, and adorned with a sapphire, an emerald, and several large pearls.

THE AMPULLA, or EAGLE OF GOLD, which contains the holy oil at the ceremony of the coronation, is in the form of an eagle with wings expanded, standing on a pedestal; all of pure gold finely chased. The head screws off about the middle of the neck for the convenience of putting in the oil, which is poured out through the beak into a spoon, called the anointing spoon, which is likewise of pure gold, with four pearls in the broadest part of the handle. These are considered to be of great antiquity.

CURTANA, or the SWORD OF MERCY, which is borne naked before the king, between the two swords of justice at the coronation, is of plain steel, gilded. The blade is thirty-two inches in length, and nearly two in breadth: the handle is covered with fine gold wire, and the point flat. The swords of justice are the spiritual and temporal; which are borne, the former on the right hand and the latter on the left, before the king or queen at their coronation. The point of the spiritual sword is somewhat obtuse, but that of the temporal sword is sharp. Their blades are about forty inches long: the handles cased with fine gold wire, and the scabbards of all three are alike, covered with a rich brocaded cloth of tissue, with a fine ferule, hook, and chape.

SAINT EDWARD'S STAFF, which is carried before the king at the coronation, is a staff or sceptre of beaten gold, four feet seven inches and a half in length, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter, with a pike or foot of steel, four inches and a quarter long, and a mound and cross at the top.

---

[z] The orb was an ensign, the intention of which was borrowed by our early Saxon kings from the Roman emperors, by whom it was used with their title, *imperatores orbis terrarum*, as an emblem of their pretended power over the whole. After the conversion of the Romans to Christianity, they surmounted it with a cross, and with this accompaniment we find it on most of the coins and seals of our kings from the time of Edward the Confessor.

The King's Sceptre with the Dove is of gold, in length three feet seven inches, and about three inches in circumference. It is set with diamonds and other precious stones; and upon the mound at the top, which is encircled with a band or fillet of rose diamonds, is a small cross, whereon is fixed a dove with wings expanded, as the emblem of mercy.

The King's Sceptre with the Cross, or Sceptre Royal, likewise of gold, is two feet nine inches in length, and of the same size as that with the dove: the handle is plain, but the upper part is wreathed, and the pommel at the bottom set with rubies, emeralds, and small diamonds: the top rises into a fleur-de-lis, enriched with precious stones; out of which issues a mound, made of an amethyst, garnished with table diamonds: and upon the mound is a cross covered with precious stones, having a large table diamond in the centre.

The Queen's Sceptre with the Cross, is also of gold, adorned with diamonds and other precious stones, and, in most parts, is very like the king's, but not wreathed, nor quite so large.

The Queen's Ivory Rod, which was made for Queen Mary, consort of King James the Second, is a sceptre of white ivory, three feet one inch and a half in length, with a pommel, mound, and cross of gold, and a dove on the top.

Besides these there is another very rich and elegant sceptre with a dove, which was discovered in 1814, behind a part of the old wainscoting of the Jewel-house, where it seems to have lain unobserved for a great number of years. This nearly assimilates to the king's sceptre with the dove, and there is every probability that it was made for Queen Mary, the consort of William the Third, with whom she was jointly invested with the exercise of the royal authority.

Armillæ or Bracelets, which are ornaments for the king's wrist, worn at coronations, are of solid fine gold, an inch and a half in breadth, and edged with rows of pearl. They open by means of a hinge, for the purpose of being put on the arm, and are chased with the rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, and harp. Than the bracelet there is not, perhaps, any ornament more universally known, or of higher antiquity, and we generally find it, as a distinguishing mark, worn by kings and chieftains: it is frequently mentioned not only in the history of our Saxon and Danish ancestors, but in the writings of far more ancient nations.[a]

THE ROYAL SPURS are also made of fine gold curiously wrought, and are carried in the procession at coronations by the lords Grey of Ruthyn; a service which they claim by descent from the family of Hastings, earls of Hastings.

THE SALTSELLER OF STATE, which is a model, in gold, of the White Tower; a grand silver font, double gilt, generally used at the baptisms of the royal family; and a large silver fountain presented to King Charles the Second by the town of Plymouth, are likewise worthy of notice; and there is also, reposited in the Jewel-house, a magnificent service of communion plate belonging to the Tower chapel: it is of silver, double gilt, superbly wrought; the principal piece containing a beautiful representation of the Lord's supper.

The present keeper of the regalia is Edmund L. Swift, Esq. barrister at law.

From the Jewel Tower we resume our perambulation of the inner enclosure, the wall of which takes a southerly direction from that building, and at the distance of ninety feet is strengthened with another tower called

THE CONSTABLE TOWER.

This building is distinguished by its present appellation in the several surveys taken of the fortress in the reigns of King Henry the Eighth,[b] Queen Elizabeth,[c] King James the Second,[d] and George the First,[e] and in a manuscript in the Harleian collection,[f] dated in 1641, entitled, "A particular of the towers and prison lodgings in his majesty's Tower of London," it is also known by that name, and described as a prison-lodging. In form and style of architecture it closely corresponds with the Beauchamp Tower, but is of rather smaller dimensions. The original walls still exist in a perfect state, but the windows have been greatly enlarged, and the whole interior of the building modernized.

---

[a] "And I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was upon his arm, and have brought them hither unto my Lord."—2 *Samuel*, ch. i. 10.

[b] See Appendix.

[c] See the ancient plan in the 1st edition of this work.

[d] Monumenta Vetusta, vol. iv.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Harleian MSS. N° 1326.

Hence the ancient enclosure wall continues in the same direction to the distance of seventy-two feet, where it joins to a tower, called in the survey of 1532, " the tower at the east end of the Wardrobe," but in each of the others styled

THE BROAD ARROW TOWER.

This fortification likewise assimilates, both in form and style of architecture, to the Beauchamp Tower, but is of smaller dimensions; the various memorials left on its dreary walls shew that it was formerly appropriated to the same purpose; and in like manner it consists of two stories, ascended by a small spiral staircase. The first floor contains one dismal chamber with three deep recesses in the walls; and by the side of a small doorway communicating with the foot passage on the top of the ballium wall, is an entrance to a cell about six feet long, and from three to four feet wide, and to which light is admitted by a narrow embrasure.

This floor seems to have been a part chiefly used for the confinement of state-prisoners, and it is here that the inscriptions were found, but so obscured by the repeated white-washing of the apartments, that it was only by cleaning off the lime that the following were rendered at all legible. " Iohn. Daniell. 1556."

This prisoner was engaged with several others in a conspiracy to have excited an insurrection against the government of Queen Mary; and, in order to obtain means for putting their design in execution, they intended to have first ransacked the treasury of the Exchequer,[g] which at that time was stored with a great quantity of Spanish money:[h] but the plot being disclosed by one of the party, Daniell, together with Peckham, Dethick, Udall, Throckmorton, and Stanton, was apprehended and committed to prison,[i] and several others fled into France:[k] sir

---

[g] Grafton and Hollinshed.

[h] Goodwin, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 353.

[i] Fabian, Stow, Hollinshed, and Grafton.

[k] Hollinshed.

Anthony Kingston was also accused and taken, but died on the road towards London.[l]

Throckmorton and Udall were executed at Tyburn, on the 28th of April, as was Stanton on the 19th of May; and John Daniell and Henry Peckham, after being hanged on Tower-hill, were beheaded, and their bodies buried in Barking church.[m]

On the left hand side of the room, between the first and second recess, is a large mutilated mass of inscriptions, of which the following is the only one that could be made out. "Qvod ratio reddenda erit Deo cvm venerit dies illa jvdicii magna de cvnctis cogitationibvs verbis et operibvs. Dñs illvminabit ascondita tenebrarvm et manifestabit consilia cordivm cvm venerit de verbis . . ors. Omne verbvm otiosvm qvod locvti fverint homines reddent rationem de eo in die jvdicii. Mat. 12. Cuncta quæ fivnt addvcet Devs in jvdicivm ero omni errato sive bonvm sive malvm sit. Ecclesiastes. 12. Qvoties diem illam considerabo toto corpore contremisco sive enim comedo . sive bibo . sive aliqvid alivd facio . semper in avribvs meis sonare videtvr tremenda illa vox jvrgite morivi venite ad jvdicivm.

Qvod sibi qvis . . erit præsentis tempore vitæ,
Hoc sibi messis erit cvm dicitvr ite venite."

The above pious memorial is without name or date, but the characters in which it is written so closely correspond with the remains of an adjoining inscription as to leave little or no doubt of its having been made by the same person. This latter, though much defaced, appears to have been cut with surprising ingenuity, and is subscribed "January 1591. J. Gage;" some prisoner, perhaps, of the Roman Catholic communion, but of whom no account has hitherto been discovered.

Another illegible inscription, near to the above, is signed "Thomas Ford;" a priest of the Roman religion, who was executed with some others of the same character, in 1582,[n] for persisting in the pope's supremacy, and for treasonable practices against the government.

In the second or middle recess are several memorials and fragments, but the only one that could be made out is the following: " Inqueste . vanita . chognvndesia nōponer . tva . speranza ma . sicvro . scorgi . il . camin . ch'al . somo . ben . tiṽia . Giovāni . Battista . Castiglione . 1556." Concerning whom no information can be given.

---

[l] Grafton, Hollinshed, and Goodwin, ut supra.

[m] Stow and Hollinshed.

[n] Howe's Chronicle, p. 695, and Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 487.

The next and only other legible inscription among the multitude left in this apartment is the following: " I H S. anno 1586. IOHN . STOVGHTON . PARCE . DN'E.

This John Stoughton, whose name, with the same date, is repeated on different sides of the room, in all probability, was one of the many seminary priests confined in the Tower about that time, and of whom great numbers were banished,[o] and others executed.[p]

It may be seen by the ancient plan of the Tower, annexed to the first edition, that, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there was a building called the Wardrobe, forming part of the palace, which extended westward from the Broad Arrow Tower, and communicated with, and gave name to, a strong round Tower, that stood near to the south-west corner of the citadel or keep.

Of the Wardrobe, or, as it was most commonly called, the King's Private Wardrobe, in the Tower, we find frequent mention in early records, not merely as the repository of the royal robes, armour, &c. as the name would imply, but as a treasury, where subsidies and other monies were often paid in and deposited till they were remitted to the receipt of Exchequer.[q] The keeper of the Wardrobe was appointed by the king, and received wages of twelve pence per diem,[r] besides other emoluments.

At what period this building was taken down does not appear; but no vestiges of it, nor of the tower with which it was connected, seem to have been extant in the reign of King James the Second.[s]

Returning to the Broad Arrow Tower, and resuming the course of the enclosure wall, we proceed to the south-west angle of the inner ward; the situation of another tower, called in the survey of 1532, "Julyus Sesar Tower," but in each of the others denominated

---

[o] Howe's Chronicle, pp. 700, 710. [p] Ibid. 719.

[q] Maddox's History of the Exchequer, pp. 182. 185.

[r] Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. IV. m. 23.

[s] Vide Monumenta Vetusta, vol. iv. plate xxxix.

THE SALT TOWER.

Whence this building derived its present or more ancient title, is, perhaps, impossible now to be ascertained. It stands at the distance of 135 feet from the fortification last described, and, like most of the lesser towers, consists of two stories, ascended by a small winding staircase of stone. In form it is nearly circular; the ground floor is a vaulted dungeon with deep recesses in the walls; and the first story exhibits various signs of its having, in former times, been tenanted by the sufferer in the cause of religion, the unpitied traitor, and the violator of nature's and his country's laws. Many memorials of these unfortunate wretches still exist on the walls, but that which deserves the most particular notice, is a large ingenious piece of sculpture on the left hand side of the entrance to the room, and an inscription at the top of it informs us that "Hew Draper of Brystow made thys spheer the 30 daye of Maye anno 1561." [t]

From an account of the names of prisoners and the causes of their commitment, delivered by sir Edward Warner, knight, lieutenant of the Tower, to the lords of the privy council, on the 26th of May, 1561,[t] we derive the following information respecting this prisoner and our ancient popular superstitions.

"Hugh Draper com̃itted the 21st of March 1560."

"This man was brought in by the accusation of one John Man, an astronomer, as a suspect of a conjurer or sorcerer, and thereby to practise matter againste Sr William St Lowe and my Ladie. And in his confession it apperithe that before time he hathe ben busie and doinge wth suche matters, but he deniethe any matter of weight touchinge Sr William Sentlo or my Ladie, and alsoe affirmethe yt longe since he soe misliked his science,[u] that he burned all his books. He is p̃ntly verie sicke: he semithe to be a man of goode wealthe & kepithe a taverne at Bristowe and is of his neighbours well reported."

---

[t] See an engraving of it in the first edition of this work.

[u] MSS. preserved in the house of the resident governor of the Tower.

This unfortunate conjurer has also left other memorials in different parts of the room, and in one place is a large globe very ingeniously carved, most likely by the same person. Another is "I : LYON : 1574," who in all probability was one of the Roman Catholic priests who are mentioned as having been arrested and committed to prison the year in which the above inscription is dated. There is also the following: "MYCHAEL MOODY. MAY . 15 . 1587."

This person was engaged in a conspiracy to take away the life of Queen Elizabeth.

The year in which the above inscription is dated, Mary Queen of Scots being a prisoner, under sentence of death, in England, the minds of all, as well in this as other countries, were agitated respecting her ultimate fate; and L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, a man wholly devoted, says Camden, to the Guisian faction, "supposing it best to provide for the safety of the captive queen, not by arguments, but by underhand practices, tampered about taking away Queen Elizabeth's life. He at first broached the matter to William Stafford, a young gentleman ready to catch at new hopes of advancement, whose mother was of her majesty's honorable bed-chamber, and his brother at that time ambassador in France; and he afterwards dealt with him more plainly on the subject by Trappy his secretary, who promised him, if he would effect it, not only infinite glory and a vast sum of money, but also especial favor with the pope, the Duke of Guise, and generally with the catholics. Stafford, detesting the act, refused to do it; yet recommended one Moody, a noted fellow, who without doubt would do the business; and Trappy accordingly, in company with Stafford, went to Moody, and conferred with him on the subject. Moody proposed to do it by poison, or by gunpowder to be secretly put under the queen's bed, neither of which the secretary appeared to be pleased with; but wished that such another resolute fellow could be found as the Burgundian who murdered the prince of Orange."

Stafford having revealed these things to the council, Trappy was seized when on the point of suddenly departing for France;

and, being questioned, made a confession corresponding with the account which Stafford had already given of the design. Hereupon the ambassador was sent for to Cecil-house, where, in the presence of the earl of Leicester, sir Christopher Hatton, and secretary Davison, lord Burghleigh not only acquainted him with the cause of Trappy's apprehension, and every thing which he, Stafford, and Moody had confessed, but gravely reproved him for plotting or being accessary to so base a deed: telling him also to beware how he again committed treason or forgot the duty of an ambassador, and that he was not acquitted from the guilt of the offence, although he escaped punishment.

Moody, as it should seem, was sent to the Tower, but escaped severer punishment than remaining in prison; for on the appointment of sir Michael Blount to the lieutenancy of the Tower, in 1590, Michael Moody is mentioned in the list of prisoners delivered into his custody; and in the following year he appears to have been removed, with some others, to the Marshalsea.

On the left-hand side of the room, in the window place, is a coat of arms—a shield bearing three crosses; and there is also a long memorial in French; but this, like many others, has been rendered illegible by the painting and white-washing of the walls. The only other inscription worthy of notice is the following:—" E. H. I. R. I. Edwardvs Hyrste 1587. Janvary. 24. Cvstos M. M. hoc scripsit." This memorial is in a recess on the right-hand side of the chamber, and from the corresponding date, and the words *Custos M. M.* we may conjecture that the person who left it was keeper of Michael Moody, the prisoner above noticed.

From the Salt Tower the wall of the inner ward originally extended in a westerly direction to another fortification, denominated the Lanthorn Tower; but at a subsequent period this space was occupied by a long building, which formed part of the palace, and was called the king's gallery; in front and at the back of which were the king and queen's gardens.

THE LANTHORN TOWER.

This building also formed part of the royal apartments, and is particularly mentioned as having contained the king's bed-chamber and private closet. Adjoining this tower were the great hall and the other buildings of the palace, which occupied the entire south-east angle of the inner enclosure, as will be better understood by referring to the plan of the fortress, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; at which period there existed one row of buildings extending from this tower northward to that of the Wardrobe; another running in a north-westerly direction; and a third, called the Queen's Gallery, eastward; no vestiges of which are now extant.

There can be no doubt but that this tower and some of the adjoining buildings of the palace were of much higher antiquity than any of the small towers which have been described in the preceding pages: indeed, it is extremely probable, that several of them were erected in the time of King William Rufus, or, at least, greatly anterior to the reign of Henry the Third; for soon after the accession of that monarch, some of them, particularly the great hall and the king's chamber, are mentioned as being then in need of repair.[x]

The Lanthorn Tower was a large circular building, surmounted by a small turret, and adjoining it, on the south side, was a gateway spanning the outer ward, and communicating with an exterior fortification; the lower part of which still exists.[y] It is not improbable but that this tower was at some period partly rebuilt, it being noticed in the survey of 1532 as the " New Tower." In the year 1788, a great portion of it was destroyed by fire, and its remains were soon afterwards taken down, together with the adjoining gateway.

To the lover of antiquity and the inquirer into the manners of early ages, it must be a subject of lasting regret that no description has been handed down to us of the domestic apartments of this ancient seat of royalty, and more particularly as no remains of them are now to be traced.

Of the Great Hall and the King's Chamber frequent mention is made in early records, but from these we derive no satisfactory information respecting their form or extent. In the third year of the reign of King Henry III. an order was issued for the repair of both these buildings: in the sixteenth year of his reign the keeper of the park of Havering was commanded to cause the constable of the Tower to have forty fir trees to repair the hall of the said Tower;[z] the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer were also directed in the year following to deliver to the constable as much money as might be necessary for the completion of the work;[a] and it should seem that a royal banquet was given there in 1236,[b] soon after Henry's marriage with Eleanor of Provence, which took place in that year.

---

[x] Rot. Claus. de anno 3 Hen. III. m. 2.

[y] See under the title of the Cradle Tower.

The Great Hall was in early times the scene of events the most prominent in the pages of our history. In the year 1360, on King Edward the Third's return into England, after the treaty of Bretigni, he and his nobility were splendidly entertained here by John the captive French monarch, who was then a prisoner in the Tower; and in 1399 the unfortunate Richard here resigned his crown into the hands of Henry of Lancaster; an act which in after-ages produced so much civil discord, and drained the country of its best and noblest blood.

Richard the Second, and most of the succeeding kings, down to the second Charles, repaired to the Tower with their whole court, and took up their residence there for a short time previous to the ceremony of their coronations; and on these occasions many royal feasts were given in this building to the nobility and others who came to pay their homage to their new sovereign.

At what period the Great Hall was first allowed to fall into decay is unknown, but it seems to have been in a dilapidated state as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth,[c] and in all probability was soon afterwards entirely taken down.

The King's Chamber, which appears to have adjoined the Great Hall, is also a subject of frequent mention in ancient records,[d] but the most remarkable notice of it is in the time of that great promoter of the arts, King Henry the Third, who directed that it should be adorned with a painting of the story of Antiochus.[e]

---

[z] Rot. Claus. 16 Hen. III. m. 8.

[a] Ibid. 17 Hen. III. m. 10.

[b] *De mensis in aulâ Turris Lond'.*—Mandatum est H. de Pateshull' thesaurario domini regis quod faciat habere constabulario Turris London' denarios ad tabulas emendas ad mensas inde faciend' ad magnum deisium regis in magnâ aulâ ibidem; et ex quo rex scierit quantum ei ad hoc liberaverit, litteras regis de liberate ei habere faciet. Teste Rege apud Windes' xiiij. die Aprilis.—*Rot. Claus.* 20 *Hen. III. m.* 14.

[c] See plan of the Tower, taken in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the first edition.

The site of these and other parts of the ancient palace is now chiefly occupied by the buildings of

THE ORDNANCE OFFICE.

The Tower appears, at a very early period, to have been the principal magazine of warlike stores in the kingdom. In the fifteenth year of the reign of King John, Geoffrey de Mandeville, being commanded to resign the Tower of London to the archdeacon of Huntingdon, was ordered also to deliver up all the prisoners, arms, and other stores there.[f] In the time of King Henry the Third, we find various notices as well concerning engines, arms and other instruments reposited in the Tower, as respecting payments for materials, and to smiths and other artificers employed there in making them: [g] in the second year of his reign, the archdeacon of Durham was directed to send to the Tower of London twenty-six suits of armour, five iron cuirasses, one iron collar, three pairs of iron fetters, and nine iron helmets, which had been left in his charge by King John, in the eighteenth year of his reign: [h] in the fifth and ninth years of the same King, orders were given for taking certain engines from the Tower to the castle of Dover,[i] and for bringing and repositing there, others which had been used at the sieges of the castles of Biham[k] and Bedford;[l] and in the year 1342, when King Edward the Third was prosecuting his wars with France, we find that certain great engines were taken from the Tower to

---

[d] Rot. Claus. de anno 14 Reg. Joh. m. 3, 4; Ibid. 6 Hen. III. m. 4, &c.

[e] *De picturâ faciendâ in camerâ regis in Turr. Lond'*—Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm' quod depingi faciat historiam Antioch' in camerâ regis Turris Lond', sicut ei dicet Thom' Esperuir; et custum quod ad hoc posuerit, rex ei faciat allocari. Teste Rege apud Wint' v. die Junii. Per ipsum regem.—*Rot. Claus.* 35 *Hen. III. m.* 11.

[f] Rot. Claus. 15 Hen. III. m. 5. et Patent. ejusdem anni, p. 1. m. 6.

[g] Vide Rot. Claus. temp. Regis Hen. III. viz. de ann. 2. m. 13; 5. m. 4. 9. 12; 6. m. 4; 8. p. 1. m. 15. et p. 2. m. 2; 9. m. 8, 9, 10. 17; 12. m. 8; 17. m. 17; 19. m. 15; 39. m. 7. d.; 53. m. 6.

[h] Rot. Claus 2 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 13.

[i] Ibid. 5 Hen. III. m. 12.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III. p. 2 m. 2.

Sandwich, with a view to their accompanying the king's army; but there not being a sufficient number of ships, they were left behind; and orders were subsequently directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to the king's chief carpenter, commanding them to arrest vessels enough for the purpose, and bring them back to the Tower.[m]

In the reign of King Henry the Third the principal officer seems to have been the "Balistarius," or provider and keeper of the cross-bows. He was appointed by the king's letters patent, and received wages of twelvepence per diem,[n] was provided also with a suit consisting of a doublet and surcoat furred with lambskin,[o] and had an allowance for three servants.[p] The last mention we find of this office is in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, when it was granted to Baldwin Jacobson for the term of life.[q]

Another officer was the "Attiliator balistarum," or furnisher of harness and accoutrements for the cross-bows. He was likewise appointed by letters patent,[r] and his wages, in the reigns of King Henry the Third, and Edward the First, were sevenpence halfpenny per diem,[s] being also provided with a suitable robe.[t]

At later periods several other officers are named, who also held their appointment by the king's letters patent: such were the "Galeator,"[u] who, as the name implies, had the providing and care of the helmets; the king's Armourer,[x] the Bowyer,[y] and the Fletcher;[z] whose offices were to provide and keep the armour, the bows, and the arrows.

In the fifteenth century we find these different branches under the direction of a principal officer, styled "the Master of the King's Ordnance," who was generally appointed for life, and received two shillings per diem for himself, and was allowed sixpence per diem for his clerk, and sixpence per diem for a valet.[a]

---

[m] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 2. N. E.

[n] Rot. Liberat. 11 Hen. III. m. 4.

[o] H. dei gratia vicecomitibus London'. Præcipimus vobis quod habere faciatis Willielmo balistario, moranti in Turri London' per præceptum nostrum, unam robam, scilicet, tunicam et supertunicam de viridi vel de pennat', ulna de precio xxvj. denar', cum fururâ agminâ; et computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. T. meipso apud Westm' iiij. die Martii.—*Rot. Claus.* 9 *Hen. III. p.* 2. *m.* 9.

[p] Rot. Liberat. 46 Hen. III. m. 16.

[q] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 18.

[r] Rot. Pat. 35 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 11.

[s] Rot. Liberat. 1 Edw. I. m. 3. 6.

[t] Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 6.

[u] Rot. Pat. 50 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 4.

[x] Ibid. 1 Rich. II. p. 2. m. 30.

[y] Ibid. 1 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 27; et 13 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 12.

[z] Ibid. 18 Rich. II. p. 2 m. 12.

In the reign of King Henry the Sixth, Thomas Vaughan, esquire, the then master, presented a petition to his majesty, stating "That for asmuche as ther is noon housing certaynly assigned for youre ordenaunce to be kept, for lak wherof ther hath growe grete hurt and dayly doth unto the said ordenaunce and other stuffe longing to his said office;" and in consideration thereof he prayed his majesty to grant for its use, "all the grounde and soille called ye Tour Wharf," from the Watergate of the Tower, now called the Traitor's Gate, unto the gate of St. Catherine's, together with "all maner of howsing and other appurtenaunces sette uppon the same," which was accordingly granted under the royal signature.[b]

The business of the Ordnance was formerly transacted in some small houses behind St. Peter's chapel; but in the reign of King James the Second, part of the old buildings of the palace were taken down, and a new office erected: this having been destroyed by fire in 1788, the present handsome structure was soon after raised on its site; and, besides the immediate buildings of the office, a very large portion of the interior of the fortress is also now occupied by armories and storehouses and the residences of different officers of the establishment.

From the Lanthorn Tower, or the King's Lodgings, the line of the inner enclosure was continued westward to

THE RECORD TOWER.

In the survey which was taken of the Tower in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this structure is denominated the Hall Tower, from its contiguity to the great hall; but in subsequent notices, it is called the Record, and, sometimes, the Wakefield

---

[a] Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. IV. m. 2; 2 Edw. IV. m. 1; 18 Edw. IV. m. 27, et 22 et 23 Edw. IV. m. 19.

[b] Brevia de Privato Sigillo, de anno 30 Hen. VI. in Turr. Lond.

Tower.[c] It is a large circular building, the lower part of which appears to be a work of considerable antiquity; and, with the exception of the White Tower, is unquestionably the oldest portion of the fortress now extant. There can be but little doubt that this building formed one of the additions made to the Tower by King William Rufus; and adjoining it, and extending about an hundred feet in a northerly direction, is a massive stone wall of considerable height, being also a remain of the fortifications with which that monarch surrounded the works erected by William the Conqueror; though an erroneous opinion has been entertained of its having formed part of the ancient boundary of the city.

The Record Tower consists of only a basement and first story, each forming an octagonal apartment; the former about twenty-three, and the latter twenty-eight feet in diameter. On the ground floor the walls are about thirteen feet in thickness, and in these are eight recesses, the arches of which are semicircular; and the whole of the structure, as high as the first floor, is formed of regular courses of fine well squared masonry.

It is evident that the upper part of the building has been taken down and re-erected, and, from the style of architecture, this appears to have been done about the latter end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. In the walls of this floor there are also large recesses, but they assume a very different character to those underneath, being much higher, and having obtusely pointed arches. This upper story, which consists of a fine lofty chamber,[d] is fitted up with presses, and has long been the repository of the ancient records of the kingdom, but at what time the building was first appropriated to this use is unknown: it is certain, however, that the records were deposited here in the early part of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and it is most likely that they were much before that period.

---

[c] It is a common opinion that it derived the title of the "Wakefield Tower" from having been made the prison of persons taken at the battle of Wakefield; but this seems to be altogether void of foundation. The building does not appear to have acquired the name till of late years; and, besides, we have no knowledge of any prisoners having been brought to the Tower on that occasion.

[d] It is a common tradition, though not to be traced to any authentic source, that this room was the scene of the supposed murder of King Henry the Sixth.

The earliest records now extant in the Tower are denominated the *Cartæ Antiquæ*, being forty-one ancient rolls, on which is preserved a miscellaneous collection of charters and grants made, principally to ecclesiastics, from the time of King Edward the Confessor to the commencement of the thirteenth century.

The grand series of the rolls of Chancery preserved in this repository begins with the first year of the reign of King John: several, however, of his time are wanting; but from the accession of his son, King Henry the Third, the collection is generally perfect, and is continued at the Tower to the death of King Edward the Fourth. These rolls, which are arranged chronologically, and referred to in a general calendar, are upwards of 2200 in number; the most important of which may be briefly described in the following alphabetical order.

Almain Rolls.—The earliest of these relates to negociations and alliances between King Edward the First of England, and Adolph king of the Romans, John duke of Brabant, Guy earl of Flanders, John earl of Holland, &c. from the twenty-second year of his reign to the treaty with France, with which the roll concludes, in the thirty-first. The next bearing this title relate to the grand confederacy formed by Edward the Third against Philip de Valois, for the crown of France. They commence with the eleventh and end with the fifteenth year of his reign. Some of the most important instruments contained in these rolls are printed in the Fœdera.

Charter Rolls.—These rolls begin with the first year of King John, and terminate with the reign of Edward the Fourth. They contain grants of liberties, privileges, and possessions, to religious and civil corporations, and also to individuals; as charters of foundation and incorporation, grants of lands, markets and fairs, free warren, &c. A calendar to these rolls has been printed under the direction of His Majesty's commissioners on the public records.

Close Rolls.—The earliest of the Close Rolls now extant is of the sixth year of the reign of King John; from which period to the end of Edward the Fourth, the series of them in the Tower is generally perfect. On the face of these rolls are entered many important documents touching the royal prerogatives, the revenue, and the different branches of the judicature,—orders for the observance of truces and treaties, and concerning aids, subsidies, tallages, restitution of possessions, assignments of dower, acceptances of homage, and repairs, fortifying and provisioning of castles,—writs and mandates respecting the coin of the realm, the affairs of the royal household, and the payment of salaries and stipends; commitments, pardons and deliveries of state prisoners, &c. On the backs of them are summonses to and prorogations of parliaments and great councils; writs of summons for the performance of military and naval services; copies of letters to foreign princes and states; proclamations; prohibitions; orders for regulating the coinage of the kingdom, and the sale of wines and other necessaries; for receiving knighthood, providing ships, raising and arraying forces, furnishing provisions, and paying knights, citizens, and burgesses for attendance in parliament; liveries and seisins of lands; inrolments of private deeds, and a variety of other instruments: indeed, they contain a fund of information, the diversity and importance of which render them some of the most interesting of our national records. Those of the reign of King Henry the Third are particularly valuable and curious. That monarch was a great lover and patron of the arts, and the Close Rolls of his time abound with entries illustrative of their coeval state and progress: they contain a variety of instructions relative to paintings, sculptures, and other works of art, and the repairing and ornamenting of palaces, royal chapels, and other buildings; there are also many curious orders respecting presents to be provided for foreign princes and ambassadors, and offerings against high occasions. Henry was also a prince whose observances of the chief religious festivals were remarkably grand, and the mandates which appear on these rolls, concerning dresses, and various preparations and provisions to be made against their celebration, throw considerable light on the habits, customs, and superstitions of that æra. The want of printed calendars to these rolls has hitherto kept their value and importance from being generally known: it is, however, to be hoped that the commissioners on the public records, who have done so much service to the country by publishing copies of some, and repertories to others, of our most valuable muniments, will not consider the objects of their appointment accomplished till they have also laid open this almost inexhaustible source of general information.

CONVENTIONES PACIS.—A roll bearing this title, of the forty-third year of Henry the Third, consists of treaties between that prince and Lewis king of France; negociations touching the marriage between Beatrice, Henry's second daughter, and John, eldest son of John duke of Britagne, and much information relative to the controversy with the earl and countess of Leicester.

CORONATION ROLLS.—These contain the whole proceedings at that of King Edward the Second, and the claims and allowances at those of Richard the Second, and of Henry the Fourth and Fifth.

EXTRACTA DONATIONUM.—Which are inrolled abstracts of gifts and grants, begin with the third year of King Edward the Second, and end with the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third.

FINE ROLLS.—The Fine Rolls commence with the sixth year of the reign of King John, and are continued at the Tower to the death of Edward the Fourth. They are accounts of fines paid on the passing and renewing of charters and grants; as also for exoneration from knighthood, the performance of services, &c.

FRENCH ROLLS.—These begin with the sixteenth year of King Henry the Third, and the series of them at the Tower terminates with the reign of Edward the Fourth. They relate chiefly to transactions with the court of France, and to the dominions which the kings of England had in that country. Calendars to these and to the Norman and Gascoign rolls were published by Mr. Carte, in 1743, in two folio volumes, but they are very defective.

GASCOIGN ROLLS.—The Gascon rolls, which commence with the twenty-sixth year of King Henry the Third, and terminate with the reign of King Edward the Fourth, relate to the affairs of that duchy whilst under the dominion of the kings of England. A calendar to them was published with that to the French rolls.

LIBERATE ROLLS.—These begin with the second year of King John's reign, and end with that of Edward the Fourth. They contain precepts to the treasurer and other great officers of the

Exchequer for the payment of pensions, salaries, and stipends, and of various expenses of the state, and of the royal household; and occasionally writs to sheriffs for the delivery of lands, &c. which had been extended. The earliest of them, particularly those of King Henry the Third's reign, like the Close Rolls of the same period, form a most interesting species of record; but after the reign of King Edward the First they become less and less interesting.

NORMAN ROLLS.—The first rolls concerning the duchy of Normandy are of the second, fourth, and sixth years of King John; but, that unhappy prince having lost its dominion, they are discontinued from this time till the recovery of it by Henry the Fifth. A calendar to these rolls was published with that to the French rolls.

PARLIAMENT ROLLS.—The rolls of parliament preserved in the Tower commence with the fifth year of King Edward the Second, and end with the reign of Edward the Fourth. These were printed entire by order of government in the early part of the late reign, in six volumes folio.

PATENT ROLLS.—The series of these valuable records begins with the third year of the reign of King John, and is continued at the Tower to the death of Edward the Fourth. They contain grants of liberties, privileges, lands, wardships, and offices; restitutions of temporalities; licenses of alienation; confirmations of previous charters and grants; matters relative to the prerogatives of the crown, the revenue, and the different branches of the judicature; appointments and powers of ambassadors; ratifications of treaties and truces; letters of protection and safe conduct; creations of nobility; special liveries, and all licenses, &c. which pass the great seal.—On the backs of them are commissions of inquiry, judicial proceedings, &c. A calendar to these rolls was published in 1802, by order of His Majesty's Commissioners on the public records; but it is so very defective that it does not, on an average, take notice of a fifth part of the documents entered on each roll.

PERAMBULATION ROLLS.—These are distinct rolls, containtaining perambulations of forests, chiefly in the seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth years of King Edward the First.

Redisseisin Rolls.—These contain writs to and proceedings of sheriffs concerning restitution of property to persons who had been unlawfully dispossessed. They begin with the fourteenth year of King Edward I. and end with the thirty-ninth of Henry the Sixth.

Roman Rolls.—These consist of letters to the pope and cardinals, and relate chiefly to the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, from the thirty-fourth year of King Edward the First to the death of King Edward the Fourth.

Scotch Rolls.—The rolls which relate to the affairs of Scotland commence in the nineteenth year of King Edward the First's reign, and are continued at the Tower to the end of King Edward the Fourth. They have been printed verbatim, and published in two folio volumes, by order of His Majesty's commissioners on the public records.

Statute Rolls.—They begin with the statute of Gloucester, passed in the sixth year of King Edward I. and the series of them at the Tower terminates with the ninth year of King Edward IV. These have also been printed and published under the direction of the record commission.

Treaties and Truces.—These are distinct rolls containing treaties, truces, and conventions, in the fourteenth and eighteenth years of King Edward I., the thirty-fourth of Edward III., and the fourteenth of Edward IV. The three latter concern Norway, France, and the Hanse Towns. The principal articles on them are printed in the Fœdera.

Welsh Rolls.—The rolls relating to the principality of Wales begin with the tenth year of King Edward the First, the æra of its entire subjection to the crown of England, and end with the twenty-third year of the same king.

Besides the rolls comprehended in the above-mentioned general series, there is a vast collection of other records preserved in the Tower, of an equally important nature. Among these may be particularly noticed the Inquisitions post mortem,[e] and Ad quod damnum;[f] writs and returns of knights, citizens, and burgesses to parliament; the hundred rolls, and forest claims; rolls containing the homage of the nobility and great men of Scotland to King Edward the First, and the taxation roll[g] of the same reign; there are also treaties of peace; letters of foreign princes and states; instructions to ambassadors; papal bulls; petitions to parliament, and to the King and council; privy-seal warrants; signet bills, and a great variety of writs, and miscellaneous rolls and documents.

---

[e] The series of these records, which commences with the reign of King Henry III., and is continued at the Tower to the end of Richard III., were taken by virtue of writs directed to the escheators of the several counties or districts, who were to inquire by jury what lands any persons died seised of, and by what rents or services

These are all comprised under the title of the records of the court of chancery,[h] and they form a collection of memorials of the highest national and individual importance: indeed, they are the ground-work of the constitution; the basis of the laws; and a source, without the aid of which "no story of the nation can be written or proved."[i]

The records of the king's courts have been termed by parliament "not only the records of the king and kingdom, but the evidence of every man's particular right:"[k] they have also been

---

they were holden: they shew also the quantity, quality, and value of the lands; and specify the day on which the tenant died, and the name and age of the next heir. These inquisitions afford the best proof of the descents of families and lands, and are a most valuable species of evidence in questions touching real property. Calendars of them have been printed under the direction of His Majesty's commissioners on the public records.

[f] These begin with the first year of King Edward II. and end in the thirty-eighth of Henry VI. They were taken on any petition being made for a grant of a market or fair, license to alienate lands, or for any other privilege, in order to ascertain whether such grant, if made, would be prejudicial to the king or to any of his subjects. A calendar to them was published with that to the charter rolls.

[g] This is a taxation of ecclesiastical benefices, made in the pontificate of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, 1292, by which all taxes to the king and to the pope were regulated: the statutes of colleges, founded before the Reformation, were also interpreted by this record; and according to it benefices under a certain value are exempted from the restrictions in the statute of the 21st of Henry VIII. concerning pluralities.

[h] Besides the rolls of Chancery, there are deposited in the Tower the bills, answers, and depositions in that court, down to the year 1759; there are also many records of the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; and in the year 1811, the records of the court of Admiralty down to the beginning of the present century, were likewise lodged there.

[i] Chamberlayne's Angl. Not. edit. 16. p. 229, &c.

[k] Rot. Parl. 46 Edw. III. N° 43. Prynne, 4 Inst. 51.

regarded as part of the royal treasure: and hence the place in which they were kept in the Tower was, for a long series of years, denominated the king's treasury; as the repositories of the records belonging to the courts at Westminster are to this day styled the treasuries of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer.

In the reign of King Edward the Fourth, in a case respecting the office of chamberlain of the Exchequer, it is said, "cest office est une grand office, car il gardera le treasour del Roy, s, les recordes;"[l] and in the recital of Queen Elizabeth's warrant to the then master of the rolls, for removing certain records of chancery to the Tower, they are called "a principal membre of the threasure belonging to ourself, to our corone, and realme."[m]

The precise year in which the records of chancery were first lodged in the Tower cannot be ascertained: it should seem, however, that this took place between the twentieth and thirty-third years of the reign of King Edward the First: and before that time, that their principal repository was the king's treasury at the New Temple, where they were preserved in a chest.

In the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward the First, William de Marchia, his treasurer, being commanded to open the chest containing the rolls of chancery at the New Temple, took out certain records and transmitted them to the king,[n] who, attended by his chancery, was then in Scotland, engaged as umpire between the competitors for the crown of that nation. In the following year, on Edward's return to London, together with Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, the chancellor, new keys to the above-mentioned chest were delivered to John de Langeton, and also the patent roll of the thirty-ninth, and the charter roll of the twenty-second years of King Henry III. being those which were taken out of the chest and sent to the king in the preceding year.[o]

About thirteen years after this we find the records mentioned as preserved in the Tower of London;[p] and hence we derive our information concerning their being first lodged within the walls of that fortress.

---

[l] Year Book, 11 Edw. IV. Trin. T. pl. 1. title "Grant du Roy."

[m] Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. pars 1. p. 656.

[n] Rot. Claus. 20 Edw. I. m. 13. dors. Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 757.

[o] Ibid.

Although, from the period of this first removal, the Tower was the principal, it does not, till some years afterwards, appear to have been the only repository of the chancery records. In the succeeding reign the castles of Pontefract, Tutbury, and Tonbridge, and the house of the Friars Preachers in London, are noticed as places wherein charters, writings, and other muniments belonging to the crown were preserved.

Anciently, when the court and parliament were holden at places distant from the capital, the chancery usually followed, and on these occasions it was customary for some abbot and convent to find a horse for the conveyance of the records.

In the year 1298, the Scots, roused by the valour and patriotism of the famous Wallace, made a desperate effort to redeem themselves from the vassalage to which they had lately been reduced by the English monarch; and Edward, in consequence, was obliged to put himself at the head of the forces, in order to maintain his newly acquired superiority. On this account, the courts were removed by ordinance to York:[q] and on their return to London, the king, " being in great need of a strong and steady horse to carry his rolls of chancery," commanded the abbot of Furness to send him one, by a person of his house, to be delivered at York, on the feast of St. James, to John de Langeton his chancellor.[r]

In the sixth year of King Edward the Third, the abbot and convent of Beaulieu were directed to provide a horse for the like purpose, and to send it to the king's chancery on the morrow of the Ascension;[s] which the abbot accordingly did, by one of his monks; but the animal being deemed insufficient, the monk promised to send a better by the feast of St. John the Baptist, which was done, and the horse accepted.[t]

In the following year, Edward, impelled by the hope of regaining the superiority over Scotland, which had been conceded by the regency before he assumed the reins of government, prepared to invade that kingdom and replace Baliol on the throne. The parliament [u] and courts,[x] in consequence, sat at York; and the king having dispatched Theobald Poleyn, servant of the rolls of chancery, and John de Tiddeswell, clerk, to bring the rolls, writs, and memoranda, from his treasury in the Tower of London, to York, sent his mandate to the abbot and convent of Stratford, directing them to provide a sumpter horse and servant for their conveyance.[y]

---

[p] Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I. m. 3. Placita Parliamentaria 33 Edw. I. p. 284.

[q] Rot. Parl. 26 Edw. I. m. 1; vol. i. p. 143.

[r] Rot. Claus. 28 Edw. I. m. 7. d.

[s] Ibid. 6 Edw. III. m. 26. d.

[t] Ibid.

In the fifteenth year of King Richard the Second, the courts were removed to York, by virtue of a proclamation; and all writs original and judicial were made returnable there, on the morrow of St. John the Baptist;[z] on which day the king and council were at Nottingham;[a] whence they proceeded to York. On this occasion the king assigned Henry Maupas, John Barnetby, and John del Rolles, to arrest and take such and as many horses and carts as would be sufficient for the carriage of the rolls of chancery from London to York;[b] whither accordingly they appear to have been taken under a strong escort, viâ Lenton, near Nottingham; and in the following year the treasurer and barons of the exchequer were directed to allow to John de Ravenser, keeper of the hanaper, £105. 16s. 6*d.* for various expenses attending their conveyance from London to Lenton, and thence to York; and for the recarriage of them from York to London.[c]

In the twenty-second year of the same reign, the parliament met at Shrewsbury, and the rolls of chancery were taken thither from London; as appears by a similar precept to the treasurer and barons, directing them to allow to William de Waltham, clerk of the hanaper, twelve pounds, for the carriage of the rolls of chancery, from London to Shrewsbury to the parliament; and for their reconveyance to London.[d]

Between this period and the reign of King Edward the Fourth numerous instances occur of abbots and convents being directed to provide a horse to carry the rolls and memoranda of chancery; but they do not inform us whence, or to what place they were to be removed.

---

[u] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 175.

[x] Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 17. 22.

[y] Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. i. m. 12. dors.

[z] Rot. Claus. 15 Rich. II. m. 3. d.

[a] Ibid. m. 3.

[b] Rot. Pat. 15 Rich. II. m. 7.

[c] Rot. Claus. 16 Rich. II. m. 10.

[d] Ibid. 22 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 13.

In what particular part of the Tower of London the records of chancery were first lodged, cannot decidedly be ascertained, nor has it hitherto been discovered at what period the present Record Tower first became appropriated to the purposes of their preservation and custody; there is some reason, however, for believing, that a portion of the White Tower was originally set apart for their reception, and that it continued to be their repository till about the middle of the fourteenth century.

In the year 1360, the rolls and other memoranda of chancery are said to have been removed *extra magnam turrim*, and deposited in another place, in consequence of that part having by the council been assigned for the residence of John, king of France; who was then a prisoner in England. This appears by a writ,[e] dated at Reading, on the twenty-eighth of April, commanding Richard de Ravenesere, keeper of the hanaper, to pay sixty shillings to John de Barton, servant of the rolls of the king's chancery, for his costs and expenses in the said removal; and in repairing the chests, and making new closets for the rolls and memoranda to be kept in.

On the twentieth of August following, a writ[f] was directed to William Lamhith, clerk of the works in the Tower, commanding him to survey and repair the roof, doors, and windows of the house there, which the king had provided for the custody of the rolls and other memoranda of his chancery; and also to make three new closets in the same, for their better preservation. Two years after this, a like mandate[g] was sent to William Sleford, clerk of the works, directing him forthwith to repair and amend all defects in the roof, doors, windows, locks, and keys, of the Tower,[h] in which were deposited the rolls and memoranda of the king's chancery.

With respect to the arrangement and methodizing of the national records; the first instances we have of the attention of the crown being engaged by that subject, occur in the reign of King Edward the Second. That monarch, by his writ, dated at Westminster in the fourteenth year of his reign, directed the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to employ a suitable number of skilful clerks to look over, arrange, and methodize such rolls, books, and memoranda, of the times of his progenitors, as were then in his treasury, and in the Tower of London; in order that they might thenceforth be more properly preserved, for his and the public weal.[i]

---

[e] Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. III. m. 33.

[f] Ibid. m. 15.

[g] Ibid. 36 Edw. II. m. 25.

[h] The Tower, here spoken of, was probably that in which the records are now preserved.

Two years afterwards, letters patent were directed to the treasurer and barons commanding that all papal bulls, charters, writings, and memoranda, concerning the king's state and liberties in England, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Ponthieu, then remaining under their custody in the treasury, the wardrobe, (in the Tower) and elsewhere, should be calendared and arranged at the expense of the crown; and for that purpose they were ordered to employ as many experienced clerks as would be necessary, and to remunerate them out of the treasury.[k]

In the nineteenth year of the same king, Robert de Hoton, and Thomas Sibthorp, who had then recently been appointed to examine, arrange, and put in order the king's charters, writings, and all other muniments in the castles of Pontefract, Tutbury, and Tonbridge; also such as had lately been brought into, and were then in the Tower, and those in the house of the Friars Preachers, London,[l] were commanded to deliver all the rolls of their arrangement, if any remained in their custody, and likewise the keys of the chests and coffers, to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer.[m]

The example of this monarch, in providing for the safety and classification of his records, seems to have been but little regarded by his successors, for many generations: measures, indeed, were occasionally adopted to secure them from perishing;[n] laws were made to protect them from erazure, falsification, and embezzlement;[o] and it was ordained that they should be accessible to all the king's subjects;[p] yet no steps appear to have been taken, before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to render them effectually beneficial to the public. That æra, however, may be said to have given birth, in this country, to the study of antiquities; and it produced several great and learned men who knew how to appreciate these venerable treasures, and who drew the attention of the crown to the deplorable condition in which they then lay. An inquiry was in consequence instituted, and some salutary measures were adopted for their future preservation and arrangement.

---

[i] Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. II. m. 22.

[k] Ibid. 16 Edw. II. m. 19. d.

[l] Rot. Pat. 16 Edw. II. p. 1. m. 28.

[m] Rot. Claus. 19 Edw. II. m. 26.

[n] See page 223.

[o] Stat. 8 Rich. II. cap. 4. et 8 Hen. VI. cap. 12.

About this time the custody of the records was committed to Mr. William Bowyer, a man distinguished not less by his talents than his industry; and how highly he merited the trust reposed in him, was afterwards evinced by the zeal and perseverance with which he executed the duties of his office. To him must be attributed the credit of having first reduced the records in the Tower to any tolerable state of order; and he is said to have personally devoted upwards of eight years to that laborious task, and to have collected with his own hand, six folio volumes of repertories to the most valuable muniments under his custody.

The care that Queen Elizabeth manifested for the preservation of the public records of her kingdom may be enumerated among the benefits for which posterity stands indebted to her. The wise provisions, however, of that age were overturned, through the negligence or supineness of persons to whom the custody of these ancient monuments of our history, laws, and government, was subsequently intrusted. It is true that the learned Selden, appointed keeper by parliament in the year 1643, and the famous Prynne, who succeeded him soon after King Charles's restoration, were both great and laborious antiquaries, and well acquainted with the importance of the treasures confided to their care; but, it is probable that the records had fallen again into confusion before their times, and little seems to have been done, even by them, towards restoring them to order. In short, it appears that the great mass of rolls and documents in the Tower had been allowed to return to the chaos in which they were found by the indefatigable Bowyer, and the labours of that good man were altogether lost to posterity.

---

[p] Rot. Parl. 46 Edw. III. N° 43.

Such was the state of the public records at the commencement of the last century; when Charles lord Halifax called the attention of parliament to a subject, in which the honor and interest of the country were so deeply involved. The effect of that nobleman's representation to the House of Lords was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the national records, and to recommend such measures as it might deem expedient for their future preservation, and for rendering them practically useful to the country. This committee was revived from time to time till the close of the succeeding reign; during which period its operations, though limited, were attended with many very beneficial results. Besides what was done in other offices, the most valuable part of the rolls, bundles of inquisitions, &c.[q] in the Tower were collected and arranged in the chronological order in which they now stand; calendars were also made to such of them as were thought most essentially useful; and the offices and record chambers, by command of the queen, were repaired and fitted up in a handsome and convenient manner, under the direction of sir Christopher Wren, the surveyor-general of her majesty's works.

Notwithstanding these prudent measures, more effectual steps were yet necessary for making the contents of our national repositories known, and useful to the public; an end which could only be attained by the printing and circulating of repertories to such of them as possessed sufficient importance.

The first work deserving of notice, that appeared of this kind, was a calendar to the Gascoign, Norman, and French rolls, published in 1742, in two folio volumes, by Mr. Carte, from the manuscript calendars in the Record office, under the title of *Catalogue des Rolls Gascons, Normans, et François, conservés dans les archives de la Tour de Londres, tiré d'apres celui du garde des dites archives ; et contenant le précis et sommaire de tous les titres qui s'y trouvent concernant la Guienne, la Normandie, et les autres provinces de la France sujettes autrefois aux Rois d'Angleterre.* The reception which these volumes experienced both at home and abroad, on their first publication, and the high esteem in which they continued to be holden, excited hopes that the example would have been followed with respect to other of our public records, which were of far greater and more general utility; but such a work was too great and too expensive to be undertaken by any individual: it was of a national, not of a private nature; and its accomplishment was destined to add to the lustre of the present times, and to render the name and memory of his late majesty more admired, beloved, and revered, to the latest posterity.

---

[q] The miscellaneous records and papers, of which there were immense heaps in the White Tower, seem to have attracted but little notice on this occasion; nor was it till after the appointment of Samuel Lysons, esq., the late keeper of the records, that the value of them appears to have been discovered; since that period, however, they have been carefully sorted, and a multiplicity of royal and other letters, petitions to parliament and to the king and council, writs and returns to parliaments, rolls of accounts, proceedings in the Courts of Chancery, and a great variety of curious and interesting documents, have been rescued from a state of filth and disorder, and have since been cleaned and methodized.

In the year 1800, the state of the public records of the kingdom was taken into consideration by parliament, and the house of commons presented an address to the king, praying "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give such directions as his majesty in his great wisdom should think fit, for their better preservation, arrangement, and more convenient use;" assuring his majesty "that whatever extraordinary expenses might be incurred by the directions which his majesty should think fit to give on that occasion, should be cheerfully provided for, and made good, by his faithful Commons."

Hereupon his majesty, by warrant under his sign manual, bearing date the nineteenth day of July in the same year, appointed a committee with ample powers to carry into execution the several measures recommended in the said address: and, from that time to the present, this noble undertaking has been pursued in a manner becoming the name and dignity of the nation. The state and contents of every repository of records and muniments throughout the united kingdoms have been inquired into; copious calendars and indices to some of the most important rolls and documents in the Tower have been printed and published; other valuable records have, through the medium of the press, been communicated entire to the public, and a corrected and greatly enlarged edition of that magnificent collection of records and state-papers denominated the Fœdera is now gradually making its appearance.

One most important consideration, however, with respect to the public records has hitherto been wholly neglected by the legislature. This chiefly applies to many of the most ancient rolls and documents in the Tower,[r] but particularly to that valuable species of records denominated the *Inquisitiones post mortem*, which are preserved in that repository. It has been the pernicious practice of former times, to wash over the face of many of these documents with an infusion of spirits and galls, whenever it was found necessary for them to be transcribed; and it is clear that in very many instances this system has been wantonly adhered to, when there was not the slightest occasion for such a measure. It has the momentary influence of bringing up the writing, and rendering a document legible, although, to a common eye, a letter before was scarcely to be discerned; but it has at the same time an equally powerful effect on the parchment or paper, and in course of time renders that as black as the ink itself. In this lamentable condition are many hundreds of the most important documents in the Tower, some of which are already quite illegible; others are every day approaching to the same state, and before the lapse of another age most of them may be totally useless. To prevent, therefore, the entire loss of these valuable muniments to posterity, the only effectual and satisfactory mode would be, the passing of an act of parliament for transcribing them; which might be done by empowering the commissioners on the public records to appoint commissioners under them in each of the offices where it might be deemed necessary; and these being competent and sworn, should make and verify transcripts of all such documents as might be found in danger of obliteration or decay; and such transcripts signed by them on every page should afterwards be sanctioned by the signatures of the lord chancellor, the master of the rolls, and the commissioners on the public records, and finally adopted and rendered evidence, by the same, or another act of parliament, made for that particular purpose.

---

[r] There is not one of the ancient nobility of the realm who could prove, either his title to his estates, or to his rank as a peer, if they were to be called in question, without the aid of these national treasures; nor is there a person of landed property in the country that is not as vitally interested in their preservation.

As the knowledge and consequent esteem of our national records and muniments have increased through the measures adopted by the record commission, their use has every day become more general, and their authority more frequently consulted, both for literary and legal[s] purposes. Indeed, the most sanguine expectations that could have been entertained concerning the advantages of this great national work, have been amply realized. From the sources here laid open, the laws, the history, and the constitution of the kingdom, are daily receiving elucidation; and to the antiquary, the topographer, the genealogist, and to the nation in general, an inexhaustible mine of information is discovered, which, before, had lain buried in obscurity.

But to return more immediately to the records in the Tower.—They are confided to the care of a keeper, appointed by the master of the rolls, for life, in obedience to a warrant under the king's sign manual. The custody of the records has always been regarded a charge of great honor and importance, and it has generally been conferred on men of eminent worth and learning, and particularly distinguished for a profound acquaintance with the history and antiquities of their country.

In the year 1604, Edward lord Bruce, then master of the rolls, claimed the right of appointing the keeper of the records of chancery in the Tower, and King James, in consequence, directed the lords of the privy council to take a hearing of the matter, and "to consider unto whom the same did of right appertain, to the end that the keeping of the said records might be duly ordered, and possession thereof delivered to the party to which it should be found to belong." The council thought fit to have the opinions of the lord chief justice of England, the lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. justice Gawdy, and Mr. justice Walmsley; who, having at several times heard the arguments of the master of the rolls and Mr. Proby, the then keeper of the records, and their counsel, and "having seen divers ancient records that might best inform them therin," were of opinion that such of the said records as were of the chancery, or appertaining to the chancery, always had and should be under the charge of the master of the rolls for the time being, or of some person authorised by him; but that the rest of the records in the Tower, as of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and other courts, belonged to the custody of some one assigned by the king. In this opinion the lords of the privy council acquiesced, and an order was accordingly made that the custody of the said records which belonged to the chancery, should forthwith be yielded to the master of the rolls.[t]

---

[s] In questions respecting descents of families, titles, or estates, and rights or privileges belonging either to real property, officers, and public bodies, or to individuals, they are often of the greatest utility, and tend to set litigation at rest by affording clear and decisive evidence.

According therefore to this decision the custody of the records in the Tower would either be divided between one officer appointed by the king, and another assigned by the master of the rolls, or the appointment to their entire charge would be jointly in the crown and the said master. It was essential, however, to the security of the records, that, reposited as they necessarily must be in the same chambers, they should be under the care of one and the same person; and forasmuch as the king provides for the keeper's salary and all the expenses of the establishment, the nomination has ever since very reasonably rested in his majesty; who, after making choice of a proper person, grants a warrant to the master of the rolls to admit him to the said office, and to receive his oath for the faithful discharge of its duties: after which his appointment is confirmed by the king's privy seal or letters patent.

In early times the records in general seem to have been chiefly under the control of the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer, and the custody of those belonging to the chancery for a long time afterwards formed part of the office of the master of the rolls. Thus, in the twentieth year of Edward the First, we find the king's treasurer directed to open the chest containing the records of chancery, and to send certain rolls to his master, who was then in Scotland; and in the succeeding reign directions were at several times given to the treasurer and chamberlains concerning their preservation and arrangement.

---

[t] Lansdown MSS. in Mus. Brit. N° 163. fol. 111.

On the twenty-sixth of May, in the seventeenth year of Edward the Second, the king, with the assent of Robert de Baldock, archdeacon of Canterbury, his chancellor, and of others of his council, made Richard de Ayremynne master of the rolls, and William de Ayremynne, whom he succeeded in that office, delivered to him the keys of the chests, wherein the rolls of chancery were kept.[u] In the following year on the fourth of July, the king, in the presence of the chancellor, committed the custody of the rolls to Henry de Cliff, one of the clerks of chancery; and on the morrow, before the chancellor and certain clerks of chancery, he was sworn, at the marble stone in the great hall at Westminster, to well and faithfully exercise the said custody;[x] and the above-mentioned Richard de Ayremynne accordingly delivered to him the keys of the chests containing the rolls of chancery.[y] This Henry de Cliff continued master of the rolls till his death, and was succeeded by Michael de Wath,[z] to whom his executors were commanded to deliver all the rolls of chancery, together with the writs, inquisitions, records, and all other memoranda, and also the keys belonging to the said office.[a]

In the eleventh of Edward the Third, John de St. Paul was appointed master, or custos, of the rolls, and was sworn before the king at Mortlake, in the presence of John archbishop of Canterbury; master Robert de Stratford, archdeacon of Canterbury, the chancellor; Henry de Ferrars and Richard de Byntworth, keepers of the privy seal, and many others;[b] and the above-named Michael de Wath, then custos of the said rolls, in obedience to the king's mandate, delivered to the said John de St. Paul, the rolls, writs, and memoranda of chancery, and the keys of the chests in which the same were preserved in the

---

[u] Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 10. d.

[x] Ibid. 18 Edw. II. m. 1. d.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Ibid. 8 Edw. III. m. 37.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Rot. Claus. 11 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 13. d.

Tower of London; and also the key to another chest in which some rolls and writs of chancery were deposited in the abbey of St. Mary at York.[c]

In the fourteenth year of the same reign, the office of custos of the rolls of chancery was given to Thomas de Evesham, and after he had been sworn before the chancellor and others of the king's council, William de Kildesby, keeper of the privy seal, delivered to him all the rolls, bundles, and memoranda in the Tower of London, namely, in eighteen bags, one leather sack, and one great hanaper of divers indentures, and the keys of the chests in the said Tower, in which divers other rolls, bundles, and memoranda were likewise preserved.[d]

In the next year this Thomas de Evesham was commanded, by writ of privy seal, to give up his charge to John de Thoresby, who, after he had been sworn before the king and several of the nobility and others at Woodstock, received the rolls in four leather bags, and twenty-one canvas pockets, and a certain white hanaper, in which many indentures were enclosed; also bundles of writs, memoranda, and the keys of the chests ordered for the keeping of the same rolls in the Tower.[e]

In the fifth year of King Richard the Second, William de Burstall, clerk, the late custos of the rolls of Chancery, delivered to John de Waltham, his successor in that office, all the rolls, memoranda, and other evidences, by indenture; and from this document, which is preserved among the records in the Tower, we derive the gratifying information, that the records now correspond in an extraordinary manner with the minute account given of them on that occasion.

As we do not, at subsequent periods, find any distinct mention of the charge of the records in the Tower, as connected with the appointment of master of the rolls, it is highly probable that this soon afterwards became a separate office, though we can give no satisfactory account of any persons specially appointed to their custody previous to the reign of King Henry the Eighth; but, after that time, the succession of keepers may be traced with a tolerable degree of certainty.

---

[c] Rot. Claus. 11 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 13. d.

[d] Ibid. 14 Edw. III. p. 2. m 9. d.

[e] Ibid. 15 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 34. d.

About the year 1529, the records in the Tower appear to have been in the custody of Ralph Pexall:[f] on the 24th of September 1538, the care of them was committed to Richard Eton;[g] and a few years afterwards Richard de Eton and William Singe were appointed keepers for their lives and the life of the survivor.[h] By King Edward the Sixth the office was granted to Edward Hales,[i] who was succeeded by Robert and Rowland Harris.

In the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the neglected state of the public records excited particular attention, and, through the influence of sir Thomas Parry, those in the Tower were committed to the charge of William Bowyer esquire;[k] a man, whose industry and perseverance, added to his historical and legal knowledge, rendered him peculiarly adapted to that situation. Mr. Bowyer may be said to have been the first that merited this important trust, and his name deserves the regard of posterity for the zealous and faithful manner in which he discharged its duties. He appears to have enjoyed his office till his death, and was succeeded in 1581, by Thomas and Michael Heneage, esquires;[l] after whom was appointed the famous William Lambard, the perambulator of Kent; one of the most learned and distinguished antiquaries of his time. The Perambulation of Kent, his native county, was one of the first works that ever appeared on this species of British topography; and the high reputation he acquired by it, was sustained by his *Archaion*, *Eirenarcha*, and other learned productions.

Lambard was usually called *the handsome man of Kent*, and was acknowledged to be one of the finest and most comely persons of the day; which was not the least, perhaps, of his recommendations to the favor that he enjoyed with Queen Elizabeth. When her majesty appointed him to the custody of the records in the Tower, she discoursed with him at considerable length, and evinced great solicitude about their careful preservation; and a few months afterward, Mr. Lambard having compiled a pandect of the records under his charge, and given it to the countess of Warwick, to present to the queen, her majesty refused to take it, commanding that he should deliver it personally; which he accordingly did, in her privy chamber at East Greenwich; and the queen, cheerfully receiving it, said, "you intended to present this booke unto mee by the countice of Warwicke, but I will none of that; for, if any subject of myne do mee a service, I will thankfully accept it from his owne hands." Her majesty then looked it over and asked various questions as to the names of the different rolls; the meaning of which Mr. Lambard severally explained; and the queen, seeming well satisfied, said, "that shee would be a scholler in her age, and thought it no scorne to learne during her life, being of the minde of that philosopher, who, in his last yeares began with the Greek alphabet." As her majesty proceeded she came to the reign of King Richard the Second, and in allusion to his being deposed, and to the recent rebellion of the earl of Essex, she said, "I am King Richard the Second, know yee not that?" To which he replied, "such a wicked immagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind gentleman, the most adorned creature that ever your majestie made." "Yea," said the queen, "he that will forgett God will alsoe forgett his benefactor;" and then she enquired whether he had ever seen any true picture or representationof Richard's person; and being answered that he had not, excepting such as were in common hands, she said, that "the lord Lumley, a lover of antiquities, discovered it fastened on the backside of a door of a back roome, which hee presented unto mee, prayinge with my goode leave that I might putt itt in order with my auncestors and successors. I will commauud Thomas Kneavett, keeper of my house and gallery at Westminster, to shew it unto thee."

---

[f] Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 118.

[g] Rot. Pat. 29 Hen. VIII.

[h] Ibid. 35 Hen. VIII.

[i] Privy Seal Bill.

[k] Rot. Pat. 9 Eliz.

[l] Ibid. 23 Eliz.

Then she returned to the rolls, and demanded if *Redisseisines* were not wrongful, and forcible throwing of men out of their lawful possessions? and being answered in the affirmative, she replied, that, "in those days, force and arms did prevaile, but now the wit of the fox is every where on foote, so as hardly a faithful or virtuous man may be found." Then she came to the whole amount of the several parcels of records, "commendinge the work, not only for the pains therin taken, but alsoe for that shee had not received since her first coming to the crowne any one thinge that brought therewith soe great delectation unto her; and soe, being called away to prayer, shee putt the booke in her bosome, havinge forbidden mee from the first to the last to fall upon my knee before her, concluding, *farewell good and honest Lambard.*"

Mr. Lambard's enjoyment of these honors was of but short duration: he died in the same year; and after him sir Roger Wilbraham, knight,[m] Robert Bowyer esquire, Henry Elsing, esquire, and sir John Borough, knight, were successively appointed to the custody of the records in the Tower. Mr. Elsing wrote on the "ancient method and manner of holding parliaments in England;" a work of good authority; and sir John Borough, who was afterwards made garter king at arms, acquired the reputation of a great antiquary.

The office of keeper of the records in the Tower having become vacant in 1643, the parliament appointed the celebrated John Selden, a barrister at law, and member of parliament for the University of Oxford.

Selden, who was a native of Salvington, in Sussex, and born in the year 1584, was educated in the free grammar-school at Chichester, under Hugh Barker, who afterwards became a noted civilian. His natural talents displayed themselves at an early age, and such was his progress in the learned languages, that, when only ten years of age, he composed a Latin distich, which was cut in wood over the door of his birth-place—a house called Lacie's. At the age of fourteen he was admitted of Hart-hall, in the University of Oxford, where he remained four years, and then adopted the study of the law; which, as will hereafter be seen, he pursued with great diligence and success, although it does not appear that he ever paid much regard to it as a profession; his inclination for more profound and serious research having led him to a different course, and introduced him in early life to Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and other learned characters, among whom he soon took his station as a distinguished antiquary.

---

[m] Rot. Pat. 44 Eliz.

In 1607, he completed his first literary production, entitled *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon.* It consisted of two books, giving a summary view of every thing recorded by ancient and modern writers, relative to the civil government and public transactions of England, whether sacred or profane, down to the Norman Conquest.

Selden had now assumed the character of a writer, and, during the remainder of his life, few years elapsed without bringing some new work from his pen. In 1610, he wrote two short tracts in which he deduced the English law from the earliest periods to the reign of King John: the same year also brought forth his treatise on *single combat;* and in 1614, he published his celebrated work on *Titles of Honor;* a work which evinced most profound research into the history of this and other modern nations, and established his reputation as one of the most erudite and industrious men of the age. Two years after this he re-edited two ancient law books,[n] with explanatory and corrective notes; and also addressed to sir Francis Bacon, "A brief Discourse touching the office of lord chancellor of England."

In the year 1617, Mr. Selden published his learned work *De diis Syris, syntagmata duo.* The topics on which he had previously employed his pen were chiefly connected with the laws and antiquities of his own country, but in this, one of the most esteemed of all his publications, he displayed his erudition in a wider sphere. His grand object is here to discourse on the false deities noticed in the Old Testament, connecting with it an enquiry into Syrian idolatry in general, and some reflections on the ancient theology of other heathen nations. He sets out with a geographical notice of Syria, observations on the Hebrew tongue, and the worship of a plurality of gods; and concludes with a dissertation on all the Syrian deities recorded in history and holy writ. This work was received with universal applause: it went through several editions, and gave its author rank among the first literary characters of the age, both at home and abroad.

His next publication, however, was not attended with such happy results. The doctrine of divine right to tithes, as inherited by the Christian through the Jewish priesthood from the patriarchal ages, was daily gaining gound, and beginning to be looked upon as essential to the establishment of a national church; and Selden's love for research led him into an inquiry on this subject, which gave birth to his celebrated History of Tithes. This work appeared in 1618, and it displayed the author's usual depth of learning and industry, but involved him in an almost endless train of difficulties. The very name of such a book coming from the authoritative pen of Selden gave instant alarm to the clergy, and inspired them with a species of the most rancorous and mean resentment; although it was nothing more than what its title expressed — a mere history of tithes. He did not take upon himself to decide for or against the divine right; but having fairly produced and arranged the evidence on both sides, it was found to preponderate so clearly against the doctrine upheld by the clergy, that they became exasperated and complained to the king; and James, whose interest inclined him the same way, twice summoned Selden before him; and he was afterwards cited in the presence of the high-commission court; whose absolute and tyrannical powers constrained him to apologize for the publication. The same authority also forbade his attempting to justify himself or his history, however virulently either might be attacked by his adversaries; and when Montague, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and subsequently of Norwich, was preparing a confutation of the work, King James, at an audience with which he honored Selden, sternly told him, that "if he or any of his friends should write against this confutation, he would throw him into prison!"

---

[n] These were, "De laudibus legum Angliæ," by sir John Fortescue; and Ralph de Hengham's "Summæ."

We must pass over some lesser pieces, which Selden wrote to appease his angry sovereign, and come to a more interesting period of his life; when we find him taking an active part in that memorable contest which troubled the last years of the reign of James, subverted the constitution in church and state, and brought his son and successor to his unhappy fate.

On the great constitutional question respecting the powers and privileges of parliament to interpose its advice in matters of state, which was the prelude to these events, the commons consulted Selden, who enlarged upon the subject before the house; and, elated perhaps, by the distinguished honor thus conferred upon him, or spurred by the remembrance of his recent oppressions, inveighed against the courtiers for drawing the king's affection from his parliament; expatiated on the dangers of popery, and other popular topics; and was the framer or adviser of a protestation which the commons entered upon their journals, re-asserting their claims to freedom of discussion, and to the right of interposing their advice, and declaring, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; whereupon King James dissolved the parliament, and Selden, with some of the most distinguished of the parliamentary advocates, were committed to prison; but were soon afterwards released on their petitions."

In the same year, this learned man, by order of the house of lords, wrote a short treatise, which was afterwards published, on *The privilege of the Baronage;* first considering the barons collectively as forming one of the three estates of the kingdom, and afterwards individually as barons. Shortly afterwards he also wrote on the *Judicature of Parliament*, and in 1623, edited the work of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury; being an account of public affairs during the three first reigns succeeding the conquest.

In 1624, Selden was chosen reader of Lincoln's Inn; but so far was he from looking upon this in the usual light of an honor, that he refused to comply; and was, in consequence, not only fined, but disqualified from ever being called to the bench.

It is uncertain for what place Selden first had a seat in the house of commons; but in the parliament which was assembled soon after the accession of Charles the First, he was returned as one of the representatives for the Borough of Great Bedwin in Wiltshire, and in the following year he was one of the eight members appointed to impeach the duke of Buckingham at the bar of the house of lords.

In 1627, several gentlemen who had been committed to prison, for refusing to contribute to a forced loan, being brought into the court of King's Bench by a writ of habeas corpus, Selden, who was counsel for sir Edward Hampden, one of the prisoners, took exceptions to the return, by reason of its only stating that they had been detained by the king's special mandate, without specifying the particular cause of their commitment. But, although he and the other advocates ably argued the point, and took as the groundwork of their reasoning that great bulwark of British liberty, Magna Charta, the exceptions were overruled and the gentlemen remanded to prison. The subject, however, was soon afterwards taken up by parliament, and Selden spoke on it several times in the house, with great force and effect.

Although Mr. Selden was now ardently pursuing his political career, and interesting himself with truly patriotic zeal in the many important constitutional questions about this time agitated in parliament, his literary studies were not wholly neglected. In 1628, he wrote on "Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of testaments," and on the "Administration of intestates' goods;" and during the parliamentary recess in the same year he secluded himself at Wrest, the seat of the earl of Kent, in Bedfordshire, and compiled his *Marmora Arundelliana, sive Saxa Græca incisa;* a work in which he again displayed his extraordinary depth of learning, although it was not free from important errors.

In 1629, among other arbitrary and oppressive measures which came under the notice of the house of commons, the question of tonnage and poundage was not the least in importance; and the conduct of Selden and several other members, in the warm debates that took place upon it, occasioned their commitment to the Tower: where, in consequence of their refusing to find security for good behaviour, they remained a considerable time as close prisoners, and were then removed to the Marshalsea; where Selden, enjoying greater liberty than he had in the Tower, compiled his learned work on the laws of succession to property among the Jews, entitled, *De successionibus in bona defuncti ad leges Ebræorum.*

From the Marshalsea Mr. Selden was subsequently taken to the Gate-house at Westminster; but, as these changes had been effected without the direction of the judges, he was soon returned to his place of custody in the Tower; and it was not till near the middle of the year 1631, that he obtained his freedom.

Among the many eminent persons of the time, with whom Mr. Selden lived on terms of intimacy, was the earl of Kent; and to that nobleman's mansion at Wrest he occasionally retired from the political storms in which he so actively engaged, and allowed his mind to tranquillize in literary pursuits. Thither he retreated in the summer of 1634, and compiled a small work, *De successione in Pontificatum.* His mind about this time seems to have been chiefly turned on the history, laws, and antiquities of the Jewish nation, and the success with which he pursued those studies, is sufficiently evinced by the valuable information he left to posterity on these particular subjects. This last mentioned tract is partly of an historical, and partly of a judicial nature: giving, in the first place, an account of the high priests and their succession, from Aaron to the destruction of the second temple, and then setting forth the laws of that succession and of admission to the holy offices.

In 1635, Selden, in consequence of some questions which arose with the Dutch concerning the right of fishing on the English coasts, revised and printed, by order of King Charles the First, his laboured disquisition on the sovereignty of the British seas; a work written many years before, and commonly known by the title of *Mare clausum.* By this production he established himself highly in the favor of the court, and if proof were wanting of the profundity of its author's erudition, research, and industry, this work alone would sufficiently establish his fame; and in so valuable a light was it then regarded by the government, that an order was entered in minutes of the privy council, that "one of the said books should be kept in the council chest, another in the court of Exchequer, and a third in the court of Admiralty, as faithful and strong evidence of the dominion of the British seas." Among Englishmen this was, perhaps, the most celebrated and interesting of all Mr. Selden's writings; and it was afterwards translated out of the Latin into our own tongue, and went through several editions: though, as was to have been expected, his doctrines were vehemently impugned in Holland, and other foreign countries.

We must next regard Selden as quitting for a time his literary retreats, and taking an active part in those violent political contentions, which finally involved the nation in so much confusion and misery.

In 1640, after a lapse of near twelve years, King Charles was compelled by his distresses to call another parliament, and Selden being returned to it as one of the representatives of the university of Oxford, we find him in most of the committees appointed upon the many constitutional and weighty questions which occupied the attention of the house; he was one of the members assigned to impeach the earl of Strafford at the bar of the lords, and afterwards took a similar part in the proceedings against archbishop Laud; but his name deserves the highest reverence for his defence of the established church, and for the noble stand that he made against the abolition of episcopacy.

After the king had retired to York in 1642, a design was entertained by his majesty of appointing Selden to the exalted station of keeper of the great seal, in the room of sir Edward Littleton who had rendered himself obnoxious to the court; but on being summoned to wait upon the king at York, he excused himself, and lords Clarendon and Falkland, having been directed, as it should seem, to consider of the propriety of offering the vacant office to Selden, reported "that they did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection for the king; but withal, they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place if it were offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; he was rich, and would not make a journey to York, or have lain out of his bed, for any preferment, which he had never affected." [o]

In the same year came on to be argued in the house the legality of the commission which the king had issued for raising and arraying men, and Selden contended forcibly against the measure; which coming to the king's knowledge, gave him much trouble, as he had looked upon Mr. Selden as well diposed towards him.[p] Selden, however, as strenuously opposed the measures of the parliament with respect to the militia, which he declared were without a shadow or pretence of law; and from this period it is discernible, from the moderation of his politics, that he foresaw the dangers that were overhanging the country, and wished to avert the threatening evil. Indeed, when the discovery was made in 1643, of an intention on the part of the loyalists to introduce forces into London, and to disarm the militia, some suspicion seems to have fallen upon Selden, as a favorer of the design, and in order to clear himself he joined in the oath drawn up against it.

---

[o] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 572.

In the same year, 1643, a bill was passed in parliament for convening a synod in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, to discuss the points relative to the establishment of a church government, and as several members of both houses of parliament sat in this assembly among the divines, we are informed by Whitelock, that Mr. Selden in these debates "spake admirably, confuting divers of them in their own learning, and sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them that their translations might be thus; but that the Greek or Hebrew signified so and so!"

In the same year also, on the eighth of November, Selden received the flattering testimony of the opinion entertained of him by the house of commons, by their passing a vote appointing him to the custody of the records in the Tower; an office which must have been in the highest degree suitable to his inclinations and studies; but we find no traces of the manner in which he discharged his duty; nor are we acquainted with any benefits that subsequent ages have derived from his appointment to that situation.

The year 1644 produced from Selden's pen an elaborate dissertation on the writings of Talmudists or traditionalists of the Jewish church; and of the Karaites or scripturists; an inquiry into which he ably argues is necessary to a right and clear understanding of holy writ. It is entitled, *De anno civili*

---

[p] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 667.

veteris ecclesiæ, seu reipublicæ Judaicæ; but, although it supports its author's character for great research and industry, it proved to be open to much successful criticism.

In the next year when the subject of excommunication and suspension from the sacrament, as a part of the new church discipline, came under the consideration of the house of commons, we find Selden strenuously arguing against it, and we are told by Whitelock, that he declared "that for four thousand years there was no sign of any law to suspend persons from religious exercises: that under the law every sinner was *eo nomine* to come and offer, as he was a sinner, and no priest or other authority had to do with him; strangers were indeed kept away from the passover, but they were pagans; and the question is not now for keeping pagans, in times of Christianity, but protestants from protestant worship." What weight Selden's argument had with the house we know not, but its decision corresponded with his sentiments.

About the same time a bill was brought in to abolish that oppressive remnant of the feudal system, the court of wards and liveries; and Mr. Selden appeared as one of its first and strongest advocates. He was also in the same year chosen master of Trinity-hall, Cambridge; an honor which he did not accept; and soon afterwards an order was entered on the journals of the house of commons for him "to bring in an ordinance for regulating the Heralds' Office," in consequence of the suppression of the marshal's court.

In the year 1647, amid the dangers which assailed the church and state, great fears were entertained by the universities lest they should experience a similar fate to that which had already attended episcopacy; but Selden stood forth as the great and unyielding champion of their cause, and to his unweared exertions they owed at least the preservation of their wealth and privileges.

As an acknowledgment to Selden and his fellow-members who had been imprisoned for opposing the arbitrary measures of the government respecting tonnage and poundage, a vote passed the house of commons about this time, awarding to each of them or their representatives the sum of five thousand pounds; but, although an order for the payment of the money subsequently appears among the votes, we are led to believe that Selden refused to take it, "his mind being as great as his learning, full of generosity, and harbouring nothing that seemed base."[q]

After this period Selden appears to have taken very little share in the political transactions of the times; spending most of his remaining days in pursuing his favorite inquiries into the history, laws, and antiquities of the Jewish nations; subjects on which he has left to posterity so many admired productions. This great ornament of the age and country that gave him birth, passed his life in celibacy, and died at the house of Elizabeth, countess dowager of Kent, in the White Friars, London, on the thirtieth of November 1654, in the seventieth year of his age. He was buried in the Temple Church on the fourteenth of December following; and the attendance of all the judges and bar, in mourning, with most of the distinguished men of the day, evinces the high respect entertained for the memory of a man whose talents had placed him in the highest ranks of literature, and gained him the admiration and friendship of the most exalted characters of the age in which he lived. His library, consisting of upwards of eight thousand volumes, was given to the university of Oxford, and his own works, (thirty-three in number,) most of which were published in his lifetime, have been arranged and edited in six volumes folio, with his life, in Latin, prefixed, by Dr. David Wilkins.

His character, as given by lord Clarendon, than whom few were better acquainted with his merits, cannot be omitted with justice to his memory. "He was," says that great man, "a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous a learning in all kinds, and in all languages, (as may appear in his excellent and transcendant writings,) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability were such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh and obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but, in his conversation, he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than his having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young; and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London and in the parliament after they were in rebellion, and in the worst of times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were that every day were done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them, but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities as other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellences in the other scale."

---

[q] Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. iii. col. 376.

We know not how the custody of the records in the Tower was provided for during the remaining six years of the usurpation, after Selden's death; but, whoever had the charge of them, it should seem that he was removed on King Charles the Second's restoration, and the celebrated William Prynne appointed in his stead.

This famous character was a native of Swainswick, near Bath, and born in the year 1600. He entered as a commoner at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1616; took a degree in arts in 1620, and afterwards went to study the common law in Lincoln's Inn; where he successively became a barrister, bencher, and reader. He was evidently endowed with superior talents, and learned in his profession, but had spent more time in reading divinity, and in the conversation of factious and hot-headed divines; and so by a mixture of these with the rudeness and arrogance of his own nature, he had contracted a proud venomous dislike to the discipline of the established church, and an equal irreverence for the government; both which he vented in several absurd, petulant, and supercilious discourses in print.[r]

One of the great characteristics of the puritans of that age was an abhorrence of every species of scenic exhibition, and Prynne was induced, either by his own contentious disposition, or by the persuasion of his religious partizans, to publish a book in 1632, entitled *Histrio-Mastix;* in which he condemned all dramatic representations, and bitterly inveighed against females appearing on the stage; and as dramas were in those days occasionally performed at court, this gave great offence, and brought upon its author severe and ignominious punishment; for it happened, that the queen, shortly after, took a part in a pastoral, performed at Somerset-house, and although Prynne's book was proved to have been written before this took place, Laud and some other prelates, whom he had offended by his writings against Arminianism and episcopacy, represented it as having been designed against the queen's pastoral,[s] and he was, in consequence, committed to the Tower. After remaining in prison upwards of a year, Mr. Prynne was brought to trial in the court of star-chamber, and was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king; be expelled the University of Oxford and Lincoln's Inn; degraded and disabled from his profession; to stand in the pillory, first in Palace-yard, Westminster, and afterwards in Cheapside, and lose one of his ears in each of those places; to have his book, called Histrio-Mastix, burnt before his face by the hangman, and to remain prisoner during life. This, however, did not moderate his nature: he was no sooner allowed the use of pens, ink, and paper, than he employed them in writing scurrilous pamphlets; but that which brought on him further disgrace and punishment, was one entitled *News from Ipswich;* in which he not only fell foul on Wrenn, bishop of Norwich, who resided there, but vented his spleen against the bishops generally in the most virulent and abusive manner: for which he was sentenced, in 1637, to pay another fine of five thousand pounds to the king; to lose what remained of his ears in the pillory; to be branded on each cheek with the letters S. L. for schismatical libeller; and to be perpetually imprisoned in Caernarvon castle; whither, after undergoing the former part of his sentence, he began his journey on the twenty-seventh of July, and was met and greeted by the "godly party" in all the principal towns through which he passed. Soon afterwards, however, it was deemed advisable that he should be taken to a greater distance, and was accordingly removed to Mount Orgueil castle, in the Isle of Jersey; and there he remained "spending his time in profitable meditations till the latter end of the year 1640; when an order was issued by the house of commons for his enlargement, and also for the release of Dr. John Bastwick, and Henry Burton bachelor of divinity, from St. Mary's castle in the Isle of Scilly, and Castle Cornet in the Isle of Guernsey.[t] Burton and Prynne met, and landing together at Dartmouth, travelled thence to London; and as they passed through Exeter and other principal towns, many of the "godly party" came to welcome them home, and accompanied them on horseback a distance on their journey. On the twenty-eighth of November these violent characters triumphantly entered the capital amid the acclamations of their puritanical friends; thousands of whom, to the great defiance and contempt of authority and justice, went out with rosemary and bays in their hats, to meet them, and to hail their return!

---

[r] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 199.

[s] Whitelock's Memorials, an. 1632.

Soon after Prynne had thus regained his liberty, several members of the house of commons left it, in order to join the king; and, in lieu of one of these, he was returned for the borough of Newport, in Cornwall. He now became more inveterate than ever against the bishops, and particularly Laud, towards whom his thirst for revenge was never satiated, till he had seen him beheaded, in return for the loss of his own ears, which he attributed to the archbishop's persecution. When Laud was a prisoner in the Tower, a close committee appointed Prynne to search his chamber, and seize his papers; and he was also entrusted with providing the evidence against him for his trial.

---

[t] These persons had stood with him in the pillory, and been branded for similar offences.

During the sitting of the memorable long parliament Prynne was extremely busy, both in and out of the house, about the points of excommunication and suspension from the sacrament; establishing church government, and other questions then agitated respecting religion: and in 1647, was one of the members appointed by parliament to visit the university of Oxford.

Towards the end of King Charles's life Prynne began to lament the misery and confusion into which that unhappy monarch and the country were brought by the party whose cause he had espoused, and he became a strenuous advocate for conciliation between the king and parliament. On the 4th of December 1648, he made a long and very learned speech[u] in the house, *touching the satisfactoriness of the king's answer to the propositions of both houses for settlement of a firm, lasting peace;* and therein so admirably pleaded the king's cause, and "with such solid reasons, arguments, and precedents out of divinity, law, and history, that no man took up the bucklers against him."

On the sixth of the same month, he and other members of the house of commons, who had shewn themselves most forward for peace, and for bringing the king to his parliament, were taken and imprisoned by the army. This, however, did not stop his pen: whilst under confinement he wrote several papers on the subject of their seizure; a *Brief Memento to the present unparliamentary juncto, touching their present intentions and proceedings to depose and execute King Charles;* and various other pieces against the violent measures of that unhappy period; and no sooner was the king beheaded than he was bold enough to publish a "Proclamation, proclaiming Charles, prince of Wales, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

Prynne was now become as bitter an enemy to the army and their leaders, as he had formerly been towards the bishops; and he never relaxed in opposing their tyrannical power till King Charles the Second was restored. He stood in open defiance of their authority, and declared that he could "neither in conscience, law, nor prudence, submit to the new illegal tax or contribution of ninety thousand pounds the month, lately imposed on the kingdom by a pretended act of some commons in (or rather out of) parliament."

---

[u] See the Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England, vol. xviii. p. 303.

Soon after this, by a warrant dated at Whitehall, June the 25th 1650, Prynne was committed to close prison in Dunster castle in Somersetshire; whence he was afterwards removed to Taunton, and finally to Pendennis castle in Cornwall.

In February 1660, as a secluded member of the house of commons, he was restored to his seat, and immediately began to shew himself so forward and bold an advocate for the King Charles the Second's restoration, that even Monk himself advised him to be more temperate.

In the "healing parliament," which began at Westminster on the 25th of April in the same year, Prynne sat as one of the representatives for the city of Bath.

When King Charles was restored to the throne, some one asked him what should be done with Prynne to make him quiet? "Why," said his majesty, "let him amuse himself with writing against the catholics, and in poring over the records in the Tower;"[x] of which he thereupon gave him the custody, with a salary of five hundred pounds per annum.

In the same year he was also appointed one of the six commissioners for appeals and regulating the excise; and, in the month of April 1661, was again elected to represent the city of Bath in parliament; but soon afterwards, upon some occasion of discontent, he published a paper against the house of commons, entitled, *Sundry reasons tendered to the most honourable house of peers, &c. against the new intended bill for governing and reforming corporations.* This pamphlet was immediately noticed by the house, and declared to be "illegal, false, scandalous, and seditious;" and Prynne, being called to the bar as its author, confessed that it was written by him; but disclaimed any mischievous intent; expressed the deepest contrition for the offence, and humbly craved pardon: which, in consideration of his late services and hazards for the king, and his expressions of sorrow, the house granted, and he was allowed to return to his seat.

---

[x] Anecdotes of distinguished Persons, vol. ii. p. 90.

From this period Prynne devoted his abilities to more useful purposes than writing abusive pamphlets. The remainder of his life seems, for the most part, to have been employed in looking over the records which had recently been committed to his care, and in making collections from them for his subsequent publications; a work which he pursued with such unceasing diligence, that few things in that vast repository appear to have escaped his penetrating eye. His zeal, however, was directed more by the desire of adding to his voluminous writings, than of putting the records into a proper state of arrangement; towards which he did but little beyond collecting the writs and returns to parliaments, which form the groundwork of his *Brevia parliamentaria rediviva*, and a number of papal bulls, and royal and other letters, most of which he made use of in compiling his three ponderous volumes against the pope's usurpations, generally known by the title of *Prynne's Records*.

Prynne died unmarried in 1669, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and was buried under the chapel in Lincoln's Inn. He was a man of great legal erudition; indefatigable in whatever he undertook; upright and independent in principle, and with talents eminently calculated to have rendered him ornamental as well as useful to his country, had they been guided by discretion, instead of that fiery headlong zeal by which they were unfortunately warpt, during the greater portion of his life.

Prynne has been characterized as "one of the greatest paper worms that ever crept into a library," and the multiplicity of his different writings sufficiently countenance the assertion. They amount to nearly two hundred, and form forty volumes in folio and quarto, as presented by himself to the library of Lincoln's Inn. They are all in English, and many of them, it must be owned, possess very little value, whilst others display vast learning and industry, and support his reputation as a distinguished antiquary. The most valuable part of his works are those which he wrote after his appointment to the custody of the records: his four books on parliaments, his *Aurum Reginæ*, and *Animad-*

versions on Coke's Institutes, are works of good authority and repute; and his three large volumes against papal usurpations, though not to be admired either for style or arrangement, evince great labor and research.

When pursuing his studies it was his custom to wear a long quilted cap, which projected over his eyes and formed a shade to defend them from too much light.[y] He read or wrote nearly the whole day, and such was his intense application, that, in order that his studies might not be interrupted by regular meals, bread, cheese, and ale were placed upon a table before him; and to these he had recourse as he found his spirits exhausted by mental exertion.[z]

"Prynne appears to have been a perfectly honest man. He equally opposed Charles, the army, and Cromwell, when he thought they were betrayers of the country; and after having accurately observed, and sensibly felt, in his own person, the violation of law occasioned by each of them, he gave his most strenuous support to the legal and established government of his country, effected by the restoration of Charles the Second to the crown of these kingdoms."[a] After the death of Prynne the custody of the records in the Tower was given to sir Algernon May, knight, with the same salary of five hundred pounds per annum. Sir Algernon appears to have been a zealous and useful officer, but it should seem that his services were but coldly requited. It was evidently the custom of former times regularly to transmit the rolls and other records from the Rolls Chapel to the Tower, at stated periods; which, for the safety and better preservation of these national muniments, sir Algernon was sensible ought to have been continued, and he therefore, soon after his coming into office, used all his influence to have the ancient practice revived;[b] but without effect. In his answer to the council, dated the fourteenth of December 1676, on the duties of his office, he states that he has repaired several hundred rolls and bundles of ancient records; prays that a house may be provided for the office; that the presses be repaired, and his salary duly paid:[c] but so little does this latter request appear to have been attended to, that, in 1681, he informed the lords' committee that there was then due to him the sum of three thousand pounds.[d] Sir Algernon continued in charge of the records till the year 1702, when Queen Anne granted him an annuity or yearly pension of two hundred and fifty pounds in lieu of that office;[e] the execution of which, with the remaining two hundred and fifty pounds, she gave to William Petyt, esquire, who, in case he should survive sir Algernon, was then to enjoy the other two hundred and fifty pounds: in all five hundred pounds per annum, as keeper of the said records.

---

[y] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

[z] Ibid. and Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. ii. p. 90. edit. 1796.

[a] Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, *ut supra*.

[b] Duke of Buckingham's MSS. at Stowe, press iv. N° 170.

Mr. Petyt, who was treasurer of the Inner Temple, was an eminent sage of the law, and one of the most distinguished antiquaries of his time. It has been said of him by a respectable contemporary,[f] that "as he had long studied, and was arrived at deep knowledge in the ancient history and constitutions of this kingdom, so he was very communicative of it to all who repaired to him for that purpose; and was very assistant to such as published any thing of that nature;" "he was a strong assertor of the liberties of England, and how well he acquitted himself therein, his books printed against Dr. Brady do shew. He did for many years employ his clerks in making extracts of such records and rolls lying in the office of which he was keeper, as might be of public use to be known and read in these times, and let in light into the affairs of the state or the church; which, at last, amounted to a great number of volumes fairly written." These with a great many other valuable MSS. of law, history, antiquity, processes, acts of parliament, and church affairs, by his last will he left to certain of his friends, to be reposited in some convenient place, and bequeathed one hundred and fifty pounds to build a place for their reception,[g] which was accordingly done in the Inner Temple, where they are still preserved.

Mr. Petyt died in 1707, and was succeeded as keeper of the records by Richard Topham; and on his decease that charge was given to David Polhill, esquire, who was a representative in parliament for the city of Rochester,[h] and one of the famous Kentish petitioners.[i]

---

[c] Duke of Buckingham's MSS. at Stowe, press iv. 170.

[d] Ibid. press xxi.

[e] Rot. Pat. 1 Ann. p. 11. Nº 28.

[f] Stowe's Survey, by Strype, vol. i. p. 120.

[g] Ibid.

After Mr. Polhill the records in the Tower were successively in the custody of William Hay, esquire; sir John Shelly, baronet, and Thomas Astle, esquire; the latter of whom is known to the world by his curious and valuable work, the History of Writing. Mr. Astle, who was keeper of the records for near thirty years, died in 1803, and in the beginning of the following year they were placed under the custody of Samuel Lysons esquire, who is well known to have been one of the most distinguished literary ornaments of the present age.

Mr. Lysons, who was born on the seventeenth of May 1763, was the younger son of the Rev. Daniel Lysons, rector of Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire; but whose seat and extensive property were situated at Hempstead in that county. Mr. Lysons, after completing his classical education, spent some time in the office of Mr. Jeffries, an eminent solicitor at Bath, in order to initiate himself in the forms of the common law; and while there "the peculiar energy of his mind, his various acquirements, and excellent qualities, gained him the attention and esteem of many of the most exalted persons who then occasionally resided in that city, and by whom he was afterwards introduced to the first literary circles in London."

Having previously entered at the Inner Temple, he removed to London in 1784, and finished his legal studies under Mr. Walton; but was not called to the bar till 1798, as he previously devoted several years to practising as a special pleader. Had the bias of Mr. Lysons's genius inclined him to the law, his talents would unquestionably have raised him to the highest ranks and honors in his profession; but, although he pursued his studies with diligence and success, his mind was turned on other objects: it was bent on exploring the antiquities and early history of his country; and the friendship which he cultivated, from an early age, with sir Joseph Banks and other learned men of the time, tended, no doubt, to confirm him irrevocably in his choice.

---

[h] Hist. Register, a° 1730, vol. xv. p. 60.

[i] Macky's Journey through England, vol. i. p. 280. edit. 1732.

In 1786, when only twenty-three years of age, Mr. Lysons became a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and continued till the time of his decease, one of its most useful and zealous supporters: during eleven years he held the honorary office of director; but this he resigned in 1809, and in November 1812, was chosen one of the vice-presidents.

In July 1796, he was introduced by sir Joseph Banks, at Kew, to their late majesties and the royal family, who, from that time, continued to honour him with their frequent notice, and always evinced a lively interest in his discoveries and pursuits.

In the month of February 1797, he was elected a member of the Royal Society, and in 1810, had the distinguished honour of being chosen its vice-president and director.

In the beginning of the year 1804, Mr. Lysons was appointed to the office of keeper of his majesty's records in the Tower, which had become vacant by the decease of Mr. Astle; and, it may justly be said, that no one ever held that important situation who discharged its duties more zealously or more successfully for the public good. Whatever might have been attempted in former ages towards reducing the records in this office to a proper state of classification and arrangement, there were but few appearances of any beneficial results, when Mr. Lysons entered upon his charge. He found a great portion of the records in the White Tower lying in total disorder, and their consequence almost wholly unknown; but by obtaining a competent establishment, and by directing attention to these neglected treasures, a vast collection of royal letters, state papers, and parliamentary and other documents of the highest value and importance were rescued from a state of filth and decay, and the whole arranged and methodized, in a manner essential to their preservation, and becoming the name and dignity of the nation to which they belong. To accomplish these desirable measures, Mr. Lysons also obtained additional chambers in that building; and under his direction, were also begun calendars to the chancery proceedings, and other works which promise great public utility.

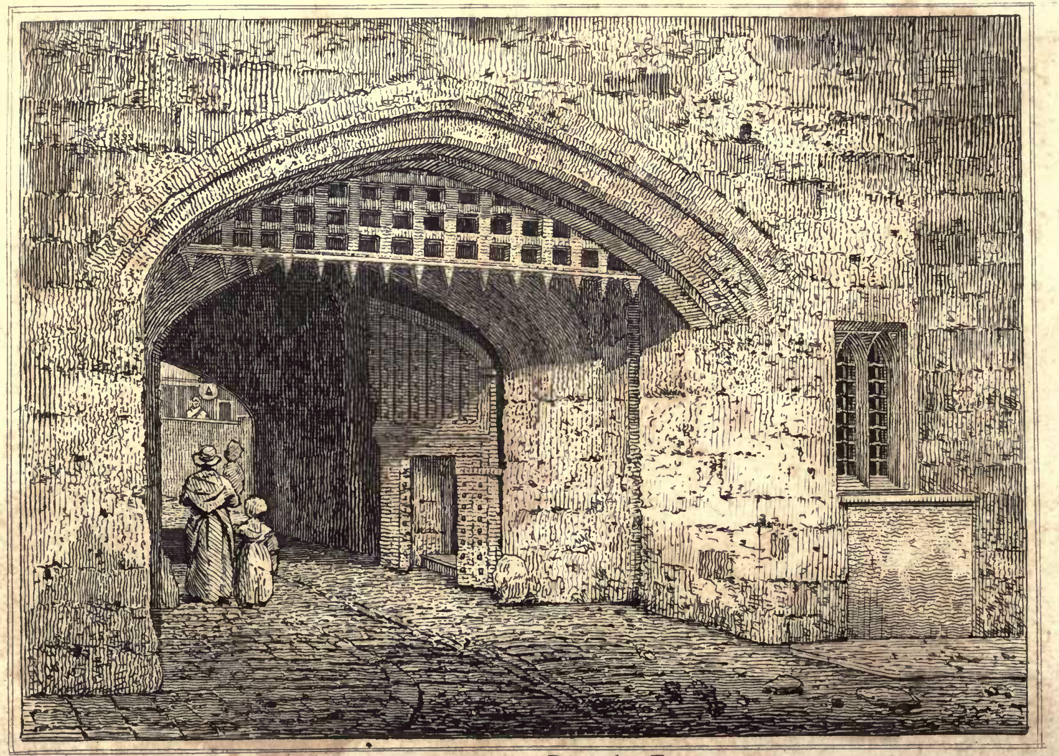
On Mr. Lysons being appointed to an office so congenial to his inclination and studies, he wholly retired from the bar, and passed the remainder of his days in the diligent fulfilment of his public duty, and the ardent pursuit of his various literary labors; enjoying the intimacy and friendship of the first and greatest characters of his day, and finally leaving a space in society which but few are qualified to fill.

The last public tribute of admiration and respect paid to this estimable and learned man, was conferred upon him by the Royal Academy of Arts. In 1818, the honorary office of antiquary professor in that society being revived, Mr. Lysons was chosen to fill it, and his appointment met the most cordial sanction of his royal highness the Prince Regent.

The works which Mr. Lysons has left to posterity are remarkable for the extent of learning and variety of talent displayed in them, as well as for the extraordinary industry, and the accuracy of information with which they are compiled. His laborious work in folio on Gloucestershire Antiquities, which was his first production, and which consists of one hundred and ten plates, with copious descriptions, was wholly engraved by himself, from his own drawings; and the like may be said with respect to many of the illustrations in his subsequent literary undertakings. By his great and splendid work on the Roman remains discovered at Woodchester, and his collection of Roman antiquities found at Horkstow, Bath, Bignor, and other parts of Britain, he has more largely contributed than any other person, not only to the early history of the island, but to our information respecting the manners of its Roman conquerors. In the great topographical work, the Magna Britannia, which he had been pursuing for near twenty years, in conjunction with his learned brother, the Rev. Daniel Lysons, the parts which he undertook were relating to antiquities in the general history, and the heads of geology, surface, and scenery, together with the superintendence of the embellishments of the work, many of which, particularly in the earlier volumes, were drawn and etched by himself; but all the family and parochial history, and a large portion of the general history, were compiled by his reverend brother. Mr. Lysons had begun or had in contemplation several other works, but the world is deprived of these by his premature and lamented death. In printing an index to the early bills and answers in chancery, to which he intended to prefix specimens illustrative of the early practice of that court, he had made considerable progress, and the work on an enlarged plan is now being completed and published under the direction of the commissioners on the public records; but in his other designs he had only made very trifling progress: indeed, his capacious mind grasped at more than any individual power could accomplish, and when we view collectively all the productions of his pen, his pencil, and his graver, it is astonishing how any person, with his numerous other avocations, could have done so much. His drawings were made with great accuracy and spirit, and to this talent, and his skill in etching, which has rarely been equalled by an amateur, may be attributed the vast extent and variety of his graphic productions.

To his profound knowledge of the history and antiquities of his country, Mr. Lysons united great classical learning; and the comprehensive powers of his memory, which enabled him to retain accurately, and recal readily whatever he had read or heard, materially assisted him in his labors, and also gave peculiar attractions to his conversation, by supplying him with an inexhaustible fund of information and anecdote. The singular enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to his favorite pursuits is well known to the literary world; but the warmth of his private attachments, and the affectionate feelings which he displayed in all the relations of domestic life, could only be seen within the circle of his family and nearest friends; and among these his memory will always be associated with sentiments of the strongest regard: for there was experienced under every circumstance, the invariable firmness of his friendship, and genuine goodness of his heart: indeed, in all the qualities that distinguish and adorn a man, as a son, a brother, and a friend, it is impossible to do justice to his memory.

Mr. Lysons, died after a short illness, on the 29th of June 1819, and was succeeded in the office of keeper of the records



Gate-way of the Bloody Tower.

Published May 15. 1830. by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin. 62, Cheapside.

by Henry Petrie esquire, whose long and intimate acquaintance with the antiquities and history of his country renders him eminently qualified to fill the place of so great and learned a man.

Adjoining the Record Tower, on the west, is a grand lofty portal, which forms the principal entrance to the inner ward; and over it is a dismal looking structure, generally denominated

THE BLOODY TOWER.

The gateway, which is in the style of architecture of the fourteenth century, was erected, perhaps, in the time of King Edward the Third; at which period we find that many repairs and alterations were made to the fortress. It is about thirty-four feet long, and fifteen wide, and the fine groining and tracery, which adorn the vaulting, rise from grotesque heads. Each end of this entrance was originally secured by gates and a strong portcullis,[k] and, on the eastern side, between these defences, was a small circular stone staircase leading to the superstructure, which formed the lodging of the porter or watch, and consisted of two gloomy apartments, one over the other, and a space for working the portcullis.

In the careful and very minute survey which was taken of the Tower in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, this building is called the *Garden Tower;* by reason of its contiguity to the constable's or lieutenant's garden, which now forms a part of what is termed the Parade. In the year 1597, another survey was made of the fortress, by order of Queen Elizabeth, and it was then known by its present appellation; which it is generally supposed to have derived from the circumstance of the two young princes, Edward the Fifth, and his brother, Richard duke of York, sons of King Edward the Fourth, having, as it is said, been put to death in this particular spot, by order of their uncle, the duke of Glocester, afterwards King Richard the Third. It has already been noticed that the whole story of the two royal youths having been destroyed in the Tower, comes to us " in so questionable a shape," that it can never be entertained without most serious doubts: if we admit, however, that the young princes really came to a violent death in the Tower, the idea of this place having been the scene of their destruction rests on no authority; and the story which the warders, whose trade it is "to tell a wondrous tale," so gravely relate as to the discovery of their bones under the little staircase above alluded to, is still more glaringly false: bones, it is true, were found in the Tower in the reign of King Charles the Second, and they were looked upon to be those of children, of ages corresponding with the two princes; but it is most decidedly known that they were discovered in a very different part of the fortress; namely, on the south side of the White Tower, at the foot of a staircase which leads to the chapel in that building.[1]

---

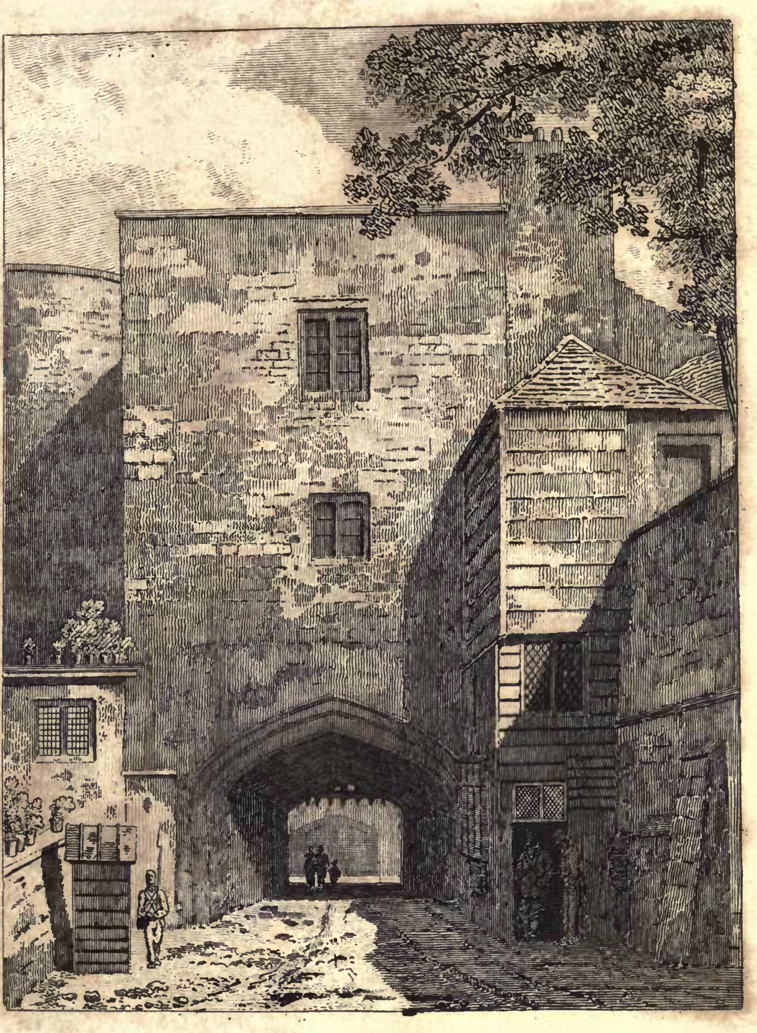
[k] At the end towards the south, both the gates and the portcullis still exist; they are extremely massive, and carry with them every appearance of high antiquity. The staircase leading to the porter's lodge, though not now made use of, also remains; but the gates, as well as the portcullis, which were at the northern end of the gateway, have long since been removed.

Without dwelling on the seeming inconsistency of the epithet *bloody* being applied to a building, because, as it is imagined, two children were *smothered* in it, it may not be amiss briefly to enquire how far it is likely that its name can be connected with that circumstance. Soon after the death of King Edward the Fourth, his two sons were conveyed to the Tower[m] under the charge of their uncle, with the professed intent of secluding them from the bustle of the court, whilst preparations were to be made for the eldest's coronation. Is it then to be supposed, whatever might have been the protector's design as to the ulti-

---

[1] In 1674, a new stair was made to this chapel; and, as the workmen were digging, at the foot of the old staircase, they found some bones, the proportion of which "being answerable to the ages of the royal youths," King Charles the Second "was so well satisfied that these must be those princes bones, that he caused them to be translated, and decently and honorably interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel, among their royal ancestors. They are deposited near two other royal children, Mary and Sophia, the daughters of King James the First; and the monument for them, made of white marble, hath this inscription in capital letters. 'H. S. S. Reliquiæ Edwardi V^{ti} Regis Angliæ, et Richardi Ducis Eboracensis. Hos fratres germanos Turre Londinensi conclusos, injectisq. culcitris suffocatos, abditè et inhonestè tumulari jussit patruus Richardus perfidus regni prædo. Ossa desideratorum diu et multum quæsita, post annos, cxc. et i. scalarum in ruderibus, (scalæ istæ ad sacellum Turris Albæ nuper ducebant) alte de fossa, indiciis certissimis sunt reperta, xvii. die Julii, anno Dom. MDCLXXIIII. Carolus II. Rex clementiss. acerbam sortem miseratus inter avita monumenta principibus infelicissimis justa persolvit, anno Dom. MDCLXXVIII. annoq.; regni sui xxx. J. S.'"—*Kennet, vol. i. p.* 551, *note.*

[m] See pages 50, 51.



Bloody Tower.

Published May 15 1830, by Robert Jennings & William Chaplin 62 Cheapside.

mate fate of his nephews, that the princes were not lodged in the royal apartments, and paid all the respect due to their rank? Is it likely that Richard should have had them shut up in the dark and wretched dwelling of one of the porters of the gates? If he had wanted humanity, would policy have dictated such a course? No, it must at once have betrayed some foul design, without adding a jot to the facility of its perpetration. But a stronger proof we need not have that the name of the building did not originate in the circumstance in question, than its not having assumed the appellation till upwards of a century after the supposed act. It has already been shewn, that in the early part of the reign of King Henry the Eighth it was known by a different title; and it is not before the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth that we find it marked out as the scene of some horrid deed.[n]

From the Bloody Tower the inclosure wall is continued westward to the Bell Tower; an account of which began the description of the inner ballium.

The armories, which are situated within the line of fortifications already described, will finish the account of the inner ward. These are deservedly the objects of general attraction to persons of all nations, who visit the capital of the British empire; but the charges that are made for admission, form a ground for loud and universal complaint, and are justly looked upon by foreigners as a disgrace to the liberality of our national character. As the contents of these places are sufficiently decribed in a little book sold to persons who come to view them, it will be unnecessary here to enter upon any thing further than a cursory and general notice.

---

[n] Between the reign of Henry the Eighth, when this building was called the *Garden Tower*, and the year 1597, when it was known as the *Bloody Tower*, the Tower was crowded with state-delinquents of all descriptions, and as the structure in question was, no doubt, then frequently used as a prison, it more probably derived its present name from some of the horrid events which distinguished that era; possibly from the tragical end of Henry, the Eighth earl of Northumberland, who put a period to his existence while a prisoner in the Tower, in 1585; but whose death was set down as one of those "foul and midnight murders," that are supposed to have been committed within the circuit of these dismal walls.—*See page* 88.

THE SPANISH ARMORY

Is a new building situated opposite to the south-west angle of the White Tower, and derives its name from being chiefly stored with specimens of the weapons, instruments of torture, and other curiosities, many of which are said to have been found on board the Spanish fleet, called the *Armada*, which, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was destined for the invasion of England. There is also an ancient axe, with which, as it is said, Queen Anne Boleyn, lady Jane Grey, and other distinguished personages were beheaded: a representation of Queen Elizabeth, as she is supposed to have appeared, reviewing her troops at Tilbury camp, occupies the upper end of the room; and there are some interesting specimens of Saxon, Danish, and other weapons.

THE HORSE ARMORY

Is a building recently erected on the south side of the White Tower, and contains a representation of the line of most of our English monarchs, from William the Conqueror down to King George the Second. They are in fine armor, on horseback, and have altogether a grand and imposing effect. There are also various specimens of ancient and modern armor, &c. and a vast collection of cuirasses found on the memorable field of Waterloo. The whole collection has recently been arranged by Dr. Meyrick, who is so well known to the world by his elaborate work on ancient armor.

THE SMALL ARMORY.

This stately building is situated opposite the north side of the White Tower, and is three hundred and forty-five feet long, and sixty feet wide. It is formed of brick, edged with Portland stone, and over the entrance, which is extremely elegant, is a celebrated piece of carving by Gibbons. Its erection was begun in the reign of King James the Second; but was finished by William and Mary, who, on its completion, entertained their court here with a spendid dinner. The ground floor, besides containing a great variety of ancient pieces of artillery, is filled with chests of arms, tools, and accoutrements; but the first floor, which forms only one room, is fitted up as a repository for small arms, and of the taste and elegance with which they are arranged it is impossible to convey an idea: indeed this room forms one of the finest public spectacles in the world.

THE OUTER WARD.

The principal fortifications of the outer ward consist of a chain of small towers on that side of the fortress next the Thames, all of which were erected in the latter part of the reign of King Henry the Third, and some of them exhibit interesting specimens of the architecture of that period. The first of these in the survey made of the fortress in 1595, is denominated

THE DEVELIN TOWER;

But in that which was taken in the time of King Henry the Eighth, it is called the Galley-man Tower, and in the "Perticular of the names of Towers" preserved among the Harleian manuscripts, dated in 1641, it is termed the Iron-gate Tower, and is described as being then "an old ruynous place." Its situation is now occupied by a small stone building of modern date; and there appears to remain very little, if any, of the original structure. The wall from this building runs in a westerly direction to another tower, which, in each of the plans and surveys taken of the fortress from the time of King Henry the Eighth, is denominated

THE WELL TOWER.

In the "Perticular of the names of all the Towers," above referred to, this building is described as a prison lodging. The lower part of it is all that is now extant of the original work; but this remains in a very perfect state, and exhibits a curious specimen of the architecture of the middle of the thirteenth century. It consists of a vaulted apartment, about fifteen feet long by ten wide, and a small adjoining cell, made in the thickness of the ballium wall, the entrance to which is now bricked up. It receives light through narrow embrazures, and there still exists, in a very entire state, a small stone stair, leading to the rooms over head, which are now those of a modern dwelling.

The next tower stands at the distance of one hundred and eight feet farther westward, and is called

THE CRADLE TOWER.

The upper portion of this tower seems to have been, in early times, connected with the apartments of the old palace, but in common with most of the ancient buildings, it was used, in 1641, as a prison lodging. Like the last-mentioned structure, only the lower part of the original is now extant; but this is very perfect, and is a beautiful example of the masonry in use at the time that these works were erected, which appears to have been about the latter part of the reign of King Henry the Third. It forms a curious vaulted gateway, which led in former times to a small drawbridge, and on each side of the entrance to it was a little room, designed, no doubt, for the porters or guard. These are also beautifully vaulted with stone, and in that on the right hand side exist the remains of a circular stone stair, which communicated with the rooms above. The archway is eight feet wide, and either end seems clearly to have been defended by a strong portcullis and gates.

TRAITOR'S GATE.

This is a large square building, formerly called Saint Thomas's Tower, but from having under it a private passage by water from the Thames, through which state-prisoners were usually brought into the fortress, it at length acquired its present appellation. The interior retains much of its original appearance, particularly in two circular towers, projecting materially from the body of the structure, at the south-east and south-west angles; in each of which are two little sexagonal apartments one over the other, which are very entire, and exhibit interesting specimens of the early pointed style of architecture. They all nearly correspond in form and dimensions, and the vaulting of their roofs rise from small round columns with sexagonal capitals.

The next and last fortification of the outer ward is

THE BY-WARD TOWER.

This building stands at the south-west angle of the fortress, and forms the principal entrance to the exterior line of fortifications. It is a strong tower, flanked with bastions, and the gateway was originally defended by gates and a portcullis. The interior of the structure remains in great perfection, particularly an octagonal apartment about sixteen feet in diameter, on each side of the gateway. These exist in a very entire state, and are highly interesting examples of architecture. They receive light through narrow embrazures, and are in precisely the same style as the small rooms or oratories already spoken of at Traitor's Gate, especially as regards the vaulting, and the columns and capitals from which it springs. An ancient stone fire-place is still perfect in each, and there can be little doubt but that these rooms were originally designed and used as lodges or waits for the porters and guards of the gates.

Opposite to this building, on the outer side of the ditch, is another tower, called in the different plans and surveys

THE MARTIN TOWER.

This is also a strong portal flanked with bastions, and defended with gates and a portcullis, corresponding in almost every particular with that which is last described, except that the upper part is of comparatively modern construction. This tower protects the entrance to the principal bridge, and on the basement floor in each bastion is a guard-room, or lodge for the porters; in age and most other respects similar to those in the Byward Tower.

Beyond the Martin Tower, there anciently stood some considerable outworks; but these have been wholly taken down, and the site of them is now partly occupied by a barrack, and partly by the buildings and yard of

THE ROYAL MENAGERIE.

The keeping of ferocious animals of distant nations seems to have been a custom with our monarchs from a very early period:

we are informed that King Henry the First had a collection of lions, leopards, and other strange beasts at his manor of Woodstock,[o] and in subsequent ages we discover frequent mention of them, as kept in the Tower of London. In 1252, King Henry the Third sent to the Tower a white bear,[p] which had been brought to him as a present from Norway, and the sheriffs of London were commanded to pay four pence every day for his maintenance; and, in the following year, an order was also given to them to provide a muzzle for the said bear, and an iron chain to hold him out of the water, and likewise a long and stout cord to hold him when fishing in the river Thames.[q]

Two years after this an elephant was presented to the King, by Lewis King of France;[r] he was landed at Sandwich, to the great astonishment of the people, who crowded to see him from all parts of the country; and, being brought to London, the king gave directions to the sheriffs of London to cause a house to be built for him in the Tower, forty feet long by twenty wide.[s]

In the succeeding reigns we also find frequent mention of the king's lions, leopards, bears, and other wild animals, kept in the Tower.[t] In the time of Edward the Second the sheriffs of London were directed to provide a quarter of mutton every day for the king's lion there, and to pay three halfpence daily to his keeper;[u] and it is curious to notice, that about the same time frequent orders were given to pay sixpence per diem for the maintenance of the king's lion, and the like for his leopard, and three halfpence daily for the wages of their keepers,[x] when several esquires, who were confined there as prisoners, were allowed but a penny a day each for their support.[y]

---

[o] Stow's Survey of London, p. 77. edit. 1618.

[p] Rot. Liberat. 36 Hen. III. m. 3. in Turr. Lond.

[q] Rex vicecomitibus London', salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod custodi albi ursi nostri, qui nuper missus fuit nobis de Noruvagiâ et est in Turri nostrâ London', habere faciatis unum musellum et unam cathenam ferream ad tenendum ursum illum extra aquam, et unam longam et fortem cordam ad tenendum eundem ursum piscantem in aquâ Thamisiæ. Et custum, &c. comp' &c. Teste Rege, apud Windes', xxx. die Octobris.—*Rot. Liberat. de anno* 37 *Hen. III. m.* 15. *in Turr. Lond.*

[r] Mat. Paris, p. 1204. Hollinshed.

[s] *De quadam domo construendâ ad elephantem Regis.*—Rex vicecomitibus London', salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod de firmâ civitatis nostræ London' sine dilatione construi faciatis ad Turrim nostram London' unam domum longitudinis xl. pedum et latitudinis xx. pedum ad elephantem nostram, provisuri quod taliter fiat et ita fortis sit ut cum opus fuerit ad alios usus apta sit et necessaria. Et custum, &c. computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxvj. die Februarii —*Rot. Liberat.* 39 *Hen. III. m.* 11 *et Rot. Claus. ejusdem anni, m.* 16.

[t] Rot. Liberat. 19 Edw. I. m. 4.; Rot. Claus. 8 Edw. II. m. 12; ibid. 9 Edw. III. m. 19; 11 Edw. III. pars 1. m. 13. &c.

[u] Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. II. m. 27. in Turr. Lond.

The office of keeper of the lions, and other wild beasts in the Tower, was at later periods granted by letters patent, with the fee of twelve pence per diem, and six pence every day were also allowed for the maintenance of each of the lions, lionesses, and leopards. King Henry the Sixth gave the office, first to Robert Mansfield esquire, marshal of his hall,[z] and subsequently to Thomas Rookes his dapifer.[a] Edward the Fourth gave it to Ralph Hastings esquire for life;[b] Richard the Third conferred it on sir Robert Brakenbury the lieutenant of the Tower,[c] and King Henry the Seventh, immediately after his accession, granted the office, together with that of constable of the Tower, to John earl of Oxford,[d] with the accustomed fees and perquisites.

King James the First sometimes amused himself and his court here with combats between these animals, and by baiting them with dogs. We are told that on the 3d of June 1604, he took with him the duke of Lenox, with divers earls and lords, and caused a lion and a lioness to be put forth, and a live cock to be thrown to them; "which, being their natural enemy, they immediately killed and sucked the blood:" a lamb was next put in, yet this they did not offer to hurt; but next when the king ordered a fresh lion to be brought out and two mastiffs to be let in upon him, a furious battle ensued. Afterwards a spaniel was cast into a lion's den, but the lion and he became friends and lived together for several years.

In 1609, another of these exhibitions took place, which was attended by the king and queen, prince Henry, and many of the nobility. A bear having killed a child was doomed to punishment, and accordingly was brought into an open yard, and a lion turned out to meet him; but the lion declined an attack, and retired again to his den, and others which were tried proved equally shy; after which the king commanded him to be baited to death with dogs.[e]

---

[x] Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. II. m. 2; 8 Edw. II. m. 27; 10 Edw. II. m. 15; 12 Edw. II. m. 25; 14 Edw. II. m. 14.

[y] Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. II. m. 18.

[z] Rot. Pat. 16 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 34.

[a] Rot. Claus. 39 Hen. IV. m. 2.

[b] Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 19.

[c] Brevia sub privato sigillo 1 Rich. III. in Turr. Lond.

[d] Rymer, tom. xii. p. 276.

Many of the beasts and birds kept at the Tower are presents to the king and royal family, from foreign princes, ambassadors, and naval and military officers returning from abroad; but the collection has been greatly augmented, of late years, by the present keeper, Mr. Cops, whose spirited exertions, without regard to trouble or expense, have rendered it one of the finest collections in the universe; and the habitations of these rare animals being arranged round a large area, with the benefit of the open air, it has an advantage over other exhibitions of the kind, and is more gratifying to spectators, to whom it is open at a much more moderate charge than other collections that are far less worthy of public notice.

---

[e] Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 123.

MEMOIRS
OF
DISTINGUISHED PRISONERS.

IN early ages most of the royal castles were occasionally used as prisons, especially for state delinquents; and in many of them we find apartments evidently constructed for that particular purpose. Such was the case with regard to the Tower of London; and, in describing the various buildings of the fortress, many of these dreary cells have engaged our interest, by the memorials of suffering which are still presented on their walls.

Though, nearly from the æra of its erection, the Tower has, in a great degree, been appropriated to this use, history has recorded but few instances in very remote periods, which are sufficiently important to claim particular detail; but as we advance in the course of time, we shall find it the crowded abode of the guilty and of the unfortunate; of the unpitied traitor, and of many a martyr, as well to the cause of the Protestant as of the Romish church; and numbers of these we shall have to trace to that fatal hill whose brow has so oft been crimsoned with the best and noblest of Britain's blood.

The memory of King William Rufus is branded by most of our ancient monkish writers, for taxing and oppressing his subjects, and Ralph Flambard, the then bishop of Durham, who is the first person we have to notice as a prisoner in the Tower, being his confidential minister, was subjected to much of the popular odium of the day;[f] and King Henry the First, on his brother's death, having unrightfully seized the crown, committed that prelate to the Tower,[g] to gratify the malice of the people, and to raise himself in their affections.

---

[f] Will. Malmsb. in Script. post Bædam, pp. 123. 277, 278. Hen. Huntingdon, p. 378. Rog. Hoveden, ibid. pp. 467, 468. Ord. Vital. p. 773. Simeon, Dunelm. col. 225.

We are told that Flambard was a man of mean origin, but an artful and insinuating courtier,[h] and so successful in ingratiating himself with King William, that he rose to the most important offices and honors during his reign.[i] Besides being bishop of Durham, he enjoyed the stations of high treasurer and justiciary; and although illiterate, it is said that he aspired to the highest dignities in the church.[k] He had amassed great wealth, and by his wit, his bounty, and courteous carriage, he generally attached those about him to his person and his interest. His master's death, however, was a signal for his own downfall; and, immediately on Henry's taking possession of the throne, his oppressions and cruelties were made a ground for depriving him of his employments in the state, and committing him to custody in the Tower: but the crafty prelate soon found means to escape. A rope, says the historian, was conveyed to him in a flaggon of wine;[l] and having intoxicated his keepers, he let himself down from the Tower in which he was confined; but, the cord not reaching to the ground, he fell, and was greatly bruised.[m] Aided, however, by his partisans, who were waiting with horses prepared for him, Flambard reached the court of Robert duke of Normandy, and was afterwards his chief abettor in asserting his just but unavailing right to the throne of England.[n]

For many ages after the commencement of the thirteenth century, but few years elapsed without the Tower being the abode of some distinguished prisoner. In 1232, HUBERT DE BURGH, earl of Kent, and chief justiciary of England, was sent thither to an unmerited confinement, loaded with all the insults and injuries that human ingenuity could invent, or human malice dictate.

This great and noble character had distinguished himself in the service of King Richard the First, and in the following reign his talents, his fidelity, and merits had justly gained him the highest confidence and favor. With an expanded genius, equally adapted to the cabinet, the legislature, or the field, he filled during the reign of King John many exalted stations, with credit to himself and to the honour of his country. In 1199 he was sent to treat of marriage between his sovereign and a daughter of the King of Portugal,[o] and two years afterwards was made chamberlain of the king's household, warden of the marches of Wales, sheriff of Cornwall,[p] and governor of the castles of Launceston[q] and Dover.[r] In the next year he was sent on an embassy with the bishop of Ely to the court of France, to demand restitution of the duchy of Normandy. He filled the office of sheriff for various counties. In 1214 he was steward of Poictou,[s] and in the following year was one of the commissioners who treated with the barons at Runnimead, on the celebrated occasion which gave to the people that boasted code — the charter of their liberties.[t] In the next year he was again appointed to confer with the lords in the church of Erith in Kent, in hopes of establishing peace between them and their king; and soon afterwards, when Lewis, the dauphin of France, at the invitation of the rebels, had invaded England, he successfully defended the castle of Dover against him and a large force,[u] although the garrison only consisted of his own servants and a hundred and forty soldiers. On King John's death, the strenuous loyalty and attachment which De Burgh had manifested towards that unhappy monarch through all his vicissitudes and distress were transferred entire to his son. The news of the king's decease having reached prince Lewis, while he was carrying on the siege of Dover Castle, he sounded a parley with the governor, informed him of the event, and, representing that he was now bound by no obligation to further resistance, endeavoured with promises of reward to win him over to his party, and gain possession of his trust:[x] but the steady patriot, scorning to gain riches or advancement at the price of his honor and his country's freedom, replied that "if the king his master were dead, he had sons and daughters who ought to succeed him;[y] and that he and his companions would never, by such an act, stain their names with treason." But here ended not his deeds of valor. Shortly afterwards, when a large fleet was approaching with supplies from France, under conduct of the famous Eustace the Monk, and other distinguished persons, De Burgh, with only eight ships, sailed out from Dover, encountered the enemy, dispersed them, and took and beheaded their leader.[z]

---

[g] Chron. Sax. sub anno 1100. Hoveden, p. 468.

[h] Ord. Vital. in Hist. Normand. Script. p. 786. Wil. Malmesbur. p. 277.

[i] Ibid.

[k] Ord. Vital. p. 786.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid. Chron. Saxon. sub anno 1101. Hoveden, p. 468.

---

[o] Rad. de Diceto in Decem Script. col. 707.

[p] Rot. Pat. 3 Joh. m. 5.

[q] Ibid. m 3.

[r] Ibid. m. 4.

[s] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 106.

[t] Ibid. p. 131.

[u] Mat. Paris, edit. 1571, pp. 382, 383.

[x] Ibid. p. 387.

These distinguished services had justly raised him to the highest consequence in the nation, and in 1219, on the death of William Marshal earl of Pembroke, he succeeded him as guardian of the king and kingdom. In the year following he married Margaret, sister of the king of Scotland,[a] and, in 1228, was raised to the dignity of earl of Kent, and made chief justiciary of England for life; and each succeeding year brought an accession to his wealth and honors.[b] He had numerous grants of castles, manors, and other possessions from the crown,[c] and in 1231 was made chief justiciary of Ireland[d] and constable of the castles of Odiham and Windsor, and of the Tower of London.[e] But here closed the scene of his prosperity and greatness! There are vicissitudes in human affairs, and the tide which had long steadily rolled on, and wafted him to eminence and fame, ebbed with billowy swiftness, and dashed him into wretchedness and ruin. The height to which his talents, his services, and merits had raised him rendered the more terrible his fall. By a potent and invidious party, headed by the bishop of Winchester, he was undermined in the royal favour; and hence we must behold this great and shining character sinking a victim to the inconstancy, the weakness, and ingratitude of his sovereign, and to the malignant baseness of his successful rivals. He was deprived of his offices, his honors, and estate,[f] and there were brought against him charges, whose extravagance and inconsistency proclaim their falsehood.[g] All the proceedings against him bear the stamp of injustice and oppression, and, forsaken by his friends, and pursued by the violent malice of his enemies, he was obliged to shelter himself beneath the hallowed roof of a sanctuary for his life's protection. But even there, which in those superstitious ages was a safe asylum for the vilest criminals, he was not shielded from the relentless fury of his king. He fled to the priory of Merton in Surrey,[h] and the mayor of London was directed to assemble all the citizens who could bear arms and bring him thence, alive or dead! but the prudent intervention of the earl of Chester, and of Ralph bishop of Chichester, the chancellor, stopped a proceeding so rash, and fraught with so many dangers to the state.[i]

---

[y] Mat. Paris, edit. 1571, p. 387.

[z] Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 678. Mat. Paris, pp. 398, 399.

[a] Mat Paris, p. 418.

[b] See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 693—695.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Rot. Cart. 16 Hen. III. m. 7.

[e] Ibid m. 5.

[f] Mat. Paris, p. 503.

The archbishop of Dublin was almost the only friend that continued faithful to him in his fallen fortune, and through his intercession the earl obtained a short interval to prepare an answer to his adversaries, with promise of protection also, and leave to visit his countess at St. Edmundsbury;[k] but, to add to the many bad traits which glare in Henry's character on this occasion, — he broke his faith! He commanded a knight with three hundred soldiers to fetch him back, and lodge him a prisoner in the Tower.[l] The earl was then at a place in Essex belonging to the bishop of London, and having intimation of this unlooked-for visit, arose and fled to an adjoining chapel. They found him standing before the altar, wrested from his hands the cross and host, and dragged him from his sacred refuge. He was placed upon a miserable jade, with his legs tied under the animal's belly, and thus ignominiously conveyed to the Tower;[m] where he was loaded with irons, and subjected to every hardship and insult that the malice of his enemies could devise. But the bishop of London hastened to rebuke the king, and threatened excommunication on all those concerned in this violation of sanctuary;[n] and Henry, intimidated by the prelate's firmness, ordered him to be restored to his sacred habitation; but commanded the sheriff of Essex "that he should in no wise permit the bishop of London or any other bishop to take him further than to the chapel in which he was found:" he was also directed to have a sufficient guard round him, and not allow any one to bring, sell, or give to him meat or any victuals for his support.[o] Two days afterwards, the archbishop of Dublin obtained permission to visit him,[p] and on the seventh of October the sheriff had directions to take him under sure custody to the Tower of London, if he should voluntarily come out of the chapel in which he held himself; and was commanded also to permit the archbishop of Dublin to speak with him.[q] The earl, however, did not trust himself in the power of his persecutors, and their anxiety daily increased lest he should elude their vigilance.[r] Repeated mandates were sent to the sheriff of Essex relative to his custody: he was subjected to a penalty of four thousand pounds if he should escape; he was charged not to allow any one, whether religious or other, to have access or speak to him without the king's special order; the persons who by the king's leave prepared his food, were not allowed to go near him, but, when it was ready, they were to take it to the close without the chapel, and others who were with him, having first sworn not to convey or receive any message or order, were to fetch and carry it to him.[s] A few days afterwards instructions were likewise given for his diet to be limited: he was to be suffered to eat only once in a day, and then to have but an halfpenny worth of bread and a cup of ale: but, in the earl's situation, this was only a trifling loss compared to another deprivation to which he was subjected. Perhaps, amid afflictions, there is no companion so cheerful, nor source of consolation so great, as those divine effusions that flowed from the soul of the inspired David while bearing all *his* trials. But of this De Burgh was robbed! By the royal mandate his psalter was to be removed from him so that he could not read it![t] But all these hardships and insults did not suffice to shake his resolution: he bore them patiently, and still refused to pass the sacred threshold to which he owed protection. At length, however, the king, who degraded majesty by his cruelties, and by becoming the instrument and abettor of a malignant faction, adopted a more successful plan to secure the object of their united hatred. He was formally summoned to appear in the king's court, to stand judgment, and from third day to third day it was to be repeated till he should have three different summonses, and then, if he should still persist in abiding in the chapel, he was to be placed without the pale of his country's laws:[t] every kind of food was strictly withheld; two servants who had hitherto attended upon him in the chapel were taken away,[u] and no alternative was now left but to perish with famine, or throw himself upon the king's mercy. He therefore left the chapel, and delivered himself up to the sheriff, by whom he was bound in chains, and, to the exultation of the king, was reconveyed to his solitary dungeon in the Tower.[x]

---

[g] Mat. Paris, p 504.
[h] Ibid. p. 505.
[i] Ibid. 506.
[k] Ibid.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid. p.507.
[n] Ibid.

---

[o] Rot Claus. 16 Hen. III. m 3. dors.

[p] Ibid. m. 4. dors.

[q] Ibid. m. 3. dors.

[r] Ibid. m. 2. dors.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Ibid.

It was now suggested that the earl had great treasures deposited in custody of the Templars, and Henry called upon them to deliver up their charge to him; but the master of the Temple strenuously refused to do so without the earl commanded it. The barons of the Exchequer were then sent to him in the Tower to require his assent, and he answered that he would submit to the king's will in all things, and require the Templars to deliver up the keys of all he had.[y] There was found treasure, in plate, jewels, and money, to a great amount, and this was made a fresh ground for accusation: his enemies declared him guilty of robbery and fraud, and urged that he should be put to death; but the king, who began at last to feel a little remorse of conscience, answered, "He was from his childhood, as I have heard, a faithful servant to King Richard, mine uncle, and afterwards to King John, my father, and, if he hath done ill to me, by me he shall never be put to an unjust death; for I would rather be accounted a weak and remiss king than cruel and tyrannical, and a man of blood towards him who hath undergone many dangers in mine and my ancestors' service."[z]

It now seemed as if fortune were again inclined to smile upon him. He was still confined in the Tower; but, touched with pity, the king re-granted to him all the lands that he had possessed either by gift from King John or by purchase, and a short time afterwards he was delivered from his rigid imprisonment in that fortress upon surety of Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, William earl Warren, and the earls of Pembroke and Lincoln;[a] and, under custody of four knights deputed by those noblemen, he was sent to the castle of Devizes,[b] in Wiltshire; there to be kept, without that mean severity to which he had hitherto been subjected. But this more cheerful aspect was soon o'ershadowed. He was shortly revisited with all the cruelties which had marked the former conduct of his persecutors: the dungeon of the castle was his allotted habitation,[c] and all access to him was prohibited,[d] except to the archbishop of Dublin; who was once allowed to visit him "alone, to talk with him on his confession and the safety of his soul."[e]

---

[t] Rot. Claus. 16 Hen. III. m. 2. dors.

[u] Mat. Paris, p. 508.

[x] Ibid. p. 509.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Ibid.

But while De Burgh was thus suffering confinement, a political storm arose which endangered the very throne, and at length released him from the tyranny of his enemies. The conduct of the bishop of Winchester had rendered him odious to the nation, and the introduction of foreigners to almost every place of emolument and trust in the government,[f] had created so general a discontent, that the very garrison of Devizes began to manifest disgust.[g] Many of the nobility in the western parts of the kingdom flew to arms; from others hostages were taken to secure obedience, and particularly through the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Wilts,[h] rebellion had reared its sturdy head.[i]

During these disorders great anxiety was manifested for the safe custody of the earl of Kent; he was loaded with chains, and his mortal enemy, the bishop of Winchester, thirsting for his death, besought the king to grant him the custody of the castle in which he was confined.[k] De Burgh, however, was fortunately warned of the approaching danger, and revealed his apprehension to two of his keepers, on whose generosity depended now his fate. By them he was released! Pitying his condition, and, perhaps, influenced by the general feeling of the country, they availed themselves of their turn to watch, and in the dead of night, loaded as he was with irons, bore him out of the castle, and lodged him once more within the sacred limits of a church.[l] The generous youths deposited their prisoner before the high altar of the church of St. John in Devizes, and glorying in the deed, there determined to abide, and share whatever might be his lot. But the opening morn discovered soon to the castellans the escape and holy habitation of their charge, and rushing with clubs and torches to the church, they dragged him back to his accustomed cell.[m]

---

[a] Mat. Paris, p. 510. Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 208.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Claus. 17 Hen. III. m. 8. Fœdera, ut supra, p. 210.

[d] Claus. 17 Hen. III. m. 2.

[e] Ibid. m. 8. dors.

[f] Mat. Paris, p. 513.

[g] Rot. Claus. 17 Hen. III. m. 8. dors.

[h] Ibid. m. 6. dors.

[i] Rot. Claus. et Pat. 17 Hen. III. dors.

[k] Mat. Par. p. 519.

The earl's escape was on Michaelmas eve,[n] and the information coming to the king at Oxford, he instantly sent directions that he should be "safely kept in the vault in which he before was: that his keepers should have upon him three pair of iron fetters, and none be allowed to speak to him." [o] But the bishop of Salisbury immediately hastened to Devizes, and, upon ineffectually demanding his restoration to the church, excommunicated all those concerned in his detention. With the bishop of London and other of his brethren he also presented himself before the king, who so unwillingly commanded his return to the church, that he at the same time issued a mandate [p] to the sheriff of Wilts, charging him upon his life to take with him the force of his county, and be at Devizes "to keep Hubert de Burgh in the church there, as well by night as day, so that he could in no wise escape," determining, as we are told by a coeval writer, to famish him to death.[q] But the state of the country now rendered these precautions unavailing, and a strong party of his friends relieved the earl from his restraint, and safely conducted him to the borders of Wales; [r] where he joined the several nobles who had taken up arms to redress the wrongs under which their country suffered. With these he was included in a general amnesty at Gloucester;[s] and soon after regained most of his estates, but never again entirely possessed the favor of the king, and during the remainder of his days he seldom passed the limits of a private life. He died in 1243, and was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, in London, to which and various other religious institutions he had been a liberal benefactor.[t]

---

[l] Mat. Paris, p. 519.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Rot. Claus. 17 Hen. III. m. 2. dors.

[p] Ibid. m. 1. dors.

[q] Mat. Paris, p. 519.

[r] Ibid. p. 520.

Nothing could impress us with a more unfavorable opinion of Henry's character than a review of his conduct with respect to this fallen minister; nor do his actions towards the next whose sufferings we have to contemplate within these dreary prisons, appear to have been more just or generous. This was GRIFFIN, eldest son[u] of LEWELLIN PRINCE OF NORTH-WALES. Jealousy and discord had existed between him and his brother, and, in the declining years of his father, his undutiful and rebellious conduct had induced the infirm and aged prince to sacrifice to the crown of England an independence which had hitherto been preserved by his ancestors and himself at the price of so much toil and blood. In 1237, Lewellin acknowledged his vassalage, and sought the protection of England,[x] in order to secure peace and tranquillity to his closing days. In 1240, this prince died, leaving the inheritance of the principality to David, his younger son, who invited his brother, under conduct of the bishop of Bangor and other nobles, to an amicable conference, but treacherously seized and imprisoned him.[y] This perfidious conduct excited the indignation of Griffin's friends, and several of the most powerful chiefs immediately espoused his cause.[z] The bishop of Bangor interceded with the king of England to obtain his release, and Senhena, Griffin's wife, with several nobles of Wales, became bound that he should do homage to him for his inheritance, and pay an annual tribute.[a]

---

[s] Mat. Paris, p. 540.

[t] See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 699.

[u] Mr. Hume, in his History of England, vol. ii. p. 196, erroneously calls him the youngest son of Llewellin.—See Mat. Paris, pp. 703. 830. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. pp. 154. 160, and Chron. Dunstaple, vol. i. p. 243.

[x] Mat. Paris, p. 584. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 144.

[y] Mat. Paris, p. 703. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 154. Chron. Dunstaple, vol. i. p. 243.

[z] Mat. Paris, pp. 764. 840—842. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 162.

[a] Ibid.

Henry, anxious to seize so favorable an opportunity to complete the subjugation of Wales, hastily raised forces and marched to the borders of the principality. He was joined by the friends and partisans of the captive prince,[b] but, instead of accomplishing the professed object of his journey, he accepted the more humble submission of David, received hostages, and, having the ill-fated Griffin consigned to his hands, sent him with his son Lewellin and other of the nobility to confinement in the Tower of London.[c]

Of Griffin, during his imprisonment, but few particulars have been handed down to us. He appears, however, to have been treated with greater humanity than generally fell to the lot of those who were doomed to the rigours of these "hostile towers." He was allowed half a mark daily out of the royal treasury for his support;[d] he was provided with robes and other necessaries[e] suitable to his rank and condition, and, to relieve his solitary hours, his wife had ready access to his prison.[f] But this could not allay resentment in his lofty spirit, nor banish the remembrance of his injuries. To reflect that by the treachery of a brother he was robbed of freedom, despoiled of birthright, and betrayed a victim to English ambition, could not but fire his blood; and the ruin of his family made him impatient of restraint, and impelled him to an act that terminated his miseries with his life! He had meditated escape; and, finding means to deceive his keepers, in the dead of night the restless captive made the fatal trial. With a rope formed of the furniture and clothes of his bed, he attempted to lower himself from the summit of the tower in which he was confined; but in his descent the untrusty instrument gave way, and plunged him to instant death.[g] His head and neck were crushed between his shoulders, and thus, a horrid spectacle, he was found next morning beneath his prison.[h]

Moved with his tragical end, the king punished the negligence of his keepers,[i] and commanded that his son, who was still a prisoner, should be more strictly guarded;[k] but these precautions were ineffectual, for, on the death of his uncle, the perfidious David, he escaped into Wales, succeeded to the principality, and in the following reign, whilst valiantly defending his hereditary dominions, was killed, and his head, insultingly crowned with ivy,[l] sent by Edward, and fixed on a turret of the very fortress which had proved so fatal to his injured parent.[m]

---

[b] Mat. Paris, p. 764. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 162.

[c] Ibid. Rot. Claus. 25 Hen. III. m. 3.

[d] Mat Paris, p. 830.

[e] Rot. Liberat. 26 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 15. Ibid. p. 2. m. 3. Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 1. 3.

[f] Mat. Paris, p. 830.

[g] Ibid. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 180.

[h] Ibid. Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 256.

[i] Mat. Paris, p. 831.

Very different to the preceding were the character and offences of WILLIAM MARISH, or DE MARISCIS the next prisoner in the Tower whose story we have to unfold. He was descended from a line of ancestors, some of whom are mentioned as well in the annals of this as of the sister country for their services and their valor. Richard de Mariscis, his uncle, who was archdeacon of Richmond and Northumberland, had raised himself to the confidence and favor of King John;[n] filled the exalted station of chancellor[o] under that monarch, and by his son he was made bishop of Durham.[p] Geffrey de Mariscis, his father, who for many years filled the office of justiciary of Ireland,[q] is famed for his skill and valor in the field. He overcame the rebels in that country, and on one occasion took the King of Connaught a prisoner, and left twenty thousand of his followers dead on the field of battle.[r] They appear, however, to have been men of turbulent and bad dispositions,[s] and the desperate character before us seems to have inherited a full portion of the faults and infidelity of his ancestors. He had been accused of conspiring to take away King Henry's life, at Woodstock;[t] was charged with the murder of a messenger from Ireland, and afterwards, at the head of a formidable band of freebooters, he established himself in the isle of Lunday, on the northern coast of Devonshire; whence they issued forth and committed depredations as well by land as sea.[u] Their post being naturally strong, these piratical adventurers for a long time carried on their ravages with impunity, and defied the strength of the adjacent country; but were at length overpowered and taken.[x] They were first confined in the castle of Bristol, and thence sent to London. De Marish and four or five of his principal companions were lodged prisoners to the Tower, with strict charge "that they should be safely confined in the direst and most secure prison in that fortress, and so loaded with irons, and in such place be kept that there could be no fear of their escape."[y] Sixteen of these marauders, together with the rebel chief, were tried at Westminster, and sentenced to expiate their crimes by an ignominious death.[z] De Marish, after condemnation, devoted himself to repentance: he confessed his sins, but strenuously protested his innocence, as well with respect to any design on his sovereign's life, as to the murder alleged against him.[a] He was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and the divisions of his body were sent to the four principal cities of the kingdom.[b] The rest, tied to horses' tails, were dragged through the streets of the metropolis, and ended their lives upon the gallows.[c]

---

[k] Mat. Paris, p. 831.

[l] Hollinshed.

[m] Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 370.

[n] Mat. Paris, p. 406.

[o] Rot. Pat. 15 Joh. m. 8; 16 Joh. m. 2; 17 Joh. m. 16.

[p] Mat. Paris, p. 406.

[q] Rot. Pat. 17 Joh. m. 19; 10 Hen. III. m. 3. Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 162.

[r] Mat. Paris, pp. 489, 490.

[s] Vide Mat. Paris, pp. 415, 416. 443. 532.

[t] Mat. Paris, p. 784.

[u] Ibid. p. 783.

Through a large portion of the reign of King Edward the First, one of the principal uses to which the Tower was appropriated was that of a state-prison, and a variety of causes arose during that period to provide it with an almost constant succession of tenants. Of the multitudes of Jews, who, in 1282, were seized without distinction in every part of the kingdom, on suspicion of clipping and adulterating the coin of the realm, six hundred were sent from different counties, and imprisoned in the Tower;[d] and, incited perhaps by a natural antipathy to that unhappy race, the full measure of Edward's severity seems to have been dealt out to them on this occasion. In London alone two hundred and eighty were hanged, besides many more who experienced a similar fate in other parts of the kingdom.[e]—The final conquest of Wales brought to these inhospitable abodes[f] many who lost their liberty while struggling in defence of their native country, their freedom, and their lives; — and, in 1289, Ralph de Hengham the chief justice of the King's Bench, with several of the other judges and the Master of the Rolls, were committed to the Tower, fined and deprived of their offices, for venality and corruption.[g] But Edward's ambitious views towards Scotland, and his consequent wars with that nation, served most to fill the Tower with captives. The battle of Dunbar, in 1296, which proved so fatal to the independence of that brave people, placed the king and a large portion of the nobility at the mercy of the conqueror, and the earls of Ross, Athol, and Monteith, together with John son of John Comyn of Badenoch, Richard Syward, John Fitz-Geffrey, Andrew de Moravia, John de Inch Martyn, David Fitz-Patric de Graham, Alexander de Meners, and Nicholas, son of Thomas Randolf, all knights of valor and renown, were sent prisoners to that fortress,[h] and thither Edward shortly afterwards conducted Baliol, their weak and timid sovereign. The earl of Athol, and some other of the Scottish chiefs, obtained their liberty in the following year by giving hostages, and serving in the army of England against the King of France;[i] and Baliol, after nearly three years' imprisonment, was released at the intercession of the Pope. He was taken from the Tower to Canterbury, where he was honorably received by the king;[k] and thence, under conduct of Robert de Burghersh, constable of the castle of Dover, he was taken and delivered to the bishop of Cambray, the pope's legate, at Witsand.[l] He placidly submitted to banishment in France, and there passed the remainder of his days, without a sigh for his country or an effort for the recovery of his throne.

---

[x] A force under command of Henry de Tracy, Alan la Zuche, Reginald de Valetort, and Geffery de Dynan, effected this service, and were in consequence excused from payment of scutage for the king's voyage to Gascony.—*Rot. Claus.* 26 *Hen. III. p.* 2. *m.* 9. *dors.*

[y] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 9.

[z] Mat. Paris, p. 784.

[a] Ibid. p. 785.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. I. m. 5.

[e] Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 367. Chron. T. Wilkes, in Hist. Angl. Script. vol. iii. p. 107.

But to return to the wars in Scotland. While her chieftains still remained prisoners in the Tower, the revolt of that brave people under the celebrated leader, Wallace, added to their numbers. In October 1297, William de Douglas, Thomas de Morham, and John de Fortore, were sent to confinement in the royal fortress;[m] shortly afterwards, Edward, son of the unfortunate Baliol, Alexander, son of the earl of Mar, and Robert de Strathern, were consigned to a similar fate;[n] and, in 1305, the Tower became the prison of the famous WILLIAM WALLACE, a hero whose prowess, though fabled by the admiration of a fond and grateful country, supported for years the expiring independence of Scotland against the repeated efforts of a mighty enemy. Betrayed into the hands of the English monarch, the gallant patriot was brought to a death which has left on Edward's name the blot of cruelty, and shewn that generosity, the noblest feeling of a conqueror, was wanting to complete his fame. Wallace, after undergoing the form of a trial, was dragged through the streets of London, tied to horses' tails, and hanged on a lofty gallows till nearly dead: his bowels were then taken out and burnt, and the horrible scene closed by beheading and quartering his body![o] His head was set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to Scotland,[p] where, in the hearts of the people, his memory will ever find an imperishable tomb.

---

[f] Vide Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. I. Rot. Liberat. 15 Edw. I. m. 3. Ibid. 25 Edw I. m. 1. Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I. m. 16. Ibid. 34 Edw. I. m. 8, &c.

[g] Chron. T. Wikes, pp. 119. 121. Fœdera, vol. i. pars 2. p. 841.

[h] Rot. Claus. 24 Edw. I. m. 7.

[i] Fœdera, p. 869.

[k] Rot. Claus. 27 Edw. I. m. 10.

[l] Fœdera, pp. 906. 909.

To complete the lists of northern chiefs doomed to confinement in the Tower for bravely avenging their country's wrongs, we come to the third revolt of the Scots, and their defeat by the earl of Pembroke at St. John's Town. Many valiant heroes, vanquished with their new-crowned monarch, fell into the hands of the English on that disastrous day; others were taken shortly after, and SIR SIMON FRASER, and several more were sent to the Tower of London,[q] "where they found many of their countrymen in fetters."[r] Fraser was a hardy veteran, whose name is handed down to us with peculiar fame. He was the hope, the pride, and confidence of his country, "insomuch that the imprisoned nobles declared he was invincible and incomprehensible, nor would they think that, while he lived, the Scots ever could be conquered."[s] But his death was as ignominious as his valor and his patriotism had been great: he was dragged as a traitor through the streets and lanes of the metropolis: he was hanged, beheaded, his body committed to the flames, and his head set on London bridge, beside that of his valiant countryman, the brave and undaunted Wallace![t] Others were also hanged, and John earl of Athol, although of royal descent, was consigned to death with still more studied cruelty.[u]

---

[m] Rot. Claus. 25 Edw. I. m. 4.

[n] Ibid. 26 Edw. I. m. 17.

[o] Mat. Westm lib. ii. p. 451.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 994. Mat. Westm. lib. ii. p. 460.

[r] Stow's Annals.

From the acknowledged lustre of Edward's character nothing can so greatly detract as the brutality with which he treated the greatest of his fallen enemies, however honorable and virtuous the object for which they opposed his power. Indeed, when we contemplate the shocking execution of David prince of Wales at Shrewsbury;[x] or the deaths of Wallace, of Fraser, the earl of Athol, and many others during his reign, our blood is chilled with horror, and we are astonished that an accomplished and glorious prince, endowed with every other qualification that could raise his name, improve his country, or adorn the age in which he lived, should have been wanting in the common feelings of humanity, and have possessed so ungenerous, so vindictive, and so hard a heart.

But, returning to our subject, we must not omit to notice, in the period of which we have now been speaking, one extraordinary occurrence which tended to fill the Tower with delinquents, of a class unfitted for a prison. These were the abbot, monks, and inferior persons belonging to that favored church whose walls inclose so many royal tombs. Whilst the king was in Scotland, in 1303, his treasury within the abbey of Westminster was broken open, and robbed, as was alleged, of treasure to the value of an hundred thousand pounds.[y] Suspicion at first fell upon the establishment of the church, and the abbot, forty-eight monks, and inferior persons to the number of thirty-two, were sent to prison in the Tower.[z] They were tried by the king's justices,[a] but acquitted; nor are we informed that the guilty

[s] Mat. Westm. p. 460.

[t] Ibid.

[u] Ibid. p. 461.

[x] Ibid. lib. ii. p. 371.

[y] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. pp. 956. 959.

[z] Ibid. p. 959.

[a] Ibid.

were ever discovered; though it occasioned the king's displeasure afterwards to fall on some of the Lombard merchants.

The year 1307 was marked by the disgrace of the Knights Templars; and all who were found on the south of the Trent were sent prisoners to the Tower,[b] where the master of that celebrated order died.[c] Their destruction was occasioned by the profligacy and vices which should seem to have reigned among them; for they were charged with robbery, murder, and habits of the most shocking description;[d] but, in France, where the chief grounds of their accusation were advanced, the grand master, and many of the knights, chose rather to perish at the stake, than obtain an ignominious existence by acknowledging the crimes imputed to them.[e] Those in England were eventually distributed in different monasteries, and Pope Clement V. who dissolved the order, assigned their goods and possessions to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.[f]

In the early part of the reign of King Edward the Second we also find mention of several Welsh, Scottish, and Gascon chiefs, as prisoners confined in the Tower;[g] and shortly afterwards, an attempt in Wales to shake off the yoke of England, doomed many others of that country to a similar fate. Among these were Morgan David, Llewellin Bren, and Lewkine his wife, with their three sons, David, Meurik, and Roger; Howel ap Ivor, Yevan ap Ivor, Llewellin ap Madok, Madok Vaghan, Grevon ap Rees, and Rees Meskyn; some of whom died in the Tower, and the rest were delivered after a long imprisonment.[h]

But the most considerable persons that were confined in the Tower during the reign of the second Edward, were lady Badlesmere and the two lords Mortimer. Lady Badlesmere's imprisonment happened in 1321, as did that of the Mortimers, and was occasioned by a singular circumstance. In those ages of darkness and superstition, such as were unable or not endued with sufficient zeal to make wearisome and expensive pilgrimages to Rome or to the Holy Land, to enhance devotion or expiate their sins, often soothed their consciences by visits and offerings at the tombs of reputed saints and martyrs in their own country; and the queen, in returning from Canterbury, where she had been to perform her devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, despatched some of her attendants to the castle of Leeds in Kent, which belonged to lord Badlesmere, to signify that it was her pleasure to rest there on her journey towards London; but her admission was refused, and some of her servants were killed as they presented themselves at the gates.[i] This insult excited general indignation, and afforded Edward the means of redeeming himself and his authority from that contemptible state to which both had been reduced, by his own weak and impolitic conduct, and by the power and late rebellion of the barons. It furnished him with a pretext, and enabled him to raise an army,[k] with which he besieged and took the castle of Leeds,[l] and, having hanged the governor and other officers of the garrison, he sent lady Badlesmere and some of her family as prisoners to the Tower.[m]

---

[b] Fœdera, vol. i. pars 2. pp. 90, 91.

[c] Ibid 1. p. 198.

[d] Ibid. pp. 16, 17. Dupuy, pp. 15, 16.

[e] See Vertot, vol. ii. p. 142.

[f] Fœdera, ut supra, pp. 55. 94. 100. 104. 115—21. 148—55. 167, 168, &c.

[g] Among these were Llewellin Vaughan and Madoc ap Llewellin; Sir Thomas de Moreham, Michael d'Argoill, and Roger de Acton, Scots; and Fawrus de Castell, Wm. Raymound, and Roger de St. Victor, Gascons; of whom Madoc ap Llewellin and Roger de Acton died in prison.—*Compot. Joh. de Crombwell, Constab. Turr. An.* 1—14 *Edw. II.*

[h] Rot. Claus. 9 Edw. II. m. 10, et Compot. Joh. de Crombwell, ut supra.

Elated by this success, Edward was encouraged to pursue his advantage, and to take vengeance on his older and more potent enemies. He marched with his army to Cirencester, where he had summoned other forces to meet him, and hastening thence to the borders of Wales, and falling upon the barons, before they were prepared for resistance, several of them submitted or were taken prisoners, and conducted to the Tower of London, and to the castle of Wallingford. Among those committed to the Tower were the two lords Mortimer, of Wigmore and Chirk, and the former was tried and condemned to be drawn and hanged; but the king mitigated his punishment to imprisonment in the Tower,[n] and, while there, he secretly conducted a plot for surprising both those fortresses, and the castle of Windsor, and setting all the prisoners at liberty; but the conspirators, having failed in the attempt on Wallingford, the whole scheme was frustrated, and himself marked out for punishment: he was destined, however, to survive, and be the perpetrator of greater crimes, though still to fall by the hands of justice. He gained over his keeper,[o] and through the misconduct of Stephen de Segrave, the constable,[p] whom with other officers of the fortress he invited to a banquet and made intoxicated, he escaped out of the Tower,[q] and, although every exertion was used to apprehend him, he got safely into France;[r] and there, being joined by the queen and other traitors,[s] he headed that base conspiracy against the king, which ended his reign and life. But there was yet to come a day for retribution. When Edward, who succeeded his murdered father on the throne, came to an age to feel and exercise his power, he avenged on the hardened rebel his injured parent's death. The king personally assisted in arresting him at the castle of Nottingham, and thence had him conveyed with his two sons and other of his associates to the Tower of London. He was now loaded with chains and placed in a dark and secure dungeon, and a parliament being immediately summoned[t] to decide his fate, by that tribunal he was justly, though irregularly, condemned to requite by an ignominious death the injuries that he had heaped upon his insulted country. He was drawn and hanged as a traitor and enemy to his king and country; and his body, after hanging two days upon the gallows, was buried in the church of the Friars Minors, in London;[u] and one of his accomplices, sir Simon Bereford, also paid a similar debt for his crimes.

---

[i] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 1. p. 457.

[k] Ibid. p. 458.

[l] Claus. 15 Edw. II. et 16 Edw. II. m. 23.

[m] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 1. pp. 537, 538.

[n] Ibid. pp 514. 537.

It has already been noticed that during a great part of the reign of King Edward the Third the wars of that monarch with Scotland and in France furnished these prisons with an almost constant succession of illustrious tenants, who lost their liberty in opposing his victorious arms.[x] In 1336, JOHN EARL OF MURRAY, one of the most strenuous supporters of the house of Bruce, was conveyed thitherto to confinement, and, although a prisoner of war, was treated with a degree of rigorous severity which does little credit to the manners of the age, and less to the character of the sovereign that commanded it. The first and strongest feeling of a conqueror towards his fallen enemy should be generosity; but Murray, one of the bravest supporters of his country's freedom, was loaded with irons and consigned to a solitary dungeon. His captivity, which happened in 1335,[y] is variously accounted for by historians. Froissart says that he came with King David Bruce to the siege of Newcastle, and that he was surprised by a sally from the town, and taken in his tent, before daybreak; Knyghton states that as the Scots were advancing to besiege the queen in the castle of Bamburgh, they were met by five thousand English troops, and after an encounter, in which upwards of five hundred of the Scottish army were slain, this earl was taken prisoner;[z] and Hollinshed, on the authority of Fordun, gives an account which, if true, must make us more forcibly commiserate his sufferings. He says that the earl of Namur coming into England with seven or eight knights and an hundred men at arms to serve King Edward in his wars, they were encountered in their march from Berwick towards Edinburgh by the earls of Murray and Dunbar and lord William Douglas, and after a valiant resistance, were obliged to yield. By Murray they were received "right courteously," and not only allowed to return without ransom to their native country, but for their greater security were conducted by him and lord William Douglas towards the borders; yet, as they were returning, or shortly afterwards, they were assailed by the garrison of Rokesburgh, and by them he is said to have been made prisoner. He was conveyed successively to the castles of Nottingham,[a] Windsor,[b] and Winchester,[c] and, after being confined for some time in each of those fortresses, was delivered to the constable of the Tower of London, to be safely kept, in irons![d] In that citadel he remained a long while, under the strictest confinement, and the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight-pence weekly was allowed for his support.[e] No one was permitted to visit him without the king's special leave, nor was a letter, even from his sister, the countess of March, suffered to come to his hand without being first inspected,[f] although she had generously redeemed the bearer of it, who had been taken by the Scots, and immured in the castle of Dunbar.

---

[o] Knyghton, apud Dec. Script. col. 2543.

[p] Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 39.

[q] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 1. pp. 530. 537.

[r] Knyghton, col. 2543.

[s] Ibid. col. 2545. Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 1. pp. 622, 623. 630, 631. 642, 643.

[t] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, pp. 158, 159.

[u] Knyghton, col. 2558.

[x] See p. 26.

---

[y] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 2. p 923.

[z] In Decem Script. col. 2567.

[a] Rot. Pat. 9 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 23.

[b] Ibid. m. 14. Fœdera, vol ii. pars 2. p. 929.

[c] Fœdera, ut supra, p. 939.

[d] Ibid. p. 946.

Unable to raise the immense sums demanded for his ransom, the earl remained in England several years, a captive. In 1340 he was granted to William Montague, earl of Salisbury,[g] "to do with him as most for his advantage;" and eventually, at the solicitation of the king of Scotland, he was exchanged for that nobleman, who had been taken and was detained a prisoner in France.[h]

In 1346, on Edward's expedition into Normandy, and the capture of Caen, "a goodly town, and full of drapery and other marchaundyse, and riche burgesses, and noble ladyes and damosels, and fayre churches, and one of the fayrest castels in all Normandy,"[i] the count d'Eu, constable of France, and the count de Tankerville, and many of the most opulent citizens, who were made prisoners on that occasion, and brought with an immense booty into England, were lodged under confinement in the royal fortress.[k]

The same year added to the number of illustrious captives in the Tower. The victory gained over the Scots, at Neville's Cross, near Durham, destined David Brus, their king, together with the earls of Fife, Monteith, Wigtoun, and Carrick, the lords Douglas, and fifty other distinguished chiefs, to confinement in that citadel.[l] The king was taken by John de Coupland, an esquire of Northumberland, whose name is gratefully recorded in history, not only as the captor of the Scottish monarch, but for his valiant deeds on that renowned day.[m]

The royal captive was conducted to London with every shew of honor, under an escort of twenty thousand men:[n] he rode on a high black courser, and the streets of the metropolis, through which he passed to the Tower, were lined with all the companies of the city, clad in their respective liveries.[o] He remained eleven years a prisoner in England, when, after many fruitless negociations for release, a ransom of an hundred thousand marks restored him to his freedom,[p] and the sons of the principal nobility of Scotland were given to Edward, as pledges for the payment of this enormous sum.[q]

---

[e] Rot. Claus. 11 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 20. Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 1005.

[f] Fœdera, vol. ii. pars 2. p. 973.

[g] Ibid. p. 1140.

[h] Froissart.

[i] Ibid.

[k] See page 26.

[l] Fœdera, vol. iii. pars 1. pp. 95. 98, 99.

[m] Ibid. p 102.

[n] Knyghton, col. 2595.

The earls of Monteith and Fife, having previously done fealty to Edward, were tried and condemned to death as traitors,[r] and the former paid the penalty of his crime. He was hanged and quartered; his head placed on London bridge, and the four parts of his body sent to York;[s] but the earl of Fife was spared, by reason of his affinity to the king;[t] and the rest of these noble prisoners, after long confinements, were ransomed and restored to their country's service.[u]

At this period, the glorious achievements of the English arms in each succeeding year provided fresh tenants for these prisons. Hither, in 1347, on the surrender of Calais, were brought the governor and twelve of the faithful heroes[x] who had so long and so valiantly defended that important place against all the efforts of the mighty Edward. Worn out with famine and fatigue, and seeing their last hope vanish with the retreat of the French army that had approached for their relief, they sounded a parley with their enemies; and, on the fourth of August, after a siege of nearly eleven months, in which they had suffered the greatest extremities of want and misery, they humbly delivered to the king of England this great object of his hopes and wishes. The captains of the town, followed by the principal burgesses, proceeded one by one, and bareheaded, to Edward's camp,[y] the former with their swords transversed, "to signify that he had conquered their town by force and arms, and to shew themselves at his will;"[z] and the latter are said[a] to have each carried a rope in his hands, to indicate that they were at their conqueror's mercy, either to hang or spare them; but the brave soul of Edward, so far from imitating a barbarian, as he is represented by most of our modern historians,[b] was moved with pity, treated them with kindness, and immediately sent food into the town, to relieve the hunger of their fellow-sufferers.[c]

---

[o] Knyghton, col. 2595.

[p] Rymer, vol. iv. p. 45.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Fœdera, vol. iii. pars 1. p. 108.

[s] Ibid. p. 111.

[t] Ibid.

[u] Vide Rymer, vols. v. and vi.

[x] Knyghton, col. 2595.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Ibid.

It was JOHN DE VIENNE, a knight of Burgundy, under whose command the town of Calais had shewn so remarkable an instance of vigilance, constancy, and valor; and this immortal hero, and twelve of his chief supporters, were sent into England, and placed in the Tower of London;[d] whither, shortly afterwards, sir Thomas Dagworth conducted his prisoner, the famous CHARLES DE BLOIS, whose struggle for the dukedom of Britanny had caused a waste of so much blood and treasure.[e] He remained a captive till the year 1356, when he was liberated upon an agreement to pay a ransom of seven hundred thousand florins of gold, to be liquidated at stated periods within five years; he voluntarily swore to hold himself as the king's prisoner, and not to bear arms till the whole was paid, and all the conditions of his release accomplished,[f] and he gave his two sons to remain in England as hostages for their performance.[g] He was a man greatly distinguished for his bravery, and fell in the famous battle of Auray, in 1364, while maintaining with most determined valor his pretensions to the ducal throne.

Succeeding victories placed other chieftains, both of the Scotch and French nations, in the power of the conqueror, and the battle of Poictiers brought a second monarch, and the chief nobility of a second kingdom, prisoners to the Tower. JOHN KING OF FRANCE, and his son Philip, together with four other princes, eight earls, and many lords of France, who were destined to grace the triumph of an English prince, were conducted into England by the hero of that ever memorable day. Prince Edward landed with his train of captives on the 5th of May 1357, and on the 24th of the same month entered London, with glory by far outshining all the ostentatious pomp of the greatest Roman triumphs. The French monarch, clad in royal robes, was mounted on a beauteous milk-white courser, and by his side a small black palfrey bore, in plain attire, his generous conqueror! This glorious scene surpassed the splendour of all former spectacles, and never was there a day on which the grateful hearts of Britons had beat with purer joy.

---

[b] Hume, vol. ii. pp. 440. 443. Henry's Hist. of Britain, vol. vii. p. 241, &c. from Froissart.

[c] Knyghton, col. 2595. Avesbury, p. 167.

[d] Knyghton, col. 2595.

[e] See page 27.

[f] Rymer, tom. v. p 862—865.

[g] Ibid. tom. vi. p. 70.

Most of the French princes and nobility were at first placed in the Tower, but the captive monarch with his son was lodged at the Savoy, the stately palace of the duke of Lancaster; where he "kept his house a long season," and was frequently visited by the king and queen, who "made him great feast and cheer:" indeed, he was paid every mark of generous respect, as if he had been a visitant, not a prisoner, in the English capital. About the middle of the following year he was removed, together with his son, to the castle of Windsor,[h] where he experienced the same marks of kindness and attention: he was allowed his liberty; enjoyed the sports of the field; and the French princes and nobility who shared in his misfortunes, being also prisoners, were allowed to visit him at their pleasure, and "were received only on their faiths."[i] But when King Edward prepared to carry his victorious arms again into France, all the French prisoners were placed in the Tower and other fortresses, and his royal captive was removed first to Hertford,[k] and thence to the castle of Somerton in Lincolnshire, under charge of sir William Deyncourt and four other knights, with a retinue of twenty-two men at arms and twenty archers.[l] He was attended by his own physician, chaplains, a painter, falconer, and a variety of other officers and servants of his household from France.[m] He remained at Somerton for several months, till the formidable appearance of a French fleet on the seas excited apprehensions of an invasion,[n] and rendered it advisable that he should be removed to a place of greater security. He was then conducted by easy journeys[o] to the Tower of London, where apartments were fitted up for his reception,[p] and where he remained with his captive son, till the treaty of Bretigny restored him to his liberty and his throne.

---

[h] Knyghton, col. 2616. Froissart.

[i] Froissart.

[k] Rymer, vol. vi. p. 132.

[l] Ibid. pp. 130—132.

[m] Ibid. p. 157.

[n] Ibid. pp. 158, 159.

[o] Ibid. pp. 166, 167.

[p] Ibid. p. 173.

But, whilst recounting victories and tracing vanquished monarchs to this noted fortress, we must not omit passing occurrences of a domestic kind which frequently supplied these gloomy towers with prisoners. During the glorious period of which we have now been speaking, many notices occur of persons committed to the Tower for different offences against the state, and among them, in 1350, we find WILLIAM DE THORP, chief justice of the Common Pleas, who had degraded his high and sacred office by venality and corruption.[q] He underwent a formal trial before the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Huntingdon, lord Grey of Rotherfield, steward of the king's household, and lord Burghersh, the king's chamberlain, who were specially appointed justices for the occasion. He was declared guilty, and adjudged to be hanged; but by command of the king his execution was suspended, and he was remitted to his prison in the Tower, to wait his sovereign's grace.[r]

The last personage of consequence of whom we find mention as confined in the Tower, in the reign of King Edward the Third, was VALERAN EARL OF ST. PAUL,[s] a young noble, distinguished not less for his gallantry than elegance, and who afterwards took a conspicuous part in the affairs of the French nation. He was made prisoner in a skirmish near Lyques,[t] in the year 1375, and was presented to King Edward by the lord of Gomuegines.[u] He remained a long time prisoner in the Tower, but was at length removed to the "fayre castell of Wynsore," which proved a far more pleasing scene; for, besides his restraint being less rigid, and being allowed "to go and sport him a haukyng between Wynsore and Westminster," he had there the happiness to meet the future partner of his life. The princess of Wales and her daughter, the lady Maud, "the fayrest ladye in all Englande," had then their residence in the castle, and as they sometimes met together "at daunsynge and carollyng," there commenced that interchange of heart and feeling which soon produced their union.[x]

---

[q] Pat. 24 Edw. III. pars 3. m. 3. dors. Ibid. 25 Edw. III. pars 1. m. 10.

[r] Ibid. m. 2. dors.

[s] Claus. 49 Edw. III. m. 43.

[t] Froissart.

[u] Ibid.

During King Richard's occupation of the throne, the Tower was generally the abode of prisoners, but in many instances they were not persons of enough importance, or the circumstances attending their confinement not sufficiently interesting, to bring them within the object of these pages. In the first year of his reign, two esquires, named Hauley and Shakell, were sent thither by the parliament,[y] for refusing to give up the son of the counte de Dene, being held as an hostage for his father, whom they had taken prisoner in the battle of Nazare in Spain; and, at the same period, the lord of Gomuegines, and sir William Weston were also confined there,[z] charged with having disloyally surrendered to the French certain fortresses entrusted to their custody[a] in the marches of Calais.

The Lord of Gomuegines, who was a celebrated captain of Hainault, and had long been a faithful and strenuous ally of the English, was made governor of the castle and town of Ardres, by King Edward the Third, and had there greatly distinguished himself by his active services against the enemy;[b] but being vigorously besieged by a large army under the duke of Burgoigne and other French generals, with engines, says Froissart, that cast, night and day, stones of two hundred weight, and assailed it right fiercely, he was obliged to capitulate. The garrison was allowed to retire to Calais with arms and baggage, and on the governor's arrival in England he was arrested and placed in the Tower. Similar circumstances occasioned the imprisonment of Weston, who, about the same time and to the same force, had surrendered the castle of Outhrewyke. On the meeting of parliament they were both brought to trial before that assembly,[c] and condemned to death; the former to be beheaded, and the latter drawn and hanged:[d] but they were remanded to their prisons in the Tower till the king's pleasure was known,[e] and they were finally pardoned.

---

[x] Froissart.—The earl was released in 1381, on an agreement to pay a ransom of six hundred thousand franks, half of which was remitted on his marriage with the lady Maud.

[y] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 10.

[z] Claus. 1 Rich. II. m. 31.

[a] Rot. Parl. pp. 10, 11.

[b] See Froissart.

[c] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. pp. 10, 11.

[d] Ibid. p. 12.

The whole reign of Richard the Second presents us with a scene of troubles which generally result from a minor's occupation of a throne; and instead of contemplating the Tower as the place of captivity for kings and heroes, trophies of English valor, we must now regard it as the melancholy abode of victims to the tyranny and resentment of successive factions, and finally as the prison of the king himself. In 1386, a powerful confederacy, headed by his uncles the dukes of York and Gloucester, having deprived Richard of his regal power and placed it in the hands of commissioners,[f] they next began to wreak their vengeance on all those who possessed the confidence and favor of the king. The duke of Gloucester, with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, approached the capital with an army of forty thousand men; overawed the king in the Tower, and there lodged appeals against the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, the archbishop of York, sir Robert Tresillian, chief justice of the King's Bench, and sir Nicholas Brembre, late mayor of London, for high treason.[g] The duke retired into Cheshire, where he raised an army of five thousand men, and began his march towards London, with the hope of rescuing the king from the hands of his enemies; but after a defeat at Radcot bridge, in Oxfordshire, he, the archbishop, and the earl of Suffolk, escaped abroad, and there spent the short remainder of their days. Tresillian also for some time eluded the vigilance of his enemies, but sir Nicholas Brembre was taken and lodged in the Tower. The parliament met on the 3d of February 1388, and the appellants exhibited against them in that assembly thirty-nine articles of accusation,[h] whereon the four first, not appearing, were condemned to be drawn and hanged, as traitors to the king and kingdom, and their estates confiscated.[i] Sir Nicholas Brembre was then brought to the bar by the constable of the Tower,[k] and to the articles against him he pleaded *not guilty*, which he offered to prove by his body as a knight; but while his case was in debate, the proceedings of this tyrannical assembly were interrupted by the capture of sir Robert Tresillian, the chief justice. He was discovered in a public house near the palace, disguised as a farmer, and being instantly brought before the parliament, was ordered to be taken to the Tower; thence to be drawn through the city to Tybourn and there hanged, which was done that very day;[l] and sir Nicholas Brembre, on the morrow, shared a similar fate.[m]

---

[e] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 12.

[f] Knyghton, col. 2686. Parliament. Hist. vol. i. p. 401—404.

[g] Knyghton, col. 2700.

[h] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. pp. 229. 336.

[i] Ibid p. 237.

[h] Ibid. p. 238.

On the first day of the parliament sir Robert Belknap, chief justice of the Common Pleas, sir Roger Fulthorp, sir John Holt, and sir William Burgh, judges of the same court, sir John Carey, chief baron of the Exchequer, and John Locton, esquire, the king's serjeant, had been arrested in Westminster Hall, and committed to the Tower;[n] and on the 2d of March they were also brought before parliament, and impeached by the House of Commons of high treason, for having advised the king at Nottingham,[o] on the illegality of the commission by which he was divested of his royal authority; and for this they were adjudged to be drawn and hanged as traitors! But at the intercession of the bishops their sentence was commuted to confiscation of their property, and being banished to different places in Ireland for life.[p]

On the morrow they proceeded to arraign John Blake and Thomas Usk;[q] the former because he was a member of the king's council, and present at the meeting at Nottingham; and against the latter it was alleged that he had sought to be made under-sheriff of Middlesex, in order that he might indite and arrest the heads of this vile confederacy. Of course they were condemned. Before an arbitrary tribunal, formed of judges and accusers influenced by the worst of feelings — malice and resentment — no defence, however just or reasonable, could avail them aught. They were sentenced to be taken to the Tower, and thence to be drawn through the city to Tybourn, and there hanged; which was accordingly done on the same day, and the head of Usk was ordered to be cut off and placed over the portal at Newgate.[r]

---

[l] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 238.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Claus. 11 Ric. II. m. 9.

[o] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. 238.

[p] Ibid. p. 244.

[q] Ibid. p. 240.

But here their tyrannical and barbarous proceedings did not end. After impeaching the bishop of Chichester, whose crime it should seem was chiefly that of being the king's confessor, they proceeded against sir Simon Burley, sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, sir John Salesbury, sir James Berners, and others, who had also been arrested, and were under confinement in the Tower.[s] Their having enjoyed the king's confidence and favor had made them objects of jealousy and hatred, and the sixteen articles of accusation exhibited against them shew how little was the sway that humanity or justice had in these proceedings. A short recess followed their impeachment, and this interval was employed by the queen, and many persons of the first consequence in the nation, in endeavouring to save their lives, particularly of sir Simon Burley. He was one of the most accomplished men of his day, and had been selected by the late Prince Edward as the companion of his son, the now king, whom he had attended from his childhood: he had also served his country in many important stations, and had conducted the queen into England previous to her marriage. But all his services and merits were pleaded in vain. Not even the tears and entreaties of the good Queen Anne, upon her knees,[t] could touch the iron heart of the inexorable Gloucester. They were all condemned. Burley was the first that was brought up to receive the sentence of this unmerciful assembly, and he was adjudged to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, and his heirs to be disinherited for ever; but, by reason of his long services to the king's father, and also to Richard himself from his infancy, and because he was of the order of the garter, his sentence, as regarded drawing and hanging, was remitted, and he was ordered to be taken back to the Tower, and beheaded on the adjoining hill; which was accordingly done the same day:[u] thus, as it were, consecrating it with his blood to those horrid executions, of which in the succeeding ages it was made the accustomed scene. Froissart, speaking of sir Simon, says, "To write of his shameful death right sore displeaseth me; for when I was young I found him a noble knight, sage and wise;"—"yet no excuse could be heard, and on a day he was brought out of the Tower and beheaded like a traitor—God have mercy on his soul!"

---

[r] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 240.

[s] Froissart, and Rot. Claus. 11 Ric. II. m. 13.

[t] Vita Ric. II. p. 102.

[u] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 243.

A few days afterwards Beauchamp, Berners and Salesbury, were also taken to the bar to receive sentence: the two former were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded; and the latter to be drawn and hanged, and all their heirs disinherited; but Beauchamp, because he was of noble blood, and had served the king as steward of his household; and Berners, because the king was his guardian during his minority, and for that he had been much about his royal person, were excused from part of their sentence, as to drawing and hanging;[x] and they were therefore ordered to the same spot, and shared the undeserved fate of the lamented Burley. Sir John Salesbury was also taken back to the Tower, and thence, on the same day, drawn through the city to Tybourn; where he was put ignominiously to death upon the gallows.[y]

Such were the proceedings of this confederacy! But there was to come a day for retribution. Richard freed himself from his state of thraldom, and treated with equal yet juster rigour the leaders in these vile transactions. The duke of Gloucester was made a prisoner in 1397, and hurried to the castle of Calais, where he came to a mysterious death; the earls of Arundel and Warwick,[z] lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheyney,[a] were at the same time arrested and committed to the Tower; and Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury was impeached of treason and banished the realm.[b]

The appeal against the duke of Gloucester, and the EARLS OF ARUNDEL and WARWICK, was presented to the king at the castle of Nottingham, and a parliament being summoned to meet at Westminster for their trials, Ralph lord Nevill, constable of the Tower, brought the earl of Arundel to the bar of the house of lords on the twenty-first of September,[c] where he was tried and declared guilty of various acts of high treason, chiefly connected with the late usurpation of the king's authority, and the murder of his ministers, as before related. He was condemned to be drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered; but by reason of his noble rank the king commanded that he should only be beheaded,[d] and this sentence was put in execution the same day, attended with barbarities which make the human blood run cold to contemplate. He was hurried from the tribunal that had thus decreed his fate, to that noted spot where all his noble deeds were to be clouded by a disgraceful death.[e] With his hands tied behind him, he was led ignominiously through the streets from Westminster to Tower-hill, and there, without an interval for prayer or repentance, his earthly career was closed by the axe of the executioner. Among several of the nobility who unfeelingly attended to witness his execution,[f] it pained his last moments to behold his son-in-law and nephew, the earls of Nottingham and Kent, and, turning to them, he said, *it would have more beseemed you, my lords, to have been absent on this occasion; but the time will come when as many will marvel at your misfortunes as do now at mine.*[g]

---

[x] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 243.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Rot Claus.

[a] Hollinshed.

[b] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 351.

Thus ended the life of Richard fitz Alan, the great but turbulent earl of Arundel; and a few days afterwards the same judgment was awarded to the earl of Warwick;[h] but on his humbly imploring the king's mercy, and at the instance of both houses of parliament, his life was spared, and his sentence commuted to banishment in the isle of Man.[i]

These events were shortly followed by the captivity and deposing of King Richard himself, and ultimately by the murder of that unhappy monarch. The circumstances which led to these transactions are well known, and the calamities and misery which they brought upon the nation, swell the page of history through many succeeding ages. Richard, after falling into the hands of his traitorous subjects, was escorted by easy journeys from Chester to London, and privately lodged in the

---

[c] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 377.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Stow, Hollinshed, &c.
[g] Ibid.
[h] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 380.
[i] Ibid.

Tower, with several of his ministers, some of whom were afterwards taken thence by the Londoners and barbarously put to death.[k] Then, says Froissart, "the duke of Lancastre and his counsayle toke advyse what shulde be done with Kyng Richarde, beyng in the towre of London, where Kyng Johan of Fraunce was kept, whyle Kyng Edwarde wente into the realme of Fraunce: than it was thought that Kyng Richarde shulde be put fro all his royalte and joy that he had lyved in, for they sayde, the newes of his takynge shulde sprede abrode into all realmes Chrystened;" and the same historian adds, that subsequently "the duke of Lancaster, accompanyed with lordes, dukes, prelates, earles, barones, and knyghtes, and of the notablest men of London, and of other good townes, rode to the Towre, and there alyghted. Than Kynge Rycharde was brought into the hall, aparelled lyke a kyng in his robes of estate, his scepter in his hande, and his crowne on his heed: than he stode up alone, not holden nor stayed by no man, and sayde aloude: *I have been kynge of Englande, duke of Acquytayn, and lorde of Irelande above xxii. yeres, which sygnory, royalte, septer, crowne, and herytage, I clerely resigne here to my cosyn, Henry of Lancastre: and I desyre hym here in this open presence, in entrynge of the same possesyon, to take this septour:* and so delyvered it to the duke, who toke it. Then Kynge Rycharde toke his crowne fro his heed with bothe his handes, and set it before hym, and sayd: *Fayre cosyn, Henry duke of Lancastre, I gyve and delyver you this crowne, wherewith I was crowned kyng of Englande, and therewith all the right thereto dependyng.*"

Shortly after King Richard had thus been deprived of his regal power and dignity, he was removed from the Tower of London to the castle of Leeds in Kent, and thence to the castle of Pomfret, where he came to an untimely end: but the manner of his death is one of those interesting yet obscure points in our history, covered by a veil that all the theories of the ingenious have hitherto been unable to penetrate, and all the labours of the antiquary to unfold.

The gale of popular phrensy, which bereft the unhappy

---

[k] Froissart.

Richard of his crown, and to which Henry owed his elevation, was not long subsiding; and the usurper soon found that baseness and treachery—the means by which he gained the throne—were as ready to be employed for his destruction. Many were attached to the fallen monarch by gratitude and affection; some were influenced by compassion for his injuries and a love of justice; while jealousy, distrust, or desire of revenge, swayed the minds of others; and the new-crowned king had scarcely assumed his regal honors ere a conspiracy was formed for taking away his life, at Oxford, and replacing the crown on the head of their dethroned lord. But it proved fatal to many, even of his own relations. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were put to death at Cirencester, by the people; the earls of Gloucester and lord Lumley shared a similar fate at Bristol; at Oxford, sir Thomas Blount and nine and twenty other knights and esquires were sacrificed to Henry's vengeance; and the earl of Huntingdon,[l] Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle,[m] sir John Shelly,[n] Magdalen, King Richard's chaplain,[o] and many more, were lodged in the Tower of London.

The EARL OF HUNTINGDON was King Henry's brother-in-law, but since his accession had been deprived of the title of duke of Exeter, conferred on him by the late king.[p] He was taken in Essex, in the neighbourhood of his castle at Pleshey, and after five days' imprisonment, without trial, and attended with circumstances of great cruelty, was beheaded; and his head, stuck on a pole, was sent to accompany those of the many other victims with which the bridge of London was already crowded;[q] but at the instance of his wife, the king's sister, it was afterwards removed, and buried with his body in the college of Pleshey.[r]

The BISHOP OF CARLISLE was that brave and loyal prelate whose name should ever be remembered and revered for his determined stand in favor of King Richard, and in opposition to those unlawful measures that deprived him of his throne. At a period when none had gratitude or courage to defend his rights, and

[l] Rymer, tom. viii. p. 121. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. pars 1. m. 22.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Hollinshed.
[o] Hall. Hollinshed.
[p] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 452.
[q] Claus. 1 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 13.
[r] Ibid. m. 13. 16.

when loyalty and truth were so near extinct, that even a favored dog—that usual emblem of fidelity,—became a traitor,[s] *he* stood forth the single, yet undaunted champion of his sovereign's cause;[t] vindicated his character, excused his errors, and exclaimed against the iniquity of those base proceedings that eventually o'erwhelmed the country with so much blood and misery!

Being implicated in the design against Henry's life, which was to have been carried into effect at Oxford, he was thrown into prison in the Tower,[u] and would have shared the fate of his great associates, had not his sacred office shielded him against the fuller measure of the usurper's vengeance. He was confined for a long period in the Tower, but was at length released from his dungeon in that fortress, and placed under custody in the abbey of Westminster,[x] and he shortly after died.[y]

Magdalen was one of King Richard's chaplains,—"a man as like to him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of his body, as unlike in birth, dignity, and conditions," and will be well remembered as the person whom the confederates, to enhance the popularity of their cause, adorned "in royal and princely vesture," and set up to represent his fallen master, "calling him King Richard! and affirming that, by favor of his keepers, he was delivered out of prison and set at liberty."[z] As soon as the plot had failed, Magdalen attempted an escape to Scotland; but was apprehended on his journey, conveyed to the Tower, and suffered the same arbitrary punishment as had already been inflicted on the rest of Henry's enemies. Without a trial, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head set on that already burthened bridge, which in early ages was the usual station of the heads of traitors.

But, although favored by fortune in extinguishing the sparks of this rebellion, it conveyed not rest to the usurper's pillow, nor brought security to his throne; and the successive attempts to disturb his ill-got power, his war with Scotland, the struggles of Wales to regain her long lost freedom, or those religious persecutions which blot the history of an enlightened people, doomed in every year and almost every month of Henry's reign some fresh victim to these dreaded prisons.

---

[s] We are told by Froissart, that King Richard was no sooner made a prisoner than his favorite dog, called *Math,* forsook him, and fawned and courted the usurper.

[t] Hall's Chronicle.

[u] Fœdera, tom. viii. p. 121.

[x] Claus. 1 Hen. IV. pars 2. m. 6.

[y] Hollinshed.

[z] Hall.

In 1401, a severe law was made against heretics or lollards [a] — the followers of those religious doctrines originally taught by the immortal Wickliffe, the first light of that glorious reformation which was subsequently effected in our church. It empowered the bishops to imprison any person suspected of heresy, and to try them in the spiritual court; and for many succeeding ages the Tower was generally tenanted by some of these unhappy sufferers, and often the scene of those horrid tortures that we shall hereafter have to notice.

In 1402, **Lewellin ap Madoc Du**, a kinsman, and one of the most powerful allies of the famous Owen Glendour, was brought prisoner to the Tower; [b] and, in the following year, the prior of the house of Friars Preachers at Winchelsea, and Roger Frisby and seven other brethren of the order of Grey Friars, were committed to that fortress,[c] for treasonable practices against the state, — a plot, in which sir Roger Clarendon, reputed to be an illegitimate son of Edward the Black Prince, and two of his retainers, were also implicated, and suffered death.[d] Taking advantage of the king's absence in Wales, where he was engaged against Glendour, they had endeavoured to incite the people to rebellion, by giving out that King Richard was yet alive; and by sticking up, and dropping in the streets "railyng rimes, malicious meters, and tauntyng verses" against Henry and his government.[e] Friar Frisby was hanged in his monastic habit, to the great mortification of his order,[f] and all the rest were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tybourn,[g] and their heads placed, as examples, on the walls of Coventry, Oxford, and other towns.

In the year 1405, **Griffin, son of Owen Glendour**, together with his chancellor, and other Welsh captains, taken by prince Henry in the battle of Usk, were brought prisoners to the Tower; [h]

---

[a] Statute 2 Hen. IV. ch. 15.

[b] Claus. 2 Hen. IV. pars 2. m. 10.

[c] Ibid. 3 Hen. IV. pars 2. m. 16.

[d] Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

[e] Hall.

[f] Hollinshed.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Ibid.

and in the beginning of the same year the DUKE OF YORK was also lodged in that fortress, charged with aiding in the escape of the sons of the earl of March, whom Henry, for his own security, had placed under custody in the castle of Windsor; and he was likewise accused, by his own sister, Lady le Despenser, with a design to surprise and murder the king in his palace at Eltham.[i] He remained under close confinement in the Tower for nearly two years, and the fame went thoughout the country that he had there been secretly put to death; but, in 1406, the parliament interceded in his behalf, and he was restored to liberty.[k]

The most distinguished prisoner in the Tower during the troubled era to which we are now alluding was JAMES, SON OF ROBERT THE THIRD, KING OF SCOTLAND. He was a youth of only nine years of age when his father determined on sending him to the court of France; where, with the advantages of education, which his own rude country could not then afford, he would enjoy security from those base designs to which his elder brother had become a victim. Under the care of Henry earl of Orkney, he was embarked with a proper suit, in 1406; but by stress of weather the ship was driven on the English coast near Flamborough-head, and, although a truce subsisted between the two countries, the English monarch, contrary to every feeling of generosity and honour, detained them all as prisoners! The young prince with his attendants was sent to confinement in the Tower,[l] and, his father not long surviving this last misfortune, he became entitled to the crown of Scotland, making the third Scottish monarch confined within these walls in the space of a single century.[m]

On Robert's death, his brother, the duke of Albany, assumed the reins of government, and for many years no anxiety seems to have been manifested for the redemption of the young king. During the first years of his captivity his freedom does not appear to have extended without the walls of the fortress to which he was consigned: but his time was not unpleasantly nor disadvantageously employed. Added to a brilliant genius, James possessed a natural thirst for knowledge, and this met with every attention and encouragement from the English monarch. A princely education was provided him; and thus the misfortune of his captivity was lessened by the means of acquiring that diversity of accomplishments with which his mind was stored during the period of his imprisonment, and with which few princes in any age or country have been adorned.

---

[i] Hollinshed.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Ibid.

[m] John Baliol, David Brus, and James the First.

In the middle of the year 1407, he was removed from the Tower of London to the castle of Nottingham, together with Griffin, son of Owen Glendour,[n] who had been taken prisoner in the battle of Usk, in the year preceding; but towards the latter part of Henry's reign the liberty of his royal captive was less restrained: he was allowed his freedom within a given district; he joined in the sports of the field and martial exercises, enjoyed society, and possessed the means of acquiring those advantages which so eminently qualified him on his return to his native country to amend the laws, and work that reform in the rude and barbarous manners of the Scots, which might have made them a great, an independent, and a happy people. In England he saw the feudal system refined from many of its imperfections; he observed a king powerful though not absolute, and the nobility great, but yet dependent; he saw, under a liberal constitution and wise laws, a contented and flourishing nation; and to this may be attributed that consummate wisdom and virtue that shone in all his actions when restored to his liberty and his throne.

On the death of Henry the Fourth, King James was again placed under confinement in the Tower, as were Murdock earl of Fife,[o] and many of the Scotch nobility, and others[p] — prisoners who had been taken in the battles of Nisbet-muir, Hamildon, and Shrewsbury; and he was afterwards removed to the castle of Windsor;[q] but as soon as the new king was peaceably settled on his throne, the royal captive seems to have been allowed his former freedom, till the commencement of Henry's wars with France, when he was again lodged in the Tower.[r] Out of the royal treasury he was supplied with the means of supporting his princely rank, and was treated with every mark of kindness and respect: he possessed the esteem of the English monarch, frequently appeared at his court, and, in the latter part of Henry's reign, accompanied him into France: he was at the siege of Melun in 1420,[s] and, being afterwards appointed with the duke of Gloucester to invest the town of Dreux, that place was surrendered to the Scottish king after an arduous siege. Death shortly afterwards terminated the glorious career of King Henry the Fifth, — an event which occasioned King James's return to his ancient prison in the Tower,[t] and the renewal of negotiations which speedily terminated in his release.[u] The northern monarch was restored to his native country in 1423, after a captivity of nearly eighteen years, by marrying the daughter of the earl of Somerset, cousin to King Henry the Sixth,[x] and by delivering several of the nobles of his kingdom as hostages for the payment of forty thousand pounds, for his expenses during his captivity.[y]

---

[n] Rymer, tom. viii. p. 484.

[o] Ibid. tom. ix. p. 2.

[p] Ibid. p. 5.

[q] Ibid. p. 44.

[r] Vide Bibl. Cotton. Vesp. xiv. 105.

It has already been observed that the reign of King Richard the Second gave birth to religious opinions adverse to the tenets of the then established church; and, although laws were made by the succeeding monarch, and severe punishments inflicted to check their progress, they had so rapidly gained ground, that when King Henry the Fifth ascended the throne, all the energies of the state were required to uphold the tottering fabric of the church of Rome;[z] and the name of the glorious hero of Agincourt is tarnished by the rigorous cruelty with which he persecuted those devoted heralds — the harbingers of a reformation so happily accomplished in a succeeding age. To the intolerant spirit of the established church he had shewn an early attachment: he had been a spectator of the expiring agonies of Badby; yet the faith, the constancy, and truth, that he exhibited amid the horrors of the flames, had not allayed his zeal; and he was no sooner seated on the throne, than, in the work of persecution, the clergy were allowed an uncontrolled power.[a] The prisons all over England were filled with lollards or heretics, the name by which the reformers were then stigmatized; and among those committed to the Tower, was LORD COBHAM, a man renowned not less for his valor than his virtues, and who was the first person of rank, in England, that had the honor to suffer for maintaining those doctrines which now form the basis of the protestant church.

---

[s] Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

[t] Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. VI.

[u] Rymer, tom. x. p. 302.

[x] Hall. Stow. Grafton.

[y] Rymer, tom. x. pp. 299, 300. 326.

[z] Statute 1 Hen. V.

[a] Vide Wilkin. Concilia, p 378.

Unwilling to proceed against a person of his distinguished rank and estimation, the king himself first held a conference with his lordship, and urged him to renounce his reputed errors: but, finding him stedfast in his professions and belief, he left him to the will of the clergy.[b] Having disregarded a summons to appear before the convocation, he was declared contumacious; was excommunicated, and sent to prison in the Tower. He was afterwards brought before the spiritual court, consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury and several bishops and doctors. The primate stated the nature of the charge against him; informed him that he had been declared contumacious and was excommunicated; yet promised him absolution if he would ask it — an offer which the prisoner did not deign to notice; but, drawing a paper from his bosom, he read it, and then presented it to the archbishop, as a memorial of his faith. It declared that he faithfully and fully believed all the sacraments that ever God ordained for his holy church: he believed "that the most worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed virgin Mary, put on the cross, dead and buried, and that on the third day rose from death to life; the which body is now glorified in heaven." As for the sacrament of penance, he also believed "that it is needful to every man that would be saved, to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction, as God's law limiteth and teacheth; and that unless he does so he may not be saved:" but with respect to images, he declared his belief "that whoso it be that doth the worship to dead images which is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in the help of them as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the great sin of Mawmetry;" and concerning pilgrimages, he supposed fully "that every man in this earth is a pilgrim towards bliss, or towards pain; and that he who knoweth not, or will not know, or keep the holy commandments of God in his living here, albeit that he go on pilgrimage to all the world, and he die so, he shall be damned; and he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to the end, he shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men use now, to Canterbury or to Rome, or to any other place."[c]

---

[b] Vide Wilkin. Concilia, p. 353.

Such were the opinions for which persons in the fifteenth century were adjudged to be burnt to ashes! Lord Cobham was required to give a more particular explanation of his tenets on the eucharist, confession, images, and pilgrimages. He was called upon to confess, "that after the sacramental words have been said by a priest in his mass, the material bread that was before, is turned into Christ's very body, and that the material wine that was before, is turned into Christ's very blood; and that there remaineth on the altar no material bread nor material wine, the which were there before the saying of the sacramental words;"—he was required to acknowledge "that every christian man living here bodily on earth ought to confess to a priest ordained by the church;"—he was told that, "as Christ ordained St. Peter to be his vicar here on earth, the same power which he granted to that apostle was vested in his successors the popes, whom all Christians were bound to obey according to the laws of the church of Rome;"—and he was required to believe "that it is needful for a Christian man to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy reliques of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all saints approved by the church of Rome."[d]

When his lordship was brought before the court to state his creed on these points, he stedfastly refused to acknowledge them, and was therefore condemned to be hanged and burnt, as a traitor and an obstinate heretic. During his long examination he supported himself with great firmness and presence of mind:

---

[c] Vide Wilkin. Concilia, pp. 354, 355.

[d] Ibid.

by the soundness of his arguments and readiness of his replies, he frequently confounded and silenced the whole court, and when his sentence was pronounced, and he was delivered over to the secular power in order to its execution, he fell on his knees, and offered up a fervent prayer to heaven to forgive his persecutors. He was then taken back to his prison in the Tower,[e] and the respect entertained for his valor, his rank, and his virtues; the hopes that were cherished of his recantation, and, above all, the great unpopularity of the measures pursued against him, occasioned a respite of his sentence; and in the interim his lordship escaped out of the Tower. Notwithstanding the immense rewards offered for his apprehension,[f] for nearly four years he eluded the vigilance of his enemies; but was taken on the borders of Wales in December 1417, by the lord Powis, and again lodged in the Tower; and the parliament being then sitting, the House of Commons prayed "for the reverence of the holy Trinity, and of the blessed Mary, and all the saints of heaven, and in confirmation of the christian faith," that the judgment formerly passed upon him should be put in execution;[g] and it was accordingly done in the most horrible manner that human ingenuity could devise. He was drawn from the Tower to St. Giles's Fields, where he was hanged by the middle with a chain; and, a fire being kindled beneath him, he was thus burnt to death![h] Lady Cobham and a great many other persons[i] were also confined in the Tower; but she was released shortly after the death of her unhappy husband.[k]

From the period that King Henry the Fifth began his career of victories in France, the Tower was almost ever crowded with prisoners of that nation. In the latter part of the year 1415, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, Marshal Boucicaut, the Counts d'Eu, Vendosme, and several more of the French noblesse, and others, who had been taken prisoners in the battle of Agincourt, were lodged in that fortress; and, although some of them were shortly removed to Windsor and other places, we find the names of others as still occupying those dreary habitations at a distance of many years. The duke of Orleans, nephew of the reigning sovereign, and father of Louis the Twelfth of France, was a prince distinguished for his talents and his virtues, and while suffering a long captivity in England, ruinous at once to his family and his fortune, he amused himself by writing his volume of poems, entitled "Poieses de Charles duc d'Orleans;" some, at least, of which seem to have been composed during his abode in the Tower.[l]

---

[e] Walsingham, Fox, Hollinshed, &c.

[f] Rymer, tom. ix. pp. 89, 90.

[g] Rot. Parl. vol. iv. pp. 107, 108.

[h] Walsingham. Ypod. Neust. p. 591. Hall. Fox. Stow.

[i] Claus. 5 Hen. V. m. 18.

[k] Ibid. m. 7.

Henry looked upon the captivity of the French princes as an advantage of so high an importance to the success of his enterprize, that, in a letter written specially to the bishop of Durham, the then chancellor, in 1419, on the subject of their custody,[m] he says, we charge you that, "as we trust in you, and as ye loke to have our good lordship, ye see and ordeyne that good heed be taken unto the seure keping of oure Frensh prisonners withynne our reaume of England; and in especial of the duc of Orliens, and after to the duc of Borbon; for their eschaping, and principally the said duc of Orliens, might never have been so harmful ner prejudicial unto us as hit might be now, if any of them eschaped, and namely the saide duc of Orliens, whiche God forbede." With his last breath Henry also charged his brother the duke of Bedford, and other friends, never to liberate the noble prisoners while his son was under age;[n] and so essential did this appear to the interests of the English nation, that for many years every overture for their release was disregarded. The duke of Orleans, who was removed first from the Tower to the castle of Windsor, and thence to that of Pomfret,[o] was allowed to return to his native country in 1440, on agreeing to pay a ransom equivalent to fifty thousand pounds.[p] The duke of Bourbon, the marshal Boucicaut and some others did not outlive their captivity.[q] Louis earl of Vendosme was released from the Tower, in 1423, and placed under custody of Sir John Cornwall;[r] and, in 1435, the count d'Eu was also delivered from that fortress, and given in charge to the earl of Morton.[s]

---

[l] See King's MSS. F. 2. in the British Museum.

[m] Rymer, vol. ix. p. 801.

[n] Elmham, c. 27.

[o] Claus. 5 Hen. V. m. 17.

[p] Rymer, tom. x. p. 776—786.

[q] Ibid. p. 570. Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

[r] Rymer, tom. x. p. 289.

[s] Ibid. p. 602.

While, at home, the widening schism in the church, the tyrannical and unchecked power of the clergy, and the bigotry and superstition by which the age was ruled, continued to bring many a tenant to these prison-towers; the succeeding triumphs of the English arms still increased their numbers. In 1422, Mauné, an enterprizing chief whose name was a sound of terror, ever coupled with some danger nigh, was here confined a prisoner; and, in the same year, on the surrender of Meaux, one of the strongest towns in France, the famous Guychard de Cesse, and several other captains of that fortress,[t] who so long had baffled all the efforts of the mighty Henry, together with "one that blewe and souned an horne duryng the siege, that Meserth named *Grasse*," were also lodged within the Tower.

Whilst the hero of Agincourt was engaged in the siege of Meaux, Mauné violated his oath by appearing at the head of a considerable force, and ravaging Normandy;[u] but was defeated and taken by the earl of Suffolk.[x] He died a prisoner;[y] and the Tower seems to have been the abode of de Cesse during many years captivity.[z]

Of the multitudes of prisoners placed in the Tower during Henry's wars in France, many were afterwards removed to the castles of Flint, Rothlan, Conway, and other places.[a] But their lodgings were not long untenanted. On the death of that renowned king, precautions were taken for the safe custody of the prisoners then on parole in England, and of these, the elect bishop of Meaux[b] and a great many other distinguished captives were immediately lodged in the Tower; and on the release of the king of Scotland, which happened in the following year, the EARLS of MURRAY and CRAWFORD, and five and twenty more of the principal nobility of that nation, were sent to confinement in the same place,[c] and in the castle of Dover. They were given as hostages for the payment of forty thousand pounds, for the king's expences while detained a prisoner in England; and, although ten thousand marks were remitted in consideration of his marriage with the lady Jane, daughter of the earl of Somerset,[d] several of them suffered a captivity of many years before the remaining sum was liquidated. Their confinement, however, does not appear to have been of that rigid kind which was frequently the lot of prisoners. Some of them had leave for their wives to visit them,[e] and others for their servants, with horses, hawks, and hounds, to come to them at the places of their abode.[f]

---

[t] Rymer, tom. x. pp. 214, 215. 225, et Rot. Norm. et Claus. 10 Hen. V.

[u] Hollinshed.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Vide Rymer, tom. x. p. 460.

[a] Ibid. pp. 225, 226.

[b] Ibid. p. 318.

[c] Ibid. pp. 335—337.

Those at first placed in the Tower were David, eldest son of the earl of Athol, Alexander earl of Crawford, Alexander lord Gordon, John de Lindesay, Patric eldest son of John lord Lyon, Andrew Gray of Foulls, David de Ogilby, William lord Ruthvane, David Meinzies, William Oliphant lord Aberdalgy, Gilbert, eldest son of William constable of Scotland, James lord Caldor, Robert eldest son of Robert lord Maitland, Robert de Lisle, Robert marshal of Scotland, Walter lord Dirleton, and William lord Abernethy.[g] Some of whom were afterwards relieved in exchange for other of their countrymen, who became hostages in their place;[h] and some were subsequently removed to the castle of York[i] and other places, while many remained, and endured a long captivity.

Although for many years after the accession of King Henry the Sixth the Tower was constantly filled with illustrious prisoners, both of the French and Scottish nations, as well as with state delinquents of our own country,[k] few circumstances have been handed down to us respecting their captivity that are worthy of particular detail.

In 1438, the Tower is said to have been the prison of the famous Owen Tudor,[l] grandfather to King Henry the Seventh;

---

[d] Rymer, tom. x. pp. 322, 323.

[e] Ibid. pp. 364, 365.

[f] Ibid. pp. 337, 338.

[g] Ibid. pp. 335, 336.

[h] Ibid. pp. 348, 349. 369, 370. 373. 375. 381, 382, &c. Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 276.

[i] Ibid. pp. 346, 347, &c.

[k] Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 292.

[l] The following passage, translated from Dafydd Lhwyd ap Lewelyn o Vathavarn, a Welsh poet, who flourished about the year 1480, refers to his imprisonment.

"Tudor, in himself a host,
High-born Owen, Cambria's boast;
Cambria's flower imprison'd lies
Where London's stately Towers rise.
Unjust the pride, and rash the power,
That doom'd him to yon hostile Tower."

and in 1441, several persons were committed to the same place, on charges of the most extraordinary kind, invented, perhaps, for no better object than to gratify the malice of the cardinal of Winchester against Humphrey duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, between whom had long existed an unquenchable animosity.[l] The absurd grounds on which they were accused, afford us a fair specimen of the almost incredible superstition of the age, and shew how readily those feelings were brought into action to answer the designs of contending parties. The duchess of Gloucester was charged with treason, for conspiring to take away the king's life by means of sorcery and enchantment, with the intent of advancing her own husband to the throne![m] and Thomas Southwell, canon of Westminster, John Hume a priest, Roger Bolingbroke a priest, and Margery Jourdayn, or Jourdemain, called *the witch of Eye*, were apprehended and committed to prison, as her accessories, having, as was pretended, devised an image of wax to represent the king, whose person, through the medium of their witchcraft, was gradually to consume and die away, as the said image should melt before a slow fire![n]

It is evident that these proceedings could have been designed for no other end than to provoke the duke of Gloucester to some violent measure, by which his adversaries might effect his downfal; and sufficiently debased were the clergy of that period to become parties to this vile transaction. The duchess was examined before the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, and solemnly tried before the earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, and other peers; and although no evidence appears to have been produced respecting the wax figure, or any thing else bearing any semblance to treason, she was sentenced to do public penance at St. Paul's and two other places in the capital on three different days, and to be imprisoned for life in the isle of Man, under charge of Sir John Stanley.[o] The others were arraigned and declared guilty of treason. Margery Jourdayn, or Jourdemain, who in all probability was nothing more than a reputed fortune-teller, was burnt to death in Smithfield on this monstrous charge! Bolingbroke, a mathematician, and therefore accounted a necromancer,[p] was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, protesting with his last breath that no such thing had ever been imagined as that for which they were condemned.[q] Hume alone was pardoned, and Southwell died in the Tower, before the time appointed for his execution.[r]

---

[l] Vide Rot. Parl. vol. iv. pp. 297, 298.

[m] Hall, Stow, Hollinshed, &c.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ibid.

In 1451, the Tower became the prison of **William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk**, that minion of the court on whom the popular odium had justly fallen for most of those misfortunes under which the nation had then begun to suffer. He had joined the cardinal of Winchester against the duke of Gloucester, and had bartered the honor and interests of the country to gratify their party feelings: he had negociated that imprudent measure — the King's matrimonial alliance: he had tarnished the glorious name of England by dishonourably giving up her conquests: he had betrayed her counsels; and to his pernicious administration were attributed those domestic ills which ended in civil discord. So loud had the popular clamour been raised against him, that, immediately after the assembling of parliament, the house of commons laid various articles of accusation[s] before the lords, and prayed that he might be committed to the Tower. This was accordingly done on the 28th of January;[t] and on the 9th of March following he was brought thence to the bar of the house of lords, to make answer to the charges alleged against him; but, instead of allowing his trial regularly to be proceeded with, the king, on his own authority and without consulting the peers, pronounced upon him a sentence of banishment for five years.[u] This extraordinary course prevented his being found guilty of treason, which might have been the result of his trial, but could not screen him from the people's vengeance. On his passage towards Calais, he was stopped by a ship belonging to the duke of Exeter, called the Nicholas of the Tower, on board of which he was taken to Dover,[x] and there beheaded on the side of a boat, with a rusty sword; and his body, after being stripped of his "gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed," was thrown on the sands of Dover.[y]

---

[p] Hall, Hollinshed, Stow, &c.

[q] Hollinshed, Stow, &c.

[r] Ibid.

[s] Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 176—182.

[t] Ibid. p. 177.

[u] Ibid. p. 183.

[x] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 38. 40.

These events were succeeded by Cade's rebellion, and the commitment of Lord Say, the late high treasurer of England, to the Tower, to appease the minds of the people:[z] but in vain. The court precipitately retired from that fortress to the castle of Kenilworth; and the insurgents, after defeating a body of troops at Sevenoaks, advanced and entered the capital; and lord Say was made a sacrifice to the popular fury. In the general confusion that prevailed, his lordship was imprudently taken before the judges at Guildhall; and, while contending for the privilege of being tried by his peers, he was wrested from the officers of justice, dragged to the standard in Cheapside, and there put to death by the people.

After the death of Suffolk, the queen was equally unfortunate in the choice of her next favorite. To the place which that odious minister had filled in the confidence of the court, and also in the violent hatred of the people, Edmund duke of Somerset succeeded: — a misfortune which precipitated the nation into all the calamities of a civil war, and consummated the impending ruin of the house of Lancaster. The mental as well as bodily imbecility of the king; the meekness of his disposition; his total want of authority, and incapacity for government; the maladministration of the queen and her favorites, and the consequent clamours and discontent of the people; all conspired to invite the efforts of any bold adventurer, and to involve the nation in its destined misery.

It would be unnecessary here to recount all the transactions of this unhappy period. The Duke of Somerset was seized in the queen's chamber, and committed to the Tower, in the latter part of the year 1454; and, in consequence of the king's illness, the parliament appointed the duke of York protector of the kingdom, which produced a temporary calm; but the king having, soon afterwards, in some degree recovered his health, these measures were annulled. Somerset, after remaining a prisoner in the Tower for a year and upwards of ten weeks,[a] was released from that fortress;[b] the protector was discharged from his office; and hence began that sanguinary struggle between the families of York and Lancaster, which for so many succeeding years spread desolation over the country, and drained it of its noblest blood.

---

[y] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 40.

[z] See page 45.

[a] Rymer, tom. xi. p. 362.

The succeeding occurrences are well known: Somerset fell in the first battle of Saint Albans: in 1459, **Lord Dudley**, who had been wounded and taken in the battle of Bloreheath, was sent to confinement in the Tower;[c] and in 1462, immediately after King Edward the Fourth had established himself upon the throne, the **Earl of Oxford**, lord Aubrey de Vere, his eldest son, Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrell, and others, were committed to the same place,[d] on suspicion of holding communication with the wife of the dethroned king. They were brought to the Tower on the 12th of February,[e] and on the 20th of the same month the **Lord Aubrey de Vere** was drawn from Westminster, where he had been tried before the constable of England, and condemned by martial law, and beheaded on Tower-hill:[f] Tudenham, Tyrell, and John Montgomery were brought to a similar fate, and on the 26th of the same month the venerable earl himself was led ignominiously on foot from the bar of that arbitrary tribunal to the same spot, to close his days under the axe of the executioner.[g]

In 1461, **Henry Percy**, son and heir of the earl of Northumland, who was killed on the side of the Lancastrians, in the field of Towton, was sent to a long confinement in the Tower;[h] and, soon after the battle of Hexam, **King Henry** himself was lodged a prisoner in the fortress. He escaped from the scene of that disastrous conflict, and wandered for a time on the borders of Scotland in disguise;[i] but was at length discovered by a person named Cantelow, who hastened towards London, to deliver him into the hands of his rival.[k] On the news of his capture, the earl of Warwick was dispatched with a body of troops to meet him; and by that nobleman he was conducted publicly through the capital, and placed under safe confinement in the Tower;[l] but with express command from King Edward that he should be treated with all humanity, and be provided with necessaries becoming his rank and condition.[m]

---

[b] Rymer, tom. xi. p. 361.

[c] Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 106. "The baron Dudley is in the Towre; what shal come of hym God wote." He "hath appeched many men, but what they ben as yet we cannot wete."—*Ibid.*

[d] W. Wyrcester, p. 492. Fabian. Fragm. ad finem Sproti.

[e] Fabian.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Ibid.

[h] He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower till 1469, in the early part of which year he was restored to liberty, and the honors of his family.—*Vide Rymer, tom xi. p.* 648. *Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p.* 16.

[i] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 539. Hall.

So perfectly a cipher was this meek and devoted being considered, as well by his own as the adverse party, that no sooner was he shut up in the Tower, than he appears to have been almost wholly forgotten; and scarcely a syllable has been handed down to us respecting him from the time that he was first lodged in his prison, till the wavering hand of fortune again introduced him to the world, as the object of her sport. His personal safety was insured, perhaps, not less by reverential respect for his character, than by the mean opinion which seems ever to have been entertained of his capacity; and we may presume, from the general tenor of his life, that he yielded to his long captivity with all that placid submission to the divine will which upheld and consoled him amid all his vicissitudes and distress, and that his solitary hours were employed in those religious exercises to which he seems ever to have devoted himself as the primary object of his being.

Henry was confined in one of the prisons of the fortress till the year 1471, when he was restored to a short re-enjoyment of his liberty, by that extraordinary revolution which was effected by the earl of Warwick, and which forced Edward into a momentary exile. He was at first delivered from his usual abode and lodged in the buildings of the palace, with attendance suitable to his kingly rank; and a few days afterwards, the duke of Clarence, with the earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, lord Stanley, and many other lords and gentlemen, resorted with a great company to the Tower,[n] and thence took King Henry in solemn procession to St. Paul's. He was arrayed in a long robe of blue velvet,[o] and, with his crown upon his head,[p] he rode through the streets amid the deceitful greetings of the people.[q] After a public thanksgiving at St. Paul's for his deliverance, he took up his residence at the bishop's palace, and, there he seems to have chiefly held his court during the short-lived revival of his power.

---

[k] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 539. Hall, Fabian, Hollinshed, &c.

[l] Grafton, Stow, Fabian, Hollinshed, &c.

[m] —— ubi sub salvâ custodiâ omnem ei humanitatem Rex Edwardus uberrimè jussit impendi et quæque sibi necessaria congrua cum reverentiâ exhiberi.—*Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p.* 539.

The restoration of this unfortunate prince to his regal state was but a cruel trick of fortune, to involve him in greater calamities, and to hasten the impending fate of himself, his family, and the house of Lancaster! Edward regained his crown by a succession of events as sudden in their occurrence, and as extraordinary in their effects, as that by which he was driven into exile; and, on his entering the capital, his innocent rival again fell into his hands a prisoner, and was reconveyed to his solitary dwelling in the Tower.[r] Two days afterwards he was taken in Edward's train to Barnet,[s] where he beheld the total discomfiture of his friends; and, after the issue of that destructive day, his enemies conducted him to Westminster; whence he was taken publicly through the streets of the capital, as an object of mockery and derision, and replaced in that melancholy abode,[t] where he soon afterwards exchanged his earthly existence for that state of endless bliss, which the exemplary holiness of his life had insured him in another and a better world.

The day that gave Edward his victory at Barnet, brought to the shores of England the only remaining objects of his jealousy and fears. Queen Margaret and her son, prince Edward, whom adverse winds had long detained in France, landed at Weymouth, and, joined by many adherents to their cause, proceeded through the country, till the contending parties met in the remembered field of Tewkesbury, beneath those hallowed walls which give their sacred shelter to the dust of so many heroes, slain on that disastrous day. It was here, on the 4th of May, that the Lancastrian house received its final overthrow! and Edward, after his victory, proceeded northward, to crush a rising opposition in that quarter. On the 21st of the same month he returned in triumph to London;[u] and we are told by historians who lived in that and the following age, that his unhappy rival, King Henry, was found dead the next morning, in his prison in the Tower:[x] but, like many important events in that dark period of our history, the nature of his death will, perhaps, ever remain in doubt; though it must be allowed that the time, the place, and circumstances of its occurrence, favor the suspicion that it was violent. It is clear that the historian of Croyland abbey, a coeval writer, was impressed with this idea; and, although he does not seem to disclose the fulness of his thoughts, he says, "may God spare and give time for repentance to him, whosoever it was, that dared to lay his sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed!"[y] Fabian says on this subject, "of ye deth of this prynce dyverse tales were tolde: but the moost comon fame wente that he was strykked with a dagger, by the handes of the duke of Gloucester."—Hall, who is copied by Grafton and Hollinshed, states that "poore Kyng Henry the Sixte, a litle before deprived of his realme, and imperiall croune, was now in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard duke of Gloucester, (as the constant fame ranne) which, to thintent that King Edward, his brother, should be clere out of all secret suspicion of sodain invasion, murthered the said kyng with a dagger." But Hollinshed makes an important addition, and tells us, nevertheless, that some writers, who, he says, were favorers of the house of York, have recorded, that after King Henry understood the losses that had happened to his adherents, the murder of his son, and the destruction of his friends, he took it so to heart that he died. Stow follows the statement of Fabian.

---

[n] Fabian. Hall. Hollinshed. Stow.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p 554.

[q] Fabian. Hall. Hollinshed.

[r] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 554.

[s] Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

[t] Hall. The battle of Barnet was fought on Easter Sunday, the 14th of April, and it was on the following day that he was again lodged in the Tower.

---

[u] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 556. Hollinshed.

[x] See Henry's History of Britain, vol. ix. p. 223; and vol. xii. p. 398.

[y] "Taceo, hoc temporum interstitio, inventum esse corpus Regis Henrici in Turri Londiniarum exanime: parcat Deus, et spatium pœnitentiæ ei donet quicunque tam sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus est immittere. Unde et agens, tyranni; patiensque, gloriosi martyris titulum mereatur."—*Cont. Hist. Croyland, p. 556.*

Such are the accounts given us of this mysterious event, by our earliest authorities; but, before we adopt their testimony with that implicit confidence with which they have been followed by most subsequent historians, it will be proper to notice the different periods at which they wrote, and the apparent means they possessed of transmitting any certain account of Henry's death to posterity. The first was living at the time in the famous abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire: he seems to have had the means of obtaining accurate information;[z] was a writer of great integrity, and it is probable that his short remark on Henry's death was set down in the brief but valuable chronicle of that house at no distant period after the event occurred. Fabian, the next authority, was an alderman of London, where, in all probability he resided at the time of Henry's death; but is not supposed to have compiled his chronicle till the latter part of the reign of King Henry the Seventh; when the public ear had long been familiarized to every enormous tale that policy or malice could invent against the house of York, and when popular prejudice lent a forward hand to blacken the memory of the duke of Gloucester with almost every leading crime that had marked the dark and savage æra in which he lived. From the introduction of the art of printing, Fabian could have gained no advantage; for that great invention was then in its infancy, and England had hitherto felt but little of its beneficial influence: it would be equally idle to imagine that he could have then derived information respecting such an occurrence from any authentic source that we do not now possess; and all, therefore, that he can be supposed, or even professes, to have known respecting it, must have been obtained from popular report — the last fountain to which the historian should have recourse: for it may be observed in every age how prone human nature has been to adopt things in a marvellous and romantic light; how opinions have changed with times and circumstances, and how facts have been perverted by the predominant interests, the prejudices, and party feelings of the day; and a moment's reflection will teach us how difficult it might be, even in our enlightened age, and surrounded with all the advantages we possess, to collect such an unprejudiced account of many long passed popular occurrences, of which ourselves had not been witnesses, as would be worthy the implicit belief of posterity. Hall did not write till upwards of half a century after Henry's death, and, therefore, his cannot be looked upon as an original authority, any more than Grafton's, Hollinshed's, and Stow's, who wrote successively in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and who, as relates to this mysterious event, have left us little more than transcripts of what he and Fabian had previously recorded concerning it.

---

[z] The writer was evidently in a situation to know the principal occurrences of the day; for we find him, almost immediately after Henry's death, sent embassador to the duke of Burgundy.—*Hist. Croyland, Cont. p.* 557.

Various reasons, however, present themselves to support the idea that Henry's death was violent, and almost as many may be adduced to clear the house of York of the infamy attendant on such a barbarous deed. It may be justly said that experience must have sufficiently convinced Edward that his rival's death was not less necessary to his own safety than to the tranquillity of the nation; for, although he was a prisoner, and there was nothing to be dreaded from the personal opposition of a prince so meek in disposition, and so totally destitute of capacity, still, if he remained alive, his name and injuries would ever be made a rallying point and pretext for the scattered remnants of the Lancastrian party. Should his safety during his former long imprisonment be advanced as an argument against his murder, it may be answered, that his life was at that time a matter of perfect indifference; for, had he been put to death, his son, though only a youth, was then alive to succeed him — a prince of the highest promise, and whose talents and personal accomplishments were calculated to render him a far more dangerous competitor. But the scene was now changed: Henry was left the only hope and conspicuous head of his house: prince Edward had been put to death after the battle of Tewkesbury; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a tyrant who could sanction the cold-blooded murder of the son, would not hesitate to prescribe to the father a like expeditious course to another world; and more particularly, irritated as the Yorkists must then have been by the formidable insurrection under the bastard of Falconbridge in his favor. The reputed suddenness of his death; its alleged occurrence immediately after King Edward's return to London, and the oft-tried expedient of exposing his corpse to the public view of the people, are also circumstances which have been advanced to support the belief that this unhappy prince came to a cruel and untimely end. Yet on the other hand, it is worthy of remembrance, that the battle of Tewkesbury was so far back as the 4th of May, and, as the king's return to London was not till the twenty-first, it may be asked whether, if Henry's death had been meditated, it be not more probable that the design would have been executed by Edward's orders during his own absence from the capital? Such a course would have been less liable to fix the stain of murder on his name, and at no time could it have been more easily or more securely effected; as lord Rivers, the king's brother-in-law, had then the custody of the Tower, and, of course, the charge of all the prisoners: his immediate death too might have been an effectual check to the rising in the north; it would have damped the ardor of the earl of Pembroke, who was then raising forces in Wales; and would it not at once have defeated the object of Falconbridge, who was at the same time vigorously besieging the capital, in hopes of obtaining the captive monarch's freedom? It is certain, moreover, that Henry was of a most weakly constitution, and had long suffered under an ill state of health; and, therefore, when we reflect on his melancholy change of fortune; the entire ruin of his house; the slaughter of his friends at Barnet and at Tewkesbury; the murder of his only child, and the captivity of his queen; can any thing appear to us more natural, than that the baneful effects of grief should, by course of nature, have terminated his unhappy life? Indeed, we have already seen, that some coeval writers did record, that it really *was* under this accumulated weight of troubles that he sunk. That "the common fame went," that his death was violent, we need not doubt: we know how ready the people always are, and ever have been, to cast unjust odium on the government; and, when we consider the place in which he died, it would have been next to impossible that Henry, who was looked upon and adored as a saint, should have there passed out of this transitory life without the prevalence of such reports as to the nature of his death. Even in our own day, would not such be the case? Had Providence ordained, that a distinguished baronet, while a prisoner in the Tower, and in the very zenith of popular favor, should have been called from his earthly existence, would not the people have attached some mystery to his death, and have cast reflections on the heads of that free, mild, and equitable constitution under which we have the happiness to live? And, if a more exalted personage, whom the people a few years past followed and deluded with a rage allied to madness, had happened to have been imprisoned in the Tower, and there had died, would not half the world have been sufficiently base or credulous to have imputed her death to violence? And, although no rational and upright being could have looked upon such an imputation in any other light than the vilest and most unjust of calumnies, yet the historian, fifty years hence, might have been so far misled by it, as to transmit such an account of the event to posterity as might in future ages have been regarded with suspicion or with doubt. But, it may be said, Henry lived in a more barbarous age.

The statement, that this unhappy prince was found dead in his prison the very morning after the king's return to London is certainly incorrect: Hollinshed allows that this was not the case, and we have more satisfactory evidence that he lived several days, at least, after Edward's triumphant entry into the capital.[a] But, suppose we yield to the general and not unplausible opinion, that the dethroned monarch, being a prisoner in the Tower, was put to death there by the ruling party, what ground have we for attributing his murder to the duke of Gloucester? It rests on none but popular report, and that too at a time when prejudices ran so high against his memory, as to load it indiscriminately with all the enormities of that rude and barbarous period. The chronicle of Croyland says not a word to justify such a presumption, and all that Fabian asserts, who wrote at a distance of at least thirty years after the event occurred, he acknowledges to be founded on no better authority than common fame, and to be only one of the many tales that were told respecting the manner of his death. We may freely admit that it was to Edward's interest that his fallen rival should not remain alive, and we may allow the probability that his death was violent; but, if we suffer ourselves to believe that the duke of Gloucester was the perpetrator of that bloody deed, we expose ourselves to the imputation of weakness and credulity. If Henry's death were resolved on by the court, would it have been necessary that the king's own brother should have incurred the odium of his murder? On such occasions did arbitrary princes ever want tools? Was Edward's court so pure, or was the age so virtuous and refined, that it could furnish no assassin but one of the princes of the blood; and that too a youth of only eighteen years of age? But it is pretended that Gloucester committed this act "without knowledge or commandment of the king;" who, it is added, "would undoubtedly, if he had intended such thing, have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born brother!"[b] Could any thing be more incredible? Is it likely, that Gloucester should, in cold blood, without authority, and, above all, without any personal interest, have made a purposed journey to the Tower to stain his hands with the murder of this holy and unoffending being? What motive could he have had for such an act? *He* could not then by the remotest possibility have looked for any advantage from his death; for, however boundless might have been his ambition, Edward was at that time but rising into the prime of life, and there was not only his numerous issue, but his brother, the evil-fated Clarence, with every propect of a family from his recent marriage,[c] to bar him from any prospect of the crown. Nor can it be argued, that he was incited to such a deed by personal enmity or revenge; for Henry had never offended him, but, on the contrary, so far commanded his veneration and respect, that, after Richard had seated himself upon the throne, he removed his body from its primary resting place, and had it solemnly entombed at Windsor — an act by which, had he been his murderer, he would have been indiscreetly reviving a rumour that clogged his name with infamy.

---

[a] Vide Rymer, tom. xi. p. 712.

---

[b] See Hall, Grafton, and Hollinshed, in the Life of King Edward V.

[c] The duke of Clarence had, a little before, married the eldest daughter of the earl of Warwick.

But these are not the only arguments that may be justly and reasonably adduced to clear the memory of the duke of Gloucester from every charge connected with Henry's death. Our historians agree in stating, that King Edward's return to London, after the battle of Tewkesbury, was on the 21st of May; and we are informed,[d] that after resting there one day, or two at most, he forthwith took his journey into Kent with all his army, in pursuit of the bastard of Falconbridge, who had but just been defeated in his attempt to win the capital. If, therefore, this be correct, it at once proves that the duke of Gloucester was not in London at the time of Henry's decease; for we know that he marched with part of the army before his brother into Kent, where he took a conspicuous part in punishing and suppressing the rebels; and we have satisfactory testimony that Henry lived at least up to the 25th of May.

During this last confinement, which ended with Henry's life, he was under charge of two esquires, named Ratclif and Sayer, who, with a variety of other persons, were placed in the Tower to attend to his safe custody; and the following memoranda of payments allowed at the Exchequer, throw some considerable light on the nature of his treatment and restrictions.[e]

"To Robert Radclyff, in money delivered to him for expenses of Henry of Windsor, late in deed, but not of right, king of England, xl. s."

"To William Sayer, esquire, in money to him delivered, for expenses of the said Henry, xx. s."

"To Robert Cosyn, in money to him delivered, for robes, beds, and other necessaries provided for the said Henry, being within the Tower, x. li."

"To Robert Ratclif and William Sayer, esquires, in money to them delivered, namely, at one time, vj. li. ix. s. vj. d. as well for their wages and maintenance, as for the wages and maintenance, of thirty-six other persons abiding at the Tower aforesaid for the safe keeping of the said Henry, for seven days, the first day beginning on the twenty-ninth of April, each receiving vj. d. per day, for the time aforesaid; and, at another time, x. s. for the maintenance of the said Henry for the time aforesaid."

---

[d] Hollinshed.

[e] Rymer, tom. xi. pp. 712, 713.

"To Robert Cosyn, in money to him delivered at one time, iv. li., and at another time, xl. s. for divers necessaries by him bought for the said Henry of Windsor."

"To William Sayer, esquire, in money to him delivered for the maintenance of the said Henry of Windsor, and eleven persons attending within the Tower for the custody of the said Henry, l. s."

"To the same William Sayer, in money to him delivered for the expenses and diet of the said Henry, and ten persons attending within the Tower for the custody of the said Henry, namely, for fourteen days, the first beginning on the eleventh day of May last past, vi. li. v. s."

"To Robert Ratclyf, esquire, in money to him delivered, namely, at one time ten marks, and, at another time, five marks, for the costs and expenses of himself and twenty-two men attending with him within the Tower upon the custody of the said Henry."

"To William Sayer, in money to him delivered, namely, at one time, vii. s. for the said William and others attending within the Tower for the custody of the said Henry for fourteen days, and for their maintenance for the same time; and at another time iii. s. x. d. for the diet of the said Henry for two days."

After Henry's death, his body was taken "with bylles and gleaves as he was thider brought,"[f] to St. Paul's, where it lay for some days upon a bier, exposed to the view of the people:[g]

---

[f] Fabian.

[g] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. *556*. Fabian. This was done not less to convince the people of his death, than to impress them with a belief that he died naturally: the bodies of King Richard II., Humphry the good duke of Gloucester, and of Richard earl of Warwick, and the marquis Montague, who fell in the battle of Barnet, had been exposed after their deaths for the same purpose.

thence, in a barge solemnly prepared with torches,[h] it was conveyed by water to Chertsey to be buried, and the following interesting memoranda respecting his funeral must close the scene on this unhappy prisoner.

"To Hugh Brice, in money to him delivered for such monies by him paid for clergy, linen cloth, spices, and other ordinary expenses by him laid out and disbursed about the burial of the said Henry of Windsor, who died within the Tower of London;[i] and for wages and rewards of divers men carrying torches, from the Tower aforesaid to the cathedral church of St. Paul, and thence to Chertsey with the body, xv. l. iii. s. vi. d. ob."

"To master Richard Martyn, in money to him delivered, namely, at one time, ix. l. x. s. xj. d. for so much money by him paid for twenty-eight ells of linen cloth of Holland, and expenses, as well within the Tower aforesaid at the last departure of the said Henry, as at Chertsey on the day of his burial, and for reward given to divers soldiers of Calais watching round the body, and for hire of barges with the masters and sailors rowing by the water of Thames to Chertsey aforesaid; and at another time, viii. l. xii. s. iii. d. for so much money by him paid to the four orders of brethren within the city of London, and to the brethren of the Holy Cross there, and in other works of charity, namely, to the Friars Carmelites xx. s., to the Augustine Friars xx. s., to the Friars Minors xx. s., to the Friars Preachers, for obsequies and masses to be celebrated, xl. s., and to the said Friars of the Holy Cross x. s., and for obsequies and masses to be said at Chertsey aforesaid, on the day of the burial of the said Henry, lii. s. iij. d."[k]

King Henry was not the only distinguished personage that Edward's recovery of the throne doomed to confinement in the Tower: GEORGE NEVIL ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, and the great but ill fortuned Margaret, were also prisoners in that fortress at the time Henry there so mysteriously closed his days. The archbishop, who was brother to the earl of Warwick and chancellor of the kingdom, was left in charge of the capital, and in attendance on Henry's person, on the first news of Edward's re-landing in England; and in hopes of exciting the Londoners in his favour, he held a meeting at St. Paul's, and afterwards mounted the King Henry on horseback, and made a procession through the principal streets of the city.[k] But, on Edward's nearer approach, he found the people bent on hailing his return, and therefore secretly sent a messenger to meet him, to promise obedience and obtain his pardon;[l] and it appears to have been with the consent, if not assistance, of that prelate, that he entered London and got possession of his rival's person. Edward, however, had no sooner re-seated himself on the throne, by his final victory over the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury, than, regardless of the pardon he had granted,[m] he deprived the archbishop, and sent him to prison in the Tower, and thence some time afterwards transferred him to the castle of Guynes. QUEEN MARGARET escaped from the battle of Tewkesbury, but was soon afterwards discovered in a small convent in Worcestershire, and delivered to the king,[n] who consigned her to a long and miserable confinement in the Tower.[o] She remained a prisoner till the year 1475; when, by the treaty of Piquigni, Edward obtained the sum of fifty thousand crowns for restoring her to her friends.[p]

---

[h] Such is the account left us by the historian of Croyland, but Hall, Grafton, and Hollinshed, who are not willing to allow that any decent respect was paid to his burial, tell us that his corpse was conveyed to its resting place at Chertsey, "without priest or clearke, torch or taper, singing or saying;" though the above payments shew to the contrary.

[i] "Qui infra Turrim Londoniæ diem suum clausit extremum."

[k] Rymer, tom. xi. pp. 712, 713.

In 1477, the Tower was the scene of another event, the interest of which, like that attached to the death of Henry, is rather enhanced than diminished by the obscurity in which it is enveloped — the imprisonment and extraordinary end of GEORGE DUKE OF CLARENCE, the king's brother; who, according to popular report, terminated his days within the Tower, by drowning in a butt of Malmsey.

Clarence had been led by a turbulent and unsteady disposition to act a conspicuous part in the late revolution that had momentarily deprived Edward of his power; but, on his brother's return into England, he had deserted those with whom he had sworn alliance, and had facilitated his recovery of the throne: he had fought on his side in the fields of Barnet and of Tewkesbury; and the favours with which Edward subsequently loaded him [q] would lead us to suppose that all animosities had been forgotten. But it was more easy to dissemble than forgive: their mutual injuries had sunk too deep to be effaced, and it is highly probable that no real friendship ever afterwards existed between Clarence and the king. Backwardness and reserve in the former, occasioned by a consciousness of his own perfidious dealing, produced coolness and distrust: the queen and her relations eagerly fomented this unnatural feeling between the brothers; and unkind offices on the one side, and rash expressions of resentment on the other, speedily grew into that violent animosity which led to the fate of Clarence, and has left on Edward's name a darker stain than all his other cruelties.

---

[k] Fabian, Hall, and Hollinshed.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Vide Rot. Pat. 11 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 24.

[n] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 555. Hall. Hollinshed.

[o] Henry's Hist. of Britain, vol. ix. p. 222. Hume, vol. iii. p. 15—21.

[p] Rymer, tom. xii. p. 15—21.

The duke was evidently of a hasty, fickle, and discontented turn of mind, and there was no great difficulty in provoking such a man to some inconsiderate act, whereby his enemies might effect his downfal. His prospects of marriage with the heiress of Burgundy were thwarted and ruined through jealousy, and to gratify the queen and her ambitious kindred — an injury which sat heavy at his heart: he seldom appeared at court: silence and resentment marked his carriage, and an iniquitous proceeding against Thomas Burdet, an esquire of Arrow, in Warwickshire, and John Stacey, a learned clergyman, two of the duke's most valued dependants, increased his anger and brought his harassed feelings into action.

Burdet, for an incautious expression, which might have been a subject for laughter had it fallen from any one unconnected with the duke, was sent to the Tower, and, on this frivolous charge, he was arraigned and condemned for treason; [r] and Stacey, whose learning in mathematics and astronomy had brought him under the imputation of necromancy, was also tried and put to death for that imaginary crime! They were both executed at

---

[q] See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 164. Rot. Parl. vol. vi. pp. 126. 166.

[r] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 561.

Tyburn, employing their last breath in the protestation of their innocence;[s] and their patron, Clarence, irritated by this cruel act, entered the council-chamber on the following day, attended by a celebrated divine, who had assisted the sufferers in their last moments, and, having recited the declarations they had made, both in private and in public, of their innocence, retired.[t]

To those who were watching for an opportunity to satiate their vengeance, this inconsiderate step appeared sufficient. The duke was summoned before the council in the king's palace; at which, to secure the popularity of the measure, the mayor and aldermen of London were present, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. A parliament was then called, and, on the 16th of January, 1478, Clarence was brought to his trial at the bar of the house of lords. Edward pleaded in person against his unhappy brother, and to such an advocate none dared to answer but the prisoner:[u] we are informed too, by a contemporary historian, who in all probability was present, that persons were even brought in to give evidence against him, who appeared to many rather as acting the part of prosecutors than that of witnesses.[x]

Among other counts of a frivolous nature, Clarence was charged with having conspired "the destruction, and disinheriting of the king and his issue, and the subversion of the politic rule of the nation;" he was accused of arraigning the public justice, by maintaining the innocence of persons condemned in the courts of judicature, and of inveighing against the king, for ordering their prosecution; it was alleged that he had endeavoured to withdraw the hearts and allegiance of the king's subjects, by giving out that his majesty "wrought by necromancy, and used craft to poison his subjects such as he pleased!"—it was declared, that the said duke, "being in full purpose to exalt himself to the throne, had falsely and untruely noised, and published abroad, that the king was illegitimate, and not fit to reign;"—he was charged also with having shewn, "that the king intended to consume him, in like manner as a candle consumeth in burning, whereby he would in brief time quite him!"—and it was likewise stated, "that the said duke, to bring his traiterous purposes to pass, had caused divers of his servants to go into sundry parts to stir up the king's natural subjects, in great number, to be ready in harness at an hour's warning, to take part with him, and to levy war against the king's most royal person, thereby to obtain to him and his heirs the crown and royal dignity of the realm."[y]

---

[s] Continuatio Hist. Croyland, p. 561. [t] Ibid. [u] Ibid. [x] Ibid.

Such were the alleged grounds on which the duke of Clarence, "with the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, assembled in parliament," was attainted of high treason, and condemned to death![z] After his trial, he was returned to his prison in the Tower; the commons, with their speaker, appeared at the bar of the upper house, and prayed for the execution of his sentence;[a] and Henry, duke of Buckingham, being specially appointed to the office of high steward of England, to carry it into effect,[b] the duke was thereupon privately put to death in the Tower on the 18th of February:[c] but the precise manner of his end has never been satisfactorily discovered; though it was the vulgar report that he was drowned in a butt of malmsey[d] — a tale which, in all probability, owed its origin to the duke's great partiality for that liquor. The historian of Croyland abbey, who gives a circumstantial and very feeling account of all the measures pursued against him, only speaks of his execution having been private, without a word respecting the malmsey; but Fabian, and the other chroniclers above referred to, mention it without hesitation; and sir Thomas More, who is followed by some subsequent writers, improves upon the story, and would fain add his death to the list of crimes with which he has indiscriminately charged the memory of Richard duke of Gloucester.[e]

---

[y] Rot. Parl. vol. vi. pp. 193, 194. [z] Ibid. p. 195. Cont. Hist. Croyland, p. 562.

[a] Cont. Hist. Croyland, p. 562. [b] Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 195.

[c] Hist. Croyland. Cont. p. 562. Fabian.

[d] Fabian. Polidore Virgil. Hall. Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.

[e] See sir Thomas More's Life of King Edw. V., Hall, Hollinshed, &c.—The forwardness of More to impute this and other crimes, for which there is not even a shadow of reason, to the duke of Gloucester, shews how bitterly his mind was prejudiced, and how little credit is therefore due to all his narratives concerning him.

During the short period that intervened between the death of King Edward the Fourth and the accession of the seventh Henry to the throne,[f] the persons of most particular note confined in the Tower were, the two young princes whom we have already noticed,[g] the archbishop of York, Morton bishop of Ely, lord Stanley, and Jane Shore, the celebrated concubine of the late king; and to these may be added sir Thomas Selengen, sir George Browne, sir Robert Clifford, and a gentleman named Collingbourn.

The two prelates and **Lord Stanley** were arrested on the 13th of June 1483, at the famous council in the Tower, at which **Lord Hastings** was also seized and put to immediate death. The story, as related with so much dramatic effect by sir Thomas More, is, that the duke of Gloucester re-entered the council-chamber after a short absence, with a deadly frown settled on his brow: he bit his lips, and after sitting a while, began, to the great astonishment of all the council, by asking, "What they were worthy of that compassed and imagined his destruction, who was so near of blood to the king, and protector of his royal person and his realm?" To which lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain, after a moment's surprise, answered, "Surely, my lord, they are worthy to be punished as traitors, whosoever they be." Then, quoth the protector, "that is yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and other with her," meaning the queen: "Ye shall see in what wise, that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their witchcraft wasted my body;" and "therewith turned up his doublet sleeve to the elbow of his left arm; where he shewed a wearish withered arm and small, as it was never other, and there upon every man's mind misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but quarrel; for they wist that the queen was too wise to go about any such folly." Nevertheless, the lord Hastings, whom sir Thomas More incorrectly states to have been the protector of Jane Shore from the time of King Edward's death,[h] replied, "Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "What!" quoth the protector, "thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and ands; I tell thee, they have done so; and that I will make good on thy body, traitor!" And thereupon, striking his hand upon the table, a cry of "treason" was raised in the adjoining chamber; and Gloucester hastily rising, and going to the door, a body of armed men rushed in:—a violent scuffle ensued: one of them, with a poll-axe, gave the lord Stanley a serious wound on the head. Hastings was seized: "I arrest thee, traitor," said the duke of Gloucester. "Me, my lord?" "Yea, thee," replied the duke, "and I would have thee shrive; for, by St. Paul, I will not dine till I have seen thy head off!" And "so was the lord Hastings brought forth into the green beside the chapel, within the Tower, and there, without time for confession or repentance, his head was stricken off upon a log of timber." Then were the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley, who had also been put under arrest, securely lodged in different prisons in the Tower. The archbishop and lord Stanley, after remaining some time under close restraint, were released; but the bishop of Ely, who subsequently proved the great instrument of Henry the Seventh's advancement to the throne, was conveyed under charge of the duke of Buckingham to his castle of Brecknock, in Wales.

---

[f] Edward IV. died April 19th, 1483; and the battle of Bosworth was fought August 23, 1485.

[g] See pp. 48—60. See also the account of Perkin Warbeck.

According to the account left us by sir Thomas More of these transactions, JANE SHORE was committed to prison, and her property confiscated, immediately after the execution of lord Hastings and the arrest of the other counsellors. Failing in his design of convicting her on the ridiculous charge of sorcery, the protector consigned her to all the severity of the church, and she was sentenced by the bishop of London to do public penance for her incontinent life. She was taken in procession bare-footed, through the streets, with a burning taper in her hand, to St. Paul's cross, where she made an open confession of her only great crime. She bore her disgrace with much becoming fortitude; and the gracefulness of her manner, with the deep sense of shame manifested in her downcast looks, gained her the pity of every feeling heart.

---

[h] Vide Rymer, tom. xii. 204. Fabian, and sir Thomas More's Hist. of Edw. V.

> " Submissive, sad, and lowly was her look;
> A burning taper in her hand she bore,
> And on her shoulders carelessly confused,
> In loose neglect, her lovely tresses hung;
> Her streaming eyes bent ever on the earth,
> Except when, in some bitter pang of sorrow,
> To heav'n she seem'd in fervent zeal to raise,
> And beg that mercy man deny'd her here."

After this severe punishment she was set at liberty: she lived to an advanced age, but in great distress; deserted even by those, to whom, during her prosperous days, she had done the greatest services. " She was born in London, worshipfully brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon: her husband an honest citizen, young and goodly, and of good substance."[i] " Proper she was and fair; nothing in her body you would have changed, unless you would have wished her somewhat higher. Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty, as in her pleasant behaviour: for a proper wit she had, and could both read well and write; merry in company; ready and quick of answer; neither mute, nor full of babble; sometimes taunting without displeasure, and not without disport. The king would say he had three concubines, who in three divers properties diversely excelled: one the merriest, another the wyliest, and the third the holiest in the realm. The first was Jane Shore, in whom he therefore took especial pleasure: for many he had, but her he loved; and his favour, to say the truth, she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief. Where the king took displeasure she would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of favour, she would bring them to his grace: for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon: of great forfeitures she got men remission; and finally, in many weighty suits, she stood men in great stead, either for none or very small rewards, and those rather gay than rich; either for that she was content with the deed's self well done, or because she delighted to be sued unto, and to shew what she was able to do with the king."[k]—"But she is now unbefriended and worn out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great favour with the prince, and after as great suite and seeking to, with all those that then had business to speed, as many men were in their times, who are now famous only by the infamy of their ill deeds. Her doings were not much less, albeit they are much less remembered, because they were not so evil; for men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble, and whoso doeth us a good turn, we write it in dust; which is not worst proved by her; for now she beggeth of many living, who at this day had begged, if she had never been."[l]

---

[i] Sir T. More.

The two knights were imprisoned, tried, and executed, for favouring the pretensions of the earl of Richmond.[m] They were both beheaded on Tower-hill; and Collingbourn, who also suffered for his attachment to the same cause, but principally for a pun on Richard and three of his ministers, was there put to death, in the most shocking and brutal manner. The king's cognizance or crest was a wild boar, and this unfortunate man had incurred Richard's vengeance, by writing

"The cat, the rat, and Lovel our dogge,
Rule all England under an hogge!"

meaning Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovel. He was also charged with engaging a person to convey information to the refugees in France, and with having stuck on the doors of St. Paul's church, various rhymes against King Richard and his government;[n] and being tried and found guilty, he was brought to the gallows on Tower-hill, but before he was dead, his body was taken down, and his bowels cut out and burnt before his face![o]

On the accession of King Henry the Seventh, the Tower became the prison of several distinguished characters. The Earl of Surrey, taken in the battle of Bosworth, was sent to close confinement in that fortress, where he remained till 1489; and, shortly afterwards, Edward Earl of Warwick, son of the ill-fated Clarence, was conveyed thither to suffer a melancholy confinement of many years, and finally to become a victim to Henry's dread of the house of York.

---

[k] Sir T. More.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Fabian and Hollinshed.
[n] Hollinshed.
[o] Fabian.

This prince, who was the last male of entire blood of the royal line of Plantagenet, had been kept under restraint during the reign of King Richard the Third, at the castle of Sheriff Hoton, in Yorkshire; and no sooner had Henry, by his victory at Bosworth, raised himself to the throne, than he despatched sir Robert Willoughby to conduct him to the Tower of London; and there he was shut up so close a prisoner, that in the course of the following year it became generally noised abroad that the king meant to put him to a secret death; and this case, says lord Verulam, " was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect on the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another king Richard." But the story was soon changed! It became a general report that he had escaped out of the Tower, and the fervent interest which seemed every where to be felt in his fate, induced that miserable impostor, Lambert Simnel, or rather his tutors, to change his character from that he at first assumed, in order to personate a prince whose captivity and sufferings had so deeply engaged the hearts and feelings of the nation; and so well did this stratagem succeed, especially in Ireland, that Henry found it expedient to produce his prisoner before the world, to show the imposition that had so easily been practised upon it. To this end the earl of Warwick was taken on a Sunday, in procession, through the principal streets of the capital, and conducted to St. Paul's; where it was so ordered that many of the nobility, especially those whose fidelity the king suspected, or who were best acquainted with Warwick's person, should converse with him, to satisfy themselves and the nation of Simnel's imposture, and so to check the progress of rebellion.[p]

After having thus been exposed to the public view of the people, this unfortunate prince was reconducted to his solitary abode in the Tower, and from that time little or nothing was known concerning him till the year 1499, when the blood-thirsting, cold-hearted tyrant, by whom he had so long been shut up from the world within the dreary walls of a prison, formed an excuse for taking away his life, on the very improbable ground that he had planned an escape out of the Tower, in conjunction with that ill-fated youth, best known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck, who was at the same time a prisoner in that fortress, and to whose interesting story we shall presently have occasion to refer. On this charge, but in truth to answer political purposes,[q] was Warwick tried and condemned before the earl of Oxford, then high steward of England, on the 21st of November; and, on the 28th of the same month, he was beheaded on Tower-hill.[r]

---

[p] Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII., Hall, Hollinshed, Stow, &c.

Thus ended not only the life of this innocent and persecuted prince, but with it the acknowledged male line of the Plantagenets; and it would be difficult to find in history a case of evil fortune parallel with his. A victim to the jealousy of two possessors of the throne, he had been a prisoner from his childhood: without a crime, and without a fault but his high birth, he had been secluded from the world; had been deprived of all the benefits of his nature and his being; and was, at last, bereft of life itself to allay suspicion in a crafty tyrant.

The principal writers, on whose authority the story of Perkin Warbeck is founded, are Fabian, Polidore Virgil, Hall, and Grafton, and to these may be added the later and more highly embellished story of lord Bacon;[s] but all the notices which have been left us on this subject, are in the highest degree unsatisfactory: they are derived either from contradictory statements put forth by the ruling party at the time, or are transmitted by writers, whose authority we have the strongest grounds for questioning; not only because they discover violent prejudices against this claimant to the throne, but because they wrote at periods, when, if the truth were in their power, they dared not to disclose it to the world.

---

[q] It is stated that Ferdinand, king of Spain, had refused his daughter in marriage with prince Arthur, on the ground of Warwick's title to the crown.

[r] Bacon's Hist. of Hen. VII. Polidore Virgil, Hall, Fabian, &c.

[s] Fabian wrote in the reign of Henry VII., but we derive little information on this subject from him. Polidore Virgil was an Italian, sent into England to collect the papal tribute, about the year 1500, and he began his history five years afterwards, at the request of Henry, to whom he dedicated it. Hall, who was a sage of the law, and a contemporary, compiled his Chronicle in the reign of King Henry VIII. Grafton afterwards performed his work, which, as relates to this subject, corresponds with Hall; and it is well known that lord Bacon flourished in the reign of James I.

As an introduction to their accounts of this mysterious character, most of our writers are studious to impress on us, that Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, bore an insatiable hatred to the house of Lancaster, and that she was constantly plotting some new way to disturb Henry in his possession of the throne. They tell us that she did, by all means possible, maintain and spread abroad that the younger of her nephews was not murdered in the Tower, but was still alive; that she employed persons to look out for graceful youths to make Plantagenets, and that at last she did light on one in whom all things met as could be wished, for a counterfeit of Richard, duke of York![t] or, in the language of Hall, "for her purpose she espied a certain young man, of visage beautiful, of countenance demure, of wit subtle, crafty, and pregnant, called Perkin Warbeck." And he goes on to inform us that this youth, "travelling many countries, could speak English and many other languages, and from the baseness of his birth was known to none almost, and, only for the gain of his living, from his childhood, was of necessity compelled to seek and frequent divers realms and regions!"

The duchess, thinking him fit for her purpose, "and one not unlike to the duke of York, kept him a certain space with her privily, and instructed him with such diligence, both in the secrets and common affairs of England, and of the lineage, descent and order of the house of York, that he could tell all that was taught him promptly, without any difficulty or sign of subornation;" and besides, "he kept such a princely countenance, and so counterfeit a majesty royal, that all in a manner did firmly believe he was extracted of the noble house and family of the dukes of York; for surely it was a gift given to that noble progeny, as of nature in the root planted, that all the sequel of that line and stock did study and devise how to be equivalent in honor and fame with their forefathers and noble progenitors." [u]

---

[t] Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII.

We are next told that this youth was sent by the duchess into Portugal, where he remained for about a year; that the prospect of a war between England and France then seemed to present a favorable opportunity for his introduction to the world in his princely character; and that he was accordingly instructed to embark for Ireland. He landed at Cork; and, "within a short space, he entered so far into the favors of the Irish governors, and so seriously persuaded and allured them to his purpose, that the greatest lords and princes of the country attributed such faith and credit to his words, as if the thing had been true indeed; and, as though he had been the very son of King Edward, they honoured, exalted, and applauded him with all reverence and due honour, promising him aid and assistance in all things necessary to the feat of war!"

News of these events reached France; Charles, the reigning king, sent messengers to invite him to his court; and on Perkin's arrival, he was received and entertained in a royal manner, and had a guard of honor assigned him, commanded by the lord Congreshal. At Paris he was resorted to by sir George Neville, sir John Taylor, and about an hundred other English gentlemen: but his abode in that city was only of short duration. Henry saw the necessity of peace with foreign powers, in order that he might defend his own usurped throne; and this prospect was no sooner opened to the French king, than he gave Warbeck secret intimation to quit his kingdom! He departed for Flanders, and arrived at the court of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, where he was received with great joy, but not without a degree either of policy or circumspection; for "divers and sundry times in open audience and solemn presence, he was made to declare and shew by what means he was preserved from death and destruction; in what countries he had wandered and sought friendship; and finally, by what chance of fortune he came to her court and presence."— And "after this she assigned him a guard of thirty persons, in a livery of murrey and blue, and highly honoured him as a great estate, and called him the White Rose, prince of England."

---

[u] Hall's Chron.

Nor did Perkin receive less respect from the nobility and people of Flanders generally: it was believed "that he had been conveyed away at the first danger, by some faithful friend of King Edward, his father, to a strange country; and the fame thereof was immediately blown over all the country of Flanders, and the territories thereabouts." "But in England it was blazed in every place sooner than a man could think or devise it. Here, more than in other places, it was received for an infallible verity and most sure truth, not only of the common people, but also of divers noble and worshipful men of no small estimation;"—"and after this devulgation, that Richard, son to King Edward, was yet living, and had in great honor amongst the Flemings, there began sedition to spring up on every side;" men of all classes stole away into Flanders to join his standard; and "many noblemen conspired together, and, as though they knew perfectly that this Perkin was the indubitable son of King Edward the Fourth, solicited, stirred, and allured to their opinion all such as were friends and fautors of the house of York."

Indeed, the realm was divided into parties and factions; and "no man was quiet in his own mind, but his brains and senses daily laboured and beat about this great and weighty matter;" and so strong was the impression of its truth, that it was soon determined to send messengers to the lady Margaret, to know when Richard, duke of York, might come conveniently into England, to the intent that they, being thereof certified, might be in a readiness to help and succour him at his first arrival."[x]

The persons fixed upon for this embassy were, sir Robert Clifford and William Barley. They passed over into Flanders, and arrived at the court of the duchess of Burgundy; and sir Robert Clifford "when he had seen and well advised the young man, believed surely that he was extracted from the blood royal, and he very son of King Edward the Fourth; and therefore he wrote a letter of credit and confidence into England to his company and fellows of his conspiracy, and, to put them out of all doubt, he affirmed that he knew him to be King Edward's son, by his face and other lineaments of his body;"[y] and when these letters came into England, it was openly divulged and published, "that it was true, and not feigned, that was spoken and said abroad of the duke of York."[z]

---

[x] Hall's Chronicle. Polidore Virgil.

King Henry was not blind to these transactions; he placed guards on the coasts, to stop the passages across the sea; he took equal precautions to suppress all conventicles or assemblies of people at home; and at length saw the necessity not only of adopting measures to throw discredit upon Perkin's character, but to discover the real strength of his party.

To satisfy the world that Warbeck was an impostor, we are told that he sent messengers abroad, especially into Flanders, "to search and pry out of what progeny this misnamed Richard was descended and propagated," promising rewards to such as would give him information; that these persons sailed into France, and having separated, to travel in different provinces, some of them, on coming to Tournay, "were certified by the testimony of many honest persons, that this feigned duke came but of a low stock and of a base parentage, and was named there Peter Warbeck!"[a] "Whereupon, seeing that now the fraud was discovered, he determined to have it published with all diligence, both in England and foreign countries;" he sent, also, sir William Ponynges, and William Warham, doctor of civil laws, as ambassadors to Philip, archduke of Burgoyne, to require the dismissal of Perkin; and Warham is said to have forcibly pressed the measure, and to have censured, in strong terms, the conduct of the duchess, in having fostered him in her court. But the archduke and his council, "after long deliberation whether Perkin were the true son of King Edward the Fourth or not,"[b] answered them, that, "in order to preserve amity with the king of England, the archduke would not aid or assist him; but, as his mother was absolute in the lands of her dowry, he had no control over her will or actions."[c]

---

[y] Hall's Chron.
[z] Ibid.
[a] Polidore Virgil. Hall. Grafton.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Ibid.

Spies were sent into Flanders, who, by pretending to have fled to join the duke of York, might develope the plans that were in view, whilst other persons were employed to entice Clifford and Barley back again to their allegiance. Clifford, by promises of pardon and rewards, was gained over, and having also, by these means, discovered the principal supporters of Perkin's cause, both at home and abroad, Henry suddenly caused John Ratcliff lord Fitzwater, sir Simon Montfort, sir Thomas Thwaytes, William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, Thomas Astwood, and several ecclesiastics, to be apprehended and committed to prison; and sir Robert Clifford's arrival in England, was followed by the impeachment also of sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain; who, as is well known, was consigned to an unmerited death, on the mere ground of his having said that, " if he were sure that the young man was King Edward the Fourth's son, he would never bear arms against him."

However discouraging, Perkin was not dismayed by these events, nor was the aid of his friends withdrawn: he was furnished with ships, and having gotten together a considerable force of well-appointed men, of various nations, he sailed, in the month of July 1495, and made an attempt on the coast of Kent; but there his reception was not of a friendly kind, and he returned to Flanders. He then steered his course again for Ireland, and, after a short say at Cork, proceeded with his company[d] to the western coast of Scotland; and his entertainment in that country forms a prominent feature in his history. Messengers welcomed his arrival; he was conducted in state to the royal presence, and was held in great honor by the Scottish king, who afterwards acknowledged him as duke of York; and " that this might be more apparent to the people that he was so indeed, he caused the lady Catherine, daughter of Alexander, earl of Huntley, his nigh kinsman, and of high lignage, in Scotland, to be espoused to him."

---

[d] A letter written by lord Bothwell to Henry VII. states, that Warbeck's company, when in Scotland, was fourteen hundred men, of all nations.—*Bibl. Cotton. Vesp. C. xiv. fol.* 152.

Nor were these the only pledges that the king of Scots gave of his sincerity in Warbeck's cause; he even sacrificed his plate, jewels, and other valuables, to furnish means of equipping an army;[e] and with this, preceded by a proclamation in the name of King Richard the Fourth,[f] he marched with him into England. But after a long and unavailing struggle in his behalf, James was obliged, by policy, to listen to terms of peace with Henry; and his guest was compelled once more to seek his fortune in another land. Perkin, with his wife, and the remnant of his company, sailed a third time for Cork, and thence, at the invitation of the Cornish rebels, he was tempted to pass over into England. With four small barks, and about six score followers, he arrived, in September 1497, in Whitsand bay, and immediately proceeded to the town of Bodmin; where he was speedily joined by upwards of three thousand men. He again put forth a proclamation in the name of King Richard the Fourth, and proceeded with his army in hopes of gaining Exeter; but, notwithstanding that his numbers increased to seven or eight thousand, and although he carried on the siege with great vigour, his object was defeated by the determined conduct of the citizens.[g] An army so raised, was, of course, but ill appointed; forces were crowding down upon him from all quarters, and seeing want, discontent, and desertion, begin to reign among his followers, he was induced to remove, first to the town of Taunton, and thence he fled in the night to the abbey of Bewley, in the New Forest. He was pursued in his retreat; the place was surrounded by an armed force; and, every prospect of escape being cut off, he voluntarily left the sanctuary, on condition of the king's pardon. He was conducted to London in great triumph, and put under custody of a guard, who were never to leave his person; but it was not long before he escaped; and, after attempting in vain to get out of the kingdom, he threw himself on the protection of the prior of Sheen, in Surrey. He was again brought to London, and set for a whole day in the stocks, before the door of Westminster-hall: on the morrow he was exposed upon a scaffold, in like manner, in Cheapside; was there made to read a confession, which is said to have been written by his own hand,[h] and at night was lodged a prisoner in the Tower. The conclusion of his evil fortune is well known: after remaining some time in prison, it was alleged that he had corrupted his keepers, and had planned an escape from the Tower, in conjunction with the earl of Warwick. He was then tried on various charges of treason, and, on the 23d of November 1499, was hanged at Tyborn; where he is said to have again read the confession above alluded to, and to have taken his death upon its truth.[i]

---

[e] Bibl. Cotton. Vesp. C. xiv. fol. 152.

[f] See Appendix, p. xxxvii.

[g] His attempts to win the town are described in a letter from the earl of Devon to king Henry VII.—*Vide MS. Dodsw. Bibl. Bodl. vol. i. p.* 81.

Such is the account of Perkin Warbeck, as it is handed down to us by our earlier writers, and the story of lord Bacon is principally founded on the same basis; but, notwithstanding his lordship's laboured efforts, and the latitude he has assumed, to cover the many inconsistencies that pervade the face of it, the tale is still encumbered with so many contradictions, and is at such variance with Perkin's pretended confession, and other statements put forth by the king himself, that, to adopt it unquestioned would be to incur the same charge of negligence or blind credulity, which so strongly attaches to almost all our modern historians who have treated on this subject.

The great and interesting point of controversy respecting this personage is, whether he really was the duke of York, or was he a counterfeit, set up to disturb Henry the Seventh in his possession of the throne?

Adopting him, for argument, as the younger son of King Edward the Fourth, we must either suppose that he was secretly conveyed abroad before his uncle's death, by the intervention of some of his mother's friends, or immediately after Richard's fall, in the confusion that succeeded the battle of Bosworth; or he might have been committed by Richard himself to the care of the duchess of Burgundy, to be brought up in a manner correspondent with his fallen fortune: in either of which cases the veil that hangs over and hides the scene of his retreat is not difficult to be accounted for. If conveyed away by his mother's friends unknown to Richard, secrecy was necessary during that king's life, and much more so after Henry had obtained the crown; for where might not the influence of a powerful monarch have reached to get possession of his person? If he remained in the Tower till after his uncle's death, and his escape were then effected, which is by no means an improbable conclusion,[k] he perhaps owed his subsequent protection and support principally to his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy: the same if he were committed to her care by Richard; and, in either case, the commonest policy would dictate the necessity of strict concealment; for, had it been known that such a claimant to the throne was fostered in Flanders, what protection could have been expected either from the government, or the people of a country which was a scene of distraction; whose cities had recently revolted, and whose inhabitants were almost wholly dependent on their friendship and trade with England?

---

[h] See Appendix, p. xl.

[i] Hall. Bacon.

What became of the elder prince must rest solely on conjecture: he might have died in the Tower: he had been separated from his mother and family; some of his relations had been put to death; he had been deprived of his kingly dignity, and above all was consigned to a prison. Can any thing be more natural than his sinking under the accumulated weight of these misfortunes? He might have perished amid the difficulties of escape: he might have been conveyed abroad with his brother, and have breathed his last in the hidden retreat where the younger prince was fostered; or he might have been found in the Tower,[l] as

---

[k] On Henry the Seventh's accession, the earl of Warwick was removed from his prison, the castle of Sheriff-hoton, to the Tower. Some time after, it was reported that he was put to death, and had he not been subsequently produced before the world, would not this have been the account at the present day? Or, if he had remained unnoticed in the castle of Sheriff-hoton, and had there died, or been secretly put out of the world by order of the tyrant that afterwards took away his life, would not his disappearance have been added to the list of murders with which such writers as sir Thomas More and his followers have indiscriminately loaded the memory of king Richard?

[l] We have, at least, strong presumptive evidence that prince Edward certainly was alive in March 1485, which is upwards of a year and a half after the period when More and others say that he and his brother had been put to death; for we find a warrant of Richard the Third's, "yeven under our signet at Westminster, the ix. day of March, anno secundo," directing Henry Davy "to deliver unto John Goddestande, foteman unto the lord Bastard, two doblets of silk, oon jaket of silk, oon gown of cloth, two shirts and two bonets;" and warrants to pay for provisions, &c. for him, clearly shew that by "the lord Bastard" was meant prince Edward.

Warwick was at Sheriff-hoton, after Henry had gained the crown; and in that case what became of him? Was not Henry himself a tyrant capable of any crime?

But be this as it may, it is an admitted fact that, immediately after he was seated on the throne, there was a strong impression on the minds of the people, that one at least of Edward the Fourth's sons was still alive, and this rumor, instead of dying away, as a tale without foundation naturally would, continued to gather strength.[m] Under such circumstances, if Henry had been satisfied that the princes were dead, is it not strange that he should have adopted no means to convince the world of the fact? Was it not incumbent on him to have cleared the matter up by an immediate investigation? If their death were capable of proof at all, it might at that time have been manifested beyond a doubt. Those who were stigmatized with the supposed murder were then living, and in his power, as must have been many others from whom decisive evidence might have been obtained. Why then did he not, for the future peace of his reign, and for the sake of justice, bring the murder home to its perpetrators, and visit them with condign punishment? Would not such a measure have fixed his authority on an immovable basis, and have established him in the hearts of his people? It would have crowned his name with glory, and have been a happy presage of his future government. But how opposite was the king's conduct! Rather than institute inquiry, he evinced a desire to throw a blind over the whole transaction: — the parties lived in security, and, above all, Sir James Tirrel, the principal of the supposed murderers, for a long series of years stood high in Henry's service and enjoyed his favors![n]

But supposing that any satisfactory reason could be adduced for Henry's conduct then, the case was widely different seven years afterwards, when a person actually appeared in the character of duke of York; — acknowledged by all to bear his likeness; — possessing courteous and princely manners,— a perfect acquaintance with the language,—so thorough a knowledge of every circumstance and particular respecting the person of the young prince, his family, and the affairs of the English nation, that "no man," as admitted by lord Bacon, "either by company or conversation, was ever able to detect him,"—and, in fact, identified with his person by the testimony of sir Robert Clifford and other credible witnesses. It was surely necessary then, when his very throne shook with the noise of the duke of York's appearance, to have shewn in the most unequivocal manner the death of that prince, or to have clearly traced Warbeck to his origin, and so to have satisfied the world of his imposture.

---

[m] See pp. 59, 60, and sir T. More's Hist. of King Edward V.

[n] He had the command of Guisnes; and, in 1493, was appointed one of the commissioners to conclude the treaty of Estaples with the French. Hall's Chron. Rymer, tom. xii p. 481.

To clear up the matter as to the murder of the princes, Henry did nothing! We are told, indeed, by lord Bacon, that he committed Tirrel and Dighton to the Tower, and that, upon examination, they made confessions touching the murder. This, however, is greatly to be doubted;[o] but, even admitting it for a truth, his lordship confesses that only "thus much was delivered abroad, to the effect of those examinations; but that the king made no use of them in any of his declarations, whereby these examinations left the business somewhat perplexed;" adding that, "therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, he used the more diligence in the tracing of Perkin."

Now let us see what course he adopted to convince the world that Warbeck was an impostor. Why, we are told that he sent scouts to traverse Flanders to pry out his origin and connexions, and that when some of them came to Tournay, "they were certified by the testimony of many that he was of low parentage, and that his name was Peter Warbeck;" circumstances which, as historians tell us, the king was afterwards more fully informed of by private communications![p] What! was this a story to be told in mere general words, without a single person being named? It was not announced by an ambassador, or certified in form by the mayor or some other authority of the town, as in a matter of this importance might have been expected: and does it not seem strange that for so long, while the appearance of this person was making such noise in the world; while he was received in the court of France, and while he was acknowledged and maintained with so much honor in Flanders itself, that this news should not have been divulged before, and at last, only by being ferretted out by persons sent from England? But supposing that Henry did receive this account, what use did he venture to make of it? Why, says lord Bacon, "he divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels with the circumstances thereof, thoughout the realm;" not, however, adds his lordship, by proclamation, but by court fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations! It is needless, however, to multiply arguments, when in the next stage we have an almost positive contradiction to the whole story. When Henry's ambassadors afterwards came to the archduke Philip's court, to require the dismissal of Perkin from the country, we are told that, after he and his council had long debated whether this person were the son of King Edward or not, their request was in effect refused; and the consequence was, Henry's banishing the Flemings from his territories, and prohibiting all intercourse with them. Now is it to be believed, that if Henry had made such discoveries respecting Perkin's imposture, the facts were not generally known in Flanders? would not the whole circumstances have been declared by the ambassadors themselves? and the distance to Tournay was not so great, but that the archduke could easily ascertain the truth or falsehood of a story, the scene of which was within the limits of his own dominions. What necessity then for this long debate, if Perkin had been made out a counterfeit? and in that case would Philip have lost the peace of England by supporting a mere vagabond? No. Henry's ambassadors, even as their address is given us by lord Bacon, only used the well-known tale that the princes had been put to death; and thence argued that the person assuming the character of the duke of York was a counterfeit; but they never ventured a word to the archduke and his council, respecting Warbeck's connexion with Tournay, or his peregrinations in Flanders, and the fair presumption is, that the tale was altogether a fabrication: it answered to solve appearances in England, but would not do in that country, where its falsehood was more easy of detection.

---

[o] It is a circumstance not even alluded to by Fabian, Polidore Virgil, Hall, or Grafton. His imprisonment, to which this story no doubt applies, was not till nearly ten years afterwards, when he was put to death on suspicion of being concerned with the duke of Suffolk. It is very likely that such a story, calculated to asperse his character, and colour over his execution, might then have been circulated; but this was in 1502, three years after Warbeck's death.

[p] Polidore Virgil, p. 591. Hall, &c.

In order to account for Warbeck's acknowledged strong resemblance to Edward the Fourth and his family, lord Bacon has produced a story that his reputed father, a converted Jew, named John Osbeck, who had borne office at Tournay, and was married to Catherine de Faro, had been called by his business to live for a time in England; that while here they had a son, to whom the king condescended to be godfather, giving him the name of Peter; and hence an inference is drawn that he was in fact Edward's illegitimate child! This, however, if true, must have been well known, and was capable of instant proof: but the pretended confession of Perkin says, that he was born at Tournay, and makes no mention of his ever having been in England. His name, too, is uncertain, for he is here called Osbeck; and is it to be believed that a king of the name of Edward, should have given that of Peter to his godson?

If the duke of York, and attended, as he must have been, after his escape or conveyance abroad by some English friend or domestic, he would naturally retain the purity of his vernacular tongue; but lord Bacon, to account for Warbeck's speaking the English language, goes on to inform us, that while young, his parents returned to Tournay; that he was then placed in the house of John Steinbeck, his kinsman, at Antwerp; "and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for good time; living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect." The narratives however, of our earlier writers, only tell us that "he spoke English and many other languages," and that, "for gain of his living, from his childhood, he was compelled to seek and frequent divers realms and regions." But the confession goes farther, and is still more contradictory. It gives us a laboured account of his pedigree and wanderings;[q] it tells us of his being sent to Antwerp to learn Flemish, his native language; that he was next sent "to board in a skinner's house that dwelled beside the house of the English nation," and that he was shortly after put into the service of John Strewe, a merchant at Middleburgh, "for to learn the language;" we must presume the English; yet, on his first arrival at Cork, he is represented in this same paper to have been forced by the people, against his will, to learn English! Could any thing be more absurd? In the first place, was perfection in the English language to have been obtained by the mere casual intercourse of a boy with merchants abroad? or was Cork a place for a foreigner to learn English, and in so short a time, with that purity of accent that he is allowed to have possessed? No; his pretensions, on his arrival in Ireland, must have been authenticated by his previous acquaintance with the language, and that acquaintance is unexplained, unless he was the duke of York.

---

[q] See Appendix, pp. xl—xlii.

But if this youth were of such obscure birth, such a wanderer, and brought up in such society, how are we to account for the many accomplishments that he possessed? whence that elegant person? whence that courteous and princely carriage? whence that easy, winning, and gracious behaviour? in fact that perfect type of the royal progeny of the house of York, with which he is acknowledged on all hands to have been adorned? These could not have been acquirements of a day or year: they must have been "of nature in the root planted." Yet our historians,[r] in their own minds, very easily solve this difficulty. They inform us that the duchess of Burgundy fixed her eyes on this rambler; and, thinking him fit for her purpose, and like the duke of York, she kept him with her for a time, but with great secrecy; that she instructed him "in princely behaviour and gesture, teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard, duke of York, which he was to act, describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen, his pretended parents, and of his brothers and sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret and some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time, from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time that he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death and his own escape, she knew they were things that a very few could control; and, therefore, she taught him to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters; warning him not to vary from it."

---

[r] See Polidore Virgil, Hall, Grafton, and lord Bacon.

Such is the story adopted by lord Bacon: but, how the duchess could have selected this young man for his likeness to her nephew, the duke of York; how she could have described to him the persons of his brother, his sisters, and others nearest him in his childhood; how she could have given him minute details of the affairs of England, and how she could have instructed him in what passed while he was in the sanctuary at Westminster, and more especially of the transactions in the Tower, would be difficult to imagine; for this princess, who is represented as so bitter against Henry, was married out of England in 1467, before either of Edward the Fourth's children was born; and, as she never returned, she could never have seen the duke of York, his brother, or either of the princesses, nor could she have had such knowledge of the extraordinary chain of events that had since occurred in England, as would have made her a capable instructress of a Flemish youth in the wily and difficult course he would have to tread. But, without dwelling longer on these circumstances, however material to the question; — without asking when or where this "young mercurial" was first picked up; — and without resting on the moral impossibility of making a perfect polished prince, "in whom all things met as could be wished," in so short a time, out of a mere wandering Flemish Jew, — let us proceed to the still more important features of the story.

Having carved out this image of the duke of York, we are next informed that Margaret fixed on Ireland for his first appearance; but, "knowing that if he should go direct out of Flanders into that country, she might be thought to have some hand in it," she sent him with an English lady, the wife of sir Edward Brampton, into Portugal. Here, again, the king had the best means of undeceiving the world, if Warbeck had been a counterfeit. Lady Brampton must have been acquainted at least with some particulars concerning him; and why did not his majesty produce her testimony to extinguish this blaze of falsehood? Here, too, the earlier chronicles, and the account of lord Bacon, are again widely at variance with the confession attributed to Perkin; for, strange to say, that extraordinary document leaves the duchess of Burgundy out of the transaction altogether! it robs her of the credit of training this Flemish youth with so much skill, and transfers it all to the Irish! It says that, after dwelling with John Strewe, the merchant at Middleburgh, from Christmas till Easter, he went to Portugal with sir Edward Brampton's wife; that he there lived for a year in the employ of a certain one-eyed knight; and leaving him, he embarked for Ireland, in the service of Pregent Meno, a Breton. On their arrival at Cork, "they of the town, because he was arrayed with some clothes of silk of his said master's, came to him and threaped upon him that he was the son of the duke of Clarence;" then that he was a natural son of King Richard, and lastly, they called him Duke of York, second son of Edward the Fourth; "and so, against my will, they made me learn English, and taught me what I should do and say!"[s]

When we see falsehood and inconsistency so blended together, is it easy to determine which of the accounts we must give the most discredit to?—that which ascribes the alleged imposture entirely to the duchess of Burgundy, or the other, which would have us believe a story of the Irish taking up a foreign youth, who came accidentally to their country, and not only qualifying him to assume the name and character of a prince, whom he could have never seen, but teaching him to indulge in the extravagant notion of supplanting a powerful and vigilant monarch, and of usurping the throne of a nation to which he must have been an absolute stranger? Must we not reject the former as contradictory and inconsistent in itself, and must we not treat the latter as one of the most preposterous fictions with which the credulity of man was ever tried?[t]

---

[s] See Appendix, p. xlii.

How extraordinary the king's conduct! In the first place he attributes to the duchess of Burgundy, every thing connected with Warbeck's appearance; and then, failing to prove the reports he had spread of her having trained up an impostor, he thinks it wise to drop that story altogether; because to every considerate person it must appear that her supporting him was only from the conviction that he was her nephew. Indeed it is impossible to account either for her conduct, or for that of the king of Scotland, unless they were satisfied that this person was in truth the duke of York. The one may have borne the most implacable hatred towards Henry, as a descendant of the house of Lancaster, and the other might have been glad of any opportunity to annoy and weaken a rival nation; but would either have gone so far? Henry had married Edward the Fourth's daughter, and therefore, whatever might have been Margaret's apathy to him, is it to be believed that she would have brought forward an impostor, and laboured by every artifice to transfer the diadem from her own niece, the heiress of the house of York, to the brow of that low-bred wanderer, that Perkin Warbeck has been described? At war with Henry, policy might have induced the king of Scotland to support his rival, whether true or false; but what motive could he have had for sacrificing to him a princess of his own blood, unless he had been satisfied that he was the heir to the throne of England? These circumstances are corroborated by the conduct of sir William Stanley, lord Fitzwalter, and other of Edward the Fourth's friends, who embarked in his cause, and who would hardly have risked their lives and fortunes on the crazy bottom of a Flemish counterfeit: they are likewise supported by Henry's rigid treatment of the queen dowager, whose conduct manifested a conviction also of her son's existence;[u] and, if Henry himself were not impressed with the same idea, how are we to account for his actions,[x] and for his extraordinary saying on the death of the earl of Lincoln?

---

[t] That the confession attributed to Warbeck was fabricated scarcely admits of doubt; and, even if he read it, as some writers have asserted, he must have been induced to do so by promises of favour, or threats of greater torture. But, neither Fabian, who, it must be remembered, was an alderman of London and a coeval writer, nor Polidore Virgil, mention it at all; and lord Bacon, who has suppressed it as repugnant to common sense, admits "that the king did himself no good by the publication of that narrative, and that mankind was astonished to find in it no mention of the duchess Margaret's machinations."

Our observations, however, do not end here. Is it not extraordinary that, after Perkin fell into the king's hands, no means were ever resorted to, to satisfy the world of the imposition that had been practised upon it? After he had been received and supported by the courts of France, Burgundy, and Scotland; after his alliance had been sought by a marriage with a princess of the latter nation; when peers, knights of the garter, privy counsellors, and dignitaries of the church had espoused his cause; and after the lord Fitzwalter and other great men had laid down their lives in the conviction of his truth, ought not the king to have shewn how all had been deceived? If a counterfeit, Henry might then have convicted him out of his own mouth; or he might have produced him before Tirrel and Dighton, the supposed murderers, and surely, though no one else in the whole court and kingdom of England could so cross-examine this Flemish youth as to detect him in a single falsehood, their appearance must have confounded him. There were enough, too, in Henry's court, who must well have remembered the person of the duke of York: the famous Dr. Oliver King, then bishop of Exeter, who was Edward's as well as Henry's secretary, was still alive, as were other prelates and barons of the realm, besides servants of Edward's household, who must often have seen both the princes, and whose evidence, if taken, would instantly have decided his character. Why, moreover, was he never produced before the queen-dowager, the queen herself, and the other sisters of the duke of York? Why were they never asked, Is this your son? Is this your brother? Their declarations would have admitted of no doubt: their denial of his person would have undeceived the world, and have silenced for ever the voice of scepticism. But no: the king withheld or avoided this obvious mode of detection! He was never confronted with them; and must we not thence infer that Henry was afraid to put their natural emotions to such a trial? for, if he were the duke of York, no lapse of time could have effaced him from their memory, nor could the injunctions of a tyrant have restrained the impulse of a mother's or a sister's feelings.

---

[u] The queen dowager, as was supposed, was detected in some secret correspondence at the time of Lambert Simnel's appearance; for which Henry stript her of her possessions, and confined her in a monastery until her death, giving out as his reason, her having delivered her daughters out of sanctuary, to King Richard; "which proceeding," says lord Bacon, "being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish;" and he adds, that, "after the death of the earl of Lincoln (a principal person of the house of York), who was slain in the battle of Stoke, the king opened himself to some of his council, that he was sorry for the earl's death, because 'through him,' he said, 'he might have known the bottom of his danger.'"

[x] Even lord Bacon admits that, "the king's manner of shewing things by pieces and dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost a mystery to this day."

It is possible that no such direct evidence will ever now be found as would satisfactorily establish the identity of Perkin Warbeck with the duke of York: on the other hand, however, it is to be remembered that the contrary was never proved; and when we review all the circumstances of this extraordinary case;—the entire want of evidence that the princes were put to death;—the inconsistency of the king's conduct;—his avoiding every species of inquiry by which he might have proved him an impostor, if he were so, and the many shifts he had recourse to, to blind the world on the subject:—when we estimate the character of the historians of those times, and remember that the only sources of our information are the testimony of writers swayed by prejudices, or subservient to the Lancastrian interest, and the statements put forth by the king himself:—when we consider, too, all the traits in Warbeck's character,—his personal likeness to King Edward the Fourth,—his princely manners, and his acknowledged perfection in the English language:—when we call to mind that his origin and history were never traced;—that he never failed in his part,—and that neither his words nor actions were ever said to bear the semblance of imposition:—in fact, when we fairly and deliberately weigh all the strong and leading points in his story, we must be rooted indeed to the common impressions entertained on this subject, if we hastily conclude that he was an impostor. At all events we have shewn that he could not have been such a person as he was represented; and the more deeply any candid inquirer will search into the history and times of Richard the Third, the less credit he will attach to that common herd of writers, whose venality or prejudices have led them from the paths of uprightness and truth, and made them indiscriminately load his memory with all the foulest crimes that distinguish the dark and troubled æra in which he lived.

During the reign of King Henry the Eighth, the Tower was generally crowded with prisoners, and the accounts of many of them are rendered interesting as well by their fortunes as their fates. Immediately after his accession, sir Henry Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckingham, sir Richard Epsom, and Edmund Dudley, were committed to that fortress: the former on some slight suspicion of disaffection, of which he speedily cleared himself, and the two latter to appease the clamours of the people.

Epsom and Dudley had incurred the national odium by having been counsellors to the late king, and the leading instruments of his oppressive exactions on his subjects. The latter, says lord Bacon,[y] "was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language; but Epsom, who was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever; and, being lawyers in science, and privy-counsellors in authority, they turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine." They were bold and careless of fame, and would cause people to be indicted of offences coming within the meaning of obsolete statutes, and would so far proceed in form of law, as to get them committed, and then suffer them to languish in prison, till by threats and terror they could extort from them fines and ransoms, to fill the royal coffers.[z] All their acts, however, had been in obedience to their sovereign's orders, and, on their being examined on these points before the new council, Epsom, at the conclusion, made a bold and eloquent speech. He told them, that "the king, to whom he should appeal, as to his supreme judge and protector, had abandoned him to his enemies, without other cause than that he had obeyed his father's commands, and supported the regal authority; and that the people, on whose equal trial he should put his life, sought his destruction, only because he had endeavoured to execute those laws whereof themselves were authors: "What," said he, "would have happened to me, if I had disobeyed my king, and broken the ordinances of my country? Surely, if I have in any wise transgressed, it is in procuring that these penal statutes might be observed, which yourselves in open parliament decreed, and to which you then submitted your persons, your estates, and your posterity; and, if this be a crime, why do you not first repeal your proper acts? Or if, which is the case, they stand still in force and virtue, why do you not vindicate from all imputation both yourselves and me? For, whoever yet saw any man condemned for doing justice? Especially when by the king, the chief dispenser of the laws, the whole frame of the proceeding hath been warranted and confirmed; and must that which is the life and strength of all others' actions, be the subversion and overthrow of mine? In what well governed country do the infractors of national laws escape punishment, and they only suffer who have laboured to sustain them? or, if any such thing were read or heard of, could there be imagined a more certain sign of ruin to that commonwealth? and, will you alone hope to escape this heavy judgment? If, contrary to all equity and example, you not only make precedents for injustice and impunity, but, together with defaming, would inflict a cruel death on those who would maintain them, what can we then expect, but a fatal period to us all? But, let God turn this away, though I be the sacrifice. Only, if I must die, let me desire that my indictment be entered on no record, nor divulged to foreign nations; lest, from my fate, it be concluded, that in England all law and government are dissolved."

---

[y] Hist. of Henry VII., in Kennet, vol. i. p. 629.

[z] Ibid.

They were then returned to the Tower, and, it being found impossible to proceed against them on these charges without entailing infamy on the memory of the late king, and, as the public clamor still became more loud for their punishment, means were found to accuse them of high treason; for having, as was pretended, during Henry the Seventh's illness, engaged certain of their friends to be ready to take arms at an hour's warning; whence it was inferred, that they had meditated seizing the king's person, and possessing themselves of the administration. On this improbable, and almost absurd charge, they were both tried and declared guilty, and the verdict against them being followed by a bill of attainder in parliament, they were sacrificed to the violent clamors of the people. After a suspense of several months, Henry was reluctantly brought to sign a warrant for their execution,[a] and they were accordingly led out of the Tower, and beheaded on the adjoining hill.[b]

In 1521, the Tower became the prison of EDWARD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, and lord high constable of England, who, besides being one of the richest and most powerful noblemen in England, was lineally descended from Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of King Edward the Third;[c] a circumstance to which he eventually owed his ruin; for, being a vain and incautious man, he seems to have allowed some expressions to escape him which led to a suspicion that he was casting his eyes on the throne; and, having been unfortunate enough to incur the enmity of cardinal Wolsey, they were made use of by that wary courtier to effect his downfall. Letters were sent to his castle of Thornbury, in Gloucester, commanding him to appear before the king, and, on his entering the capital, on the 16th of January, he was arrested in his barge, on the Thames, by sir Henry Marney, the captain of the king's guard. His attendants were dismissed, and from Queenhithe he was led on foot to the Tower, to the great astonishment of the people.[d] Vast preparations were made for his trial in Westminster Hall, and he was there arraigned before the duke of Norfolk, sitting as lord high steward, and two and twenty other peers, on the 13th of May. Before that tribunal he was brought by sir Thomas Lovel and sir Richard Cholmondley, the constable and lieutenant of the Tower, with the fatal axe borne before him.

---

[a] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII., vol. ii. p. 6. Hall. Hollinshed. Stow.

[b] Ibid.

[c] See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 163—171.

[d] Hall.

The duke's accusers were Knivet, Gilbert, and De la Court, three of his own household, and Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Henton, in Somersetshire, who, like a false hypocrite, says Hall, had induced the duke to treason by prophesying that he should be king of England. After the depositions of the witnesses had been read, the duke was taken from the bar, and when the lords, who also retired to deliberate, had returned to their seats, he was again brought before the court, and, by the unanimous voice of his peers, declared guilty of high treason. The duke of Norfolk, in a very feeling manner, passed upon him the horrible sentence which the laws of his country then awarded to his crime; and, to this the prisoner replied, "My lord of Norfolk, you have said as a traitor should be said unto, but I was never one; yet, my lords, I nothing malign for what you have now done to me, and may the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life; howbeit, he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I beseech you, my lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me."

The duke was conveyed from the Tower to Westminster, as was usual in those days, in a barge, and that part of it which was appropriated for himself was furnished with a carpet and cushions suitable to his rank; but, on returning, after his condemnation, he declined taking the same seat, saying to sir Thomas Lovel, "When I came to Westminster I was lord high constable, and duke of Buckingham, but now — poor Edward Bohun." They landed at the Temple, and thence his grace was conducted through the city to the Tower on foot, with the axe before him, as a cast man.[f] The following Friday being appointed for his execution, a large force was assembled on Tower-hill to preserve the peace; and about eleven o'clock, after attending divine service in the chapel, he was led to the scaffold on that fatal eminence, attended by the unmingled lamentations of the people.

[f] Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

He died calmly; acknowledged that he had offended against the king, and desired all other noblemen to take warning from his fate.[g] His great wealth and splendid mode of living had gained him the love of the people, and a contemporary historian laments, "that the grace of truth was ever drawn from so noble a man, that he was not to his king in allegiance as he ought to have been;" and adds, "Such is the end of ambition, the end of false prophecies, the end of evil life, and of evil counsel!"[h]

George Lord Abergavenny, lord Montague, and sir Edward Nevil, who were committed to the Tower for concealing their knowledge of the duke of Buckingham's designs, were kept in confinement till the early part of the following year, when lord Abergavenny was brought to trial, and pleaded guilty; but was afterwards pardoned; and Montague and Nevil, through the king's favor, were also liberated.[i]

In the early part of the sixteenth century the tyrannising spirit of the church of Rome had reached its very summit, and the temporal power not only countenanced its proceedings, but aided in the work of persecution; and the Tower was crowded with persons stigmatized with the name of heretics. Sir Thomas More, supported by his exalted station as lord chancellor, was forward in manifesting his bigotry; and the cruelties he exercised against the reformers have tarnished the fame with which his wit, his talents, and his many virtues would have handed down his name to posterity. Several victims to his infatuation became tenants of these dreaded prisons; and Bainham and Frith, after enduring with firmness the tortures of the rack, were thence led to a glorious confirmation of their faith by an unshaken constancy amid all the horrors of the flames. But, to enter upon a particular account of all the prisoners whom the rigid policy of the Romish church, the cause of the king's divorce, the delusions of the Maid of Kent, and the overturning of papal thraldom and superstition successively brought at this period to the Tower, would far exceed our object.

The early proceedings of the reformation were not untinged with the severities that characterize the zeal and barbarism of the age: in 1534, when the parliament, supported by the sound sense of the country, wrested it from subserviency to the papal see, and declared the king to be the supreme head of the national church, the priors of the Charter-House, Belval, and Sion, together with several monks, all of the Carthusian order, John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were committed to the Tower, for opposing its ordinances: and, stedfastly refusing the oath of supremacy, they shewed their zeal for the church of Rome by their sufferings in prison, and meeting with firmness their death! The Carthusians were hanged, beheaded, and quartered at Tyburn;[k] and the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More, after a long and rigid imprisonment, were beheaded on Tower-hill.

---

[g] Hall.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Ibid. Hollinshed, &c.

The Bishop of Rochester had the character of a learned and devout man, but was, nevertheless, extremely bigoted, equally superstitious, and a great persecutor of those who favored the reformation. He was many years confessor to the king's grandmother, the countess of Richmond, and her munificence to our two great seats of learning[l] was attributed to his zeal for the advancement of literature.[m] He was chosen by the university of Cambridge for its chancellor; by King Henry the Seventh he was raised to the bishoprick of Rochester, and he continued in favor during the following reign, till the question was agitated respecting the king's divorce; when his enthusiasm in the cause of Queen Catherine, and for the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, led him into many errors, and finally procured his ruin. With several divines of less note, he incurred a misprision of treason, for favoring the delusions of the Maid of Kent;[n] and, when called before the council at Lambeth, to acknowledge the king's supremacy, he stedfastly refused to do so,[o] and was thereupon committed to the Tower, together with sir Thomas More, his fellow-sufferer in the same cause.

The aged prelate, who had now nearly reached his eightieth year, remained a prisoner for many months, and, during that time, was shut up in a dark cold dungeon, exposed to many privations and miseries: so much so, that in his most affecting letter written from his prison [p] to secretary Cromwell, he begged for food and raiment! Yet his constancy remained unshaken, and his determined stand in favor of the papal authority was rewarded by an ill-timed and fatal compliment. Pope Clement conferred on him the dignity of a cardinal; a circumstance, which, although the bishop declared that he neither sought nor valued it, exasperated the king, and hastened, if not procured, his death; for ere the cap of honor had reached Calais, the head it was intended to adorn was stuck on London bridge.[q] He was tried and condemned on the 17th of June 1535, before the lord chancellor and the duke of Suffolk, with some other lords and the judges, who were appointed by a special commission for that purpose, and, on the 22d of the same month, he calmly resigned his life upon the block.[r] On the morning of his execution he dressed himself with more than usual care, but his long and severe imprisonment had so impaired his strength, that it was with difficulty that he reached the spot on which he was appointed to die. There he fervently repeated the Te Deum, and submitted his devoted head.[s]

---

[k] Hall, Stow, Hollinshed; Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.; Strype's Eccl. Mem., &c.

[l] She founded St. John's and Christ's College at Cambridge, and the professorships of divinity in both the universities.

[m] Burnet.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Hall, Burnet, Strype, &c.

Sir Thomas More was committed to the Tower about the same time, and for the like offence, as the venerable prelate whose sufferings are above related. The result of their examination before the council at Lambeth was a settled determination on the part of the king that the act of parliament for enforcing the oath of supremacy should take its course, in order that the punishment of these two distinguished persons might operate as a terror and example to others, and they were therefore apprehended and committed to the Tower; but, by fortunately possessing the private intimacy and friendship of the constable and lieutenant of that fortress, More escaped many hardships which the venerable prelate was doomed to suffer: his accomplished and favorite daughter, Margaret Roper, as well as his lady, had occasionally leave to visit him,[t] and some hopes seem to have been entertained that the execution of his fellow-sufferer might have shaken his resolution. The lord chancellor, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other members of the privy council, went and conversed with him in his prison; but so entirely was he wedded to the church of Rome, that nothing could induce him to acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church; and, a few days after Fisher had been beheaded, he was brought to trial at the bar of the King's Bench, and convicted of treason.

---

[p] See p. 132.

[q] Hall, Burnet, Strype, &c.

[r] Ibid.

[s] Weaver's Funeral Mon. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., vol. i. pp. 546, 547, edit. 1820.

[t] Roper's Life of sir T. More.

On his return to the Tower after condemnation, a most affecting scene occurred. The dearest of his children, his daughter Margaret, foreseeing that this would be the last opportunity that heaven might grant her of beholding her father, placed herself at the gates of the fortress to wait his being reconducted to his prison; and, the instant he approached, regardless of every danger, she rushed through the guards, and flinging herself upon the neck of her beloved parent, implored his blessing, and bathed him with her tears.[u] Lost in the paroxysms of anguish and affection, and dreading that worst of partings — to part for ever, the officers were obliged to force him from her arms; but she again flew back, and a second time they had that heart-rending duty to perform.[x] The only words to which this amiable and learned woman could at last give utterance were, "Oh my father, oh my father!" Nor were others less overcome: even the guards, "who surrounded him with bills and halberts," could not refrain from tears: but sir Thomas supported himself amid this trying scene with all his wonted courage, "remitting nothing of his steady gravity." He gave her his fatherly blessing; he reminded her, that whatever he might suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of heaven; and he begged her to resign herself to God's blessed pleasure; to bear her loss with patience, and to pray for her father's soul.[y]

Replaced in his solitary abode, More now looked forward, with impatience, for the hour that should dissolve his earthly cares;[z] and, early in the morning of the 6th of July, being the eve of St. Thomas, sir Thomas Pope was the bearer of a message to him from the king and council, that he should die before nine o'clock on that day. "For your good tidings," replied the prisoner, "I heartily thank you. I have been alway much bounden to the king's highness for the benefits and honors he hath from time to time heaped upon me; but I am more so for his having put me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end; and, that it pleaseth his highness so shortly to rid me from the miseries of this wretched world." "The king's pleasure farther is," said the messenger, "that, at your execution, you shall not use many words." To which sir Thomas answered, "that he had done well to give him that warning of his majesty's will; for otherwise, he had purposed somewhat to have spoken, but nothing wherewith the king or any other should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless, he was ready to conform obediently to his grace's commandment;" and he besought sir Thomas Pope to be a means to the king that his daughter Margaret might attend his burial.[a]

---

[u] Roper's Life of sir Thomas More.

[x] Stapleton, Roper, and Hoddesdon's Lives of sir T. More.

[y] Ibid.

The prisoner then prepared himself for the awful moment; he changed his apparel, "as one that had been invited to some solemn feast," putting on his most costly suit; but, inasmuch as his clothes would become the perquisite of his executioner, he was at last prevailed upon by the lieutenant to alter it; though, "after the example of the holy martyr St. Cyprian, of his little money that was left, he sent an angel of gold to the person that should behead him." [b] An immense concourse of people had assembled on Tower-hill to witness his death; but, when he was brought to the scaffold he refrained from addressing the people: he made a short prayer, and resigned himself to his melancholy fate.

---

[z] In a letter, written in his prison, to his most beloved daughter, the day before his execution, he says, "I comber you, good Margaret, much; but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than to-morrow, for it is Saint Thomas' even, and the utas of Saint Peter; and, therefore, to-morrow long I to go to God: it were a day very mete and convenient for me." And, alluding to her affectionate conduct at the Tower gates, when he returned from his trial, he added, "I never liked your maner toward me better, than when you kissed me laste: for I love when daughterly love and deare charitye hath no leysure to loke to worldlye curtesy. Farewell my dere chylde, and pray for me, and I shall for you and all youre friendes, that we may merily mete in heaven."

[a] Roper's Life of sir T. More.

[b] Ibid.

Thus ended the life of sir Thomas More; a character with which we rarely find a parallel in history. In eloquence, in wit, and in literary attainments, the æra in which he flourished scarcely produced an equal: in the senate, at the bar, and in the cabinet, his talents shone forth with overpowering lustre: he was successively raised to the stations of master of requests, under treasurer, speaker of the House of Commons, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, an embassador at Cambray, and lord Chancellor; and, in each of these capacities, he performed his various duties with credit to himself, and to the honor and interest of his country: in whatever he undertook, his assiduity, his learning, and experience, were conspicuous: he was an equal and ready dispenser of justice; in all the relations of private life, as a husband, a father, and a friend, few surpassed his virtues; and for contempt of place and riches, humility, and patience in every affliction, he was an example to the age in which he lived: but, withal, he was bigoted, superstitious, wanting in Christian charity, a great enemy to the reformation, and a most unrelenting persecutor of all its favorers. Some of his earlier writings, his Utopia, and his correspondence with Erasmus, display freer and more elevated principles; but his mind seems afterwards to have become contracted, and he shewed himself entirely devoted to the interests and passions of the popish clergy: his authority, as lord chancellor, he misapplied, to support and assist them in their odious cruelties; and he employed his pen in the same cause, in writing against Tindal, Frith, Barnes, and other reformers. He was, doubtless, an elegant scholar, and some of his literary productions, especially "The Common Wealth of Utopia," and his letters to his friend Erasmus, have justly gained him the applause of this and other nations; but, in his religious controversies, he did not shine with equal brightness: he there displayed no deep research into the antiquities of the holy writ, and appeared as little conversant in the critical learning upon the scriptures; his chief merit lay in presenting the fair side of the popish worship, and, with equal art, throwing over its great deformities a veil: his style was naturally easy and captivating, and his boundless store of facetiousness and humour served him on all occasions in the absence of authority, and of sound and convincing arguments.

The extravagant praise bestowed upon him by Mr. Hume and other writers for his account of the reigns of Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third, which he wrote in very early life, is clearly unmerited. The value of history is wholly dependent on its authenticity and truth, and sir Thomas More does not appear to have taken much pains in analyzing the sources of his information. The chief ground-work of that performance was popular report, after a lapse of many years, and at a period when prejudice had its sway, and interest its power: the accounts, however, that he so obtained are woven together with the hand of a skilful master, and they form a lively, polished, and interesting story; but we see in it the vivid imagination that gave birth to his Utopia; we perceive, that effect was studied more than authentic detail, and his narrative is evidently indebted to that abundance of pleasant tales "which he had ever ready to apply wittily to his purpose." He boldly asserts some things that are highly improbable; many circumstances which he relates are inconsistent; others are disproved by the unerring testimony of coeval records, and to some events he has given dates that are clearly wrong.

His fund of wit was naturally inexhaustible, and it displayed itself in all the affairs of life; but it was frequently coarse, and often applied where gravity would have been more becoming; on many occasions it evinced more of the stoic than the christian, and it sometimes lessened the dignity of his exalted station, as well as the personal respect due to his rank and character. Nor was he less fond of this talent in others. On a time, while he was lord chancellor, and exercising his cruelties against the reformers, a protestant, whose name was Silver, being brought before him on a charge of heresy, "Ah," said he, in his usual facetious manner, "silver must be tried in the fire." "Yea, my lord," replied the prisoner, "but *quick*-silver will not abide fire;" and so pleased was he with the retort, that he instantly dismissed the criminal.

It was usual, as soon as the service was over and sir Thomas had left his seat in church, for his usher to go to lady More's pew, and inform her that his lordship was gone; but, when sir Thomas, unknown to his family, had resigned the seals, he intimated the loss of his dignity by going himself on the following Sunday to his lady's door, and, with hat in hand, telling her in the usual language of his usher, "Madam, my lord is gone.[c]" When he was conveyed a prisoner to the Tower, on his landing at the Traitor's Gate, the porter having, according to an ancient custom of the place, demanded his uppermost garment as his fee, sir Thomas merrily presented him with his cap, telling him that that was his uppermost garment, and that he wished it was of better worth.[d] As he was being led out of the Tower to his execution, a woman reproached him for detaining some deeds while he was in office, "Good woman," said he, "have patience a little, for the king is so gracious to me, that, within this half hour, he will discharge me of all my business, and help thee himself."[e] As he ascended the scaffold, he begged one of the officers to help him up, adding, "And when I come down again let me shift for myself!"[f] And this scoffing manner accompanied him to the very moment of his death: after he had prayed, and was laying his head upon the block, the executioner begged his forgiveness: "I forgive thee," said he, "but, prithee, let me put my beard aside, for that hath never committed treason!" adding, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office: my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry for saving of thine honesty.[g]"

More's character is variously portrayed by the different writers, according to the party they espoused. The emperor Charles, on hearing of his death, told the English ambassador that, if he had been master of such a servant, he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions, than have lost such a worthy counsellor. Erasmus, his great friend and admirer, says of him, in a letter to Ulderic Haller: "More seems to be made and born for friendship; of which he is a sincere and strict observer. He is not afraid of having many friends, which, according to Hesiod, is no great praise. Every one may become More's friend: he is not slow in chusing; is kind in cherishing, and constant in keeping them; and if, by accident, he becomes the friend of any one, whose vices he cannot correct, he slackens the reins of friendship, diverting it rather by little and little, than by dissolving it at once. Those, whom he finds to be men of sincerity, and consonant to his own virtuous disposition, he is so charmed with that he seems to place his whole earthly pleasure in their conversation and company; and, although he is negligent in his own temporal concerns, yet no one is more assiduous in assisting the suits of his friends. In his manner there is so much affability and sweetness that no man can be of so austere a disposition, but that More's conversation must make him cheerful; and, no matter how unpleasing, with his wit he can take away from it all disgust." And, speaking of him again, after his execution, he says, "All men, even those who dislike him for differing from them in religion, must lament the death of sir Thomas More; so great was his courtesy to all; so great his affability, and so sweet his disposition. Many persons favor only their own countrymen: Frenchmen favor a Frenchman; Scotchmen favor a Scotchman; but More's general benevolence hath imprinted his memory so deep in all men's hearts, that they bewail his death as that of their father or their brother." But Luther, on being asked whether More was executed for the gospel's sake? answered, "By no means, for he was a very notable tyrant. He was the king's chiefest counsellor, a very learned and a very wise man; but he shed the blood of many innocent Christians that confessed the gospel, and plagued and tormented them like an executioner." Roman Catholic writers generally, have extolled him as a miracle among men; nor have protestant historians withheld from him the praises due to his wit, his talents, and his merits; but they have shewn that his failings weighed heavy against his virtues.[h]

---

[c] Roper's Life of sir T. More.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Hall.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Roper's Life of sir T. More.

---

[h] See Fox's Book of Martyrs; Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation; Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, &c.

The same year that produced the death of Fisher and More, the great opposers of the reformation, brought to these prisons, and to a similar end, its main spring and great promoter, the beauteous ANNE BOLEYN; who, scarcely three years before, had been conducted to the Tower amid all the gaudy and expensive pageantry of the age, preparatory to her coronation.

There are but few points in the modern history of our country that appear more difficult of determining than the innocence or guilt of this distinguished personage; yet the fairest, and at the same time the most probable, opinion seems to be, that although an open, unsuspecting, and affable disposition had made her on some occasions forget the majesty of her station, and descend to a familiarity with persons about the court, which was unbecoming the exalted situation she had been chosen to fill, there was little or no ground for judging that her conduct had been criminal; and the well-known facts, that Henry had fixed his wishes on another object, and that he married Jane Seymour immediately after Anne's execution, speak strongly in the unhappy victim's favor. Her elevation had made her an object of jealousy, and her zeal for the reformation had created many powerful enemies, who no sooner discovered the change in the king's affections, than they were ready not only to detail but to magnify every indiscreet act or unguarded expression to effect her downfal; and the treatment she experienced in prison, as well as the general tenor of the proceedings against her, sufficiently indicate that the capricious will of a tyrant, rather than a regard to justice, guided the tribunal that decreed her fate.

As the king and queen, with their whole court, were attending a tournament at Greenwich, on May-day, Henry, without any apparent cause, departed suddenly, and with but six attendants, to Westminster, where a council was convened the same night; and on the following morning, the queen's brother, lord Rochford, together with Henry Norris, William Brereton, and sir Francis Weston, three officers of the king's household, and Mark Smeton, a musician, were arrested and committed to the Tower. These proceedings excited general consternation, and on the same afternoon, as the queen herself was coming towards London in her barge, she was met by her ungracious uncle, the duke of Norfolk, and other lords of the council, and conveyed to the same fortress.[i] In vain did she appeal to heaven to attest her innocence; in vain did she beg to be previously permitted to see the king: all was answered with signs of disbelief, and she was hastened to the place of her imprisonment and death.

The day preceding her coronation Anne had been conducted from Greenwich to the Tower, with all the honor and adulation that human ingenuity could devise: the Thames had then presented a scene of unrivalled grandeur: the ships in regular order were arranged along its shores: on its glassy surface, and upon its banks, the capital had poured forth its population: every deck and every mast was crowded: an hundred and fifty splendid barges had formed her convoy: the cannon's roar was stifled amid the hearty greetings of the people; and, on her landing at the royal stairs, a doting husband received her to his arms![k] But, how sad was now the contrast. No honor now, save the empty name of queen: no civic galleys glittered in her train, nor banners beat the air: no minstrels; no peals of ordnance, nor bursts of people's joy cheered now her passage: at hasty pace her solitary barge was pressed along, as if for fear of rescue; and, as she approached the fortress, its batteries told not forth her coming, nor was her presence marked by the royal standard waving on the keep. All was silence, astonishment, and doubt. As she passed along, a few poor wherries crowded round; the sailors from the decks looked down, amazed; and, in every countenance anxiety was fixed; from some a mutter of disapprobation fell, and from some the sigh of pity. Her barge was hurried to the dreaded entrance allotted then to traitors, and, as she passed beneath that dismal tower, she fell on her knees and prayed God to defend her, as she was unspotted by the crime of which she was accused.[l]

When the duke of Norfolk and the other lords had safely lodged the unhappy queen in the Tower, they left her in charge of sir William Kingston, the constable of that fortress; a man possessing neither heart nor principle;[k] and it appears to have been the constant object of this base and obsequious minion of the court, to watch all her acts and words, and be the means of betraying her into confessions, of which he regularly made report. In his first letter to secretary Cromwell, after her commitment,[1] he says, "Upon my lord of Norfolk, and the king's council departing from the Tower, I went before the queen into her lodging, and she said unto me, Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon? No, Madam, you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation. It is too good for me, she said; Jhesu have mercy on me. And kneeled down, weeping apace, and in the same sorrow fell into a great laughing, which she hath done several times since; and then she desired me to move the king's highness that she might have the sacrament in the closet by her chamber, that she might pray for mercy; for I am as clear from the company of man, as for sin, as I am clear from you, and am the king's true wedded wife. And then she said, Mr. Kingston, do you know wherefore I am here? And I said, Nay. And then she asked me, when saw you the king? And I said, I saw him not since I saw him yesterday in the tilt-yard. And then, Mr. Kingston, I pray you to tell me where my father is. And I told her, I saw him afore dinner in the court. And where is my sweet brother? And I said, I left him at York-place, and so I did. I hear say, said she, that I shall be accused with three men, and I can say no more than nay, without I should open my body; and therewith opened her gown. Norres, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower with me, and we shall die together: and, Mark, thou art here too. Oh! my mother, thou wilt die for sorrow; and much lamented my lady of Worcester, for because her child did not stir in her body; and my wife said, what should be the cause?

---

[i] Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.

[k] See Hall's Chronicle.

[l] Burnet's History of the Reformation.

---

[k] See the account of the constables of the Tower.

[1] Bibl. Cotton. Otho, C. X. p. 225.

And she said, for sorrow that she took for me. And then she said, Mr. Kingston, shall I die without justice? And I said, the poorest subject the king hath, hath justice; and therewith she laughed. All this saying was yester night." Much of this interesting letter is destroyed, but it thus concludes; " Where I was commanded to charge the gentlewomen that attend upon the queen, that is to say, that they should have no communication with her, unless my wife were present, and so I did it, notwithstanding it cannot be so; for my lady Bolen and Mistress Cofyn lie on the queen's pallet, and I and my wife at the door without, so as they must needs talk that be within, but I have every thing told me by Mistress Cofyn that she thinks mete for me to know; and the other two gentlewomen lye without me, and as I may know the king's pleasure in the premises I shall follow. From the Tower this mo . . . . ."

In a postscript, he adds, " Sir, since the making of this letter the queen spake of Weston, saying that she had spoken to him because he did love her kinswoman,[m] and said he loved not his wife; and he made answer to her, and said, that he loved one in the house better than them both, and that is yourself; and then she defied him."

In his next letter, Kingston says, that " the queen hath much desired to have here in the closet the sacrament, and also her almoner for one hour;" he stated, that she had complained bitterly of the cruel treatment she had experienced from her lord of Norfolk and the king's council, who had come to examine her; but, said she, I think the king doth it to prove me. And, after some further conversation, she added, " I would I could see my bishops, for they would all go to the king for me; for I think the most part of England prays for me, and, if I die, you shall see the greatest punishment within these seven years, that ever came to England; and then I shall be in heaven; for I have done many good deeds in my days." And, then, alluding to the ladies that were in attendance on her, and who were, in truth, placed there as spies upon her words and conduct, she said, " I think it much unkindness in the king to put such about me that I never loved:" to which he replied, that the king took them for honest and good women; yet, said she, " I would have had some of my own privy-chamber that I favor most."

---

[m] Mrs. Skelton.—*Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.*

On the 12th of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried in Westminster-hall, and declared guilty; and three days afterwards the queen and her brother, lord Rochford, were arraigned before the duke of Norfolk, as lord high steward, and five and twenty other peers, in the great hall in the Tower. Little that can be relied on has been handed down to us of these extraordinary proceedings; but it should seem that the queen was charged with having had criminal intercourse with her brother and the four gentlemen above-named, and also with conspiring the king's death. What evidence was produced to substantiate these accusations, we are not satisfactorily informed; and, it is highly probable, that the sentence of condemnation that was passed on her, as well as the other prisoners, was chiefly grounded on the vague and deranged expressions that had fallen from her since her imprisonment, and the confession of Smeton, which he is said to have made in hopes of saving his own life.

When the queen appeared before the court, accompanied by lady Kingston, lady Edward Boleyn, and other female attendants, she behaved with great dignity and composure. She was denied an advocate, but pleaded her own cause, and answered the charges against her with so much readiness and discretion, that, " had the peers given their verdict according to the expectations of the assembly, she should have been acquitted; but they, among whom the duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law, was chief, and wholly applying himself to the king's humour, pronounced her guilty:"[n] though, we are told, that the mayor and aldermen of London, and some others, who had been allowed to be present on the occasion, went away with a full conviction of the queen's innocence.[o]

---

[n] See Hargrave's State Trials.

[o] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

The sentence passed on this so lately beloved queen, was, that she should suffer death on the green within the Tower, "either by being burnt or beheaded, as his majesty in his pleasure should think fit;" and lord Rochford, on the trifling charge that admitted of any proof against him, was also declared guilty, and condemned to end his life upon the block. Anne heard her sentence with a countenance undaunted and serene, and, lifting up her eyes and hands towards heaven, she exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! thou, who art the way, the truth, and the life, knowest that I have not deserved this death!" and she is said to have then looked on the court, but more particularly on her ungracious uncle, the duke of Norfolk, and to have addressed her judges in an eloquent and able speech: she told them that she would not say that their sentence was unjust, nor presume to oppose her opinion to their judgments; she would believe they had reasons for suspicion and jealousy, upon which they had condemned her; but, said she, "they must be other than those produced here in court, for I am so entirely innocent of all these accusations, that I cannot ask of God a pardon for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the king, although I may not, perhaps, at all times have shewn that humility and reverence that his goodness, and the honor to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion to resist, but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him, and I shall never confess any otherwise."

Not content with her condemnation Henry abused every appearance of justice by obtaining a sentence of the spiritual court, which declared that Anne's marriage with him was unlawful, null, and void from the beginning, and his issue by her illegitimate,[p] on the plea of a prior contract and promise of marriage to the earl of Northumberland; although that nobleman had the honor and spirit to deny it on his oath before the two archbishops, and also took the sacrament on the truth of his testimony.[q] But this is sufficient to shew how much the will of a tyrant influenced all the proceedings against this defenceless woman: for, if she were not his lawful wife, the facts, if they had been committed, on which she was condemned, could not, by any stretch of the law, have come under the denomination, nor have been punished as treason; and the queen evidently saw this, for on the next day she spoke of going to Hanover, and expressed hopes of life — a circumstance which may account for her having acknowledged to the archbishop of Canterbury the existence of such impediment to her marriage.

---

[p] Ibid. Collier, vol. ii. p. 117.

Little time was left for the unhappy queen, or for the other prisoners to prepare for the last scene of this most awful tragedy. Having so far cleared his way, Henry seems to have been impatient to remove, by their deaths, every obstacle between him and the new object of his passions; and, so unfeeling was his heart, that he personally gave instructions to the constable of the Tower respecting the execution of his unhappy victims. Kingston thus writes the day after the queen's condemnation: "Sir, this day I was with the king's grace, and declared the petitions of my lord of Rochford, wherein I was answered. Sir, the said lord much desireth to see you, which suiteth his conscience much, as he saith; wherein I pray you I may know your pleasure, for because of my promise to my said lord to do the same; and also I shall desire you further to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her confessor, as for the preparation of scaffolds and other necessaries; concerning which, the king's grace shewed me that my lord of Canterbury should be her confessor, and (he) was here this day with the queen, and not in that matter. Sir, the time is short, for the king supposes the gentlemen do die to-morrow; and my lord of Rochford with the residue of the gentlemen is as yet without doctor Abbyge, which I look for: but, I have told my lord of Rochford that he must be in readiness to-morrow to suffer execution, and so he accepts it very well, and will do his best to be ready; notwithstanding he would have received his right, which hath not been used, and in especial here. Sir, I shall desire you, that we may here know the king's pleasure as shortly as may be, that we here may prepare for the same, which is necessary; for the same we here have no man for to do execution. Sir, I pray you have good remembrance in all this for us to do; for we shall be ready always to our knowledge. Yet the queen said this day at dinner that she should go to Hanover, and is in hope of life; and thus fare you well. William Kyngston." [r]

---

[q] Cottonian MSS. Otho, C. X.; and see Appendix to Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, No. xlix.

On the morrow morning, the 17th of May, lord Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Weston, were beheaded on Tower-hill, and Smeton hanged; and, two days afterwards, Anne herself was brought to suffer death, on a scaffold erected upon the green within the Tower.

The idea that the unhappy queen seems to have entertained that she had still a prospect of life, was soon dispelled. The fate of her brother and the other prisoners, and the preparations for her own execution taught her to turn all her thoughts and hopes on another world; and she did so with exemplary fervency and resignation. She manifested great anxiety to obtain forgiveness of her daughter-in-law, the princess Mary, for some harshness with which she had treated her; and it has been justly remarked, "that this tenderness of conscience about lesser matters, is a fair presumption that, if she had been guilty of greater faults, she had not continued to the last denying them, and making protestations of her innocence." [s] The night before her death she is said to have sent a last message to the king, acknowledging herself much obliged to him for his favors towards her: "She said he had, from a private gentlewoman, first made her a marchioness, and then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a saint in heaven:" she protested her innocence, and recommended her daughter [t] to his care.

It was expected that Anne would have exculpated herself, and have appealed against the injuries she had received, at the moment of her death; and, on that account, it seems to have been the object of the government to have her execution as private as circumstances would permit: in the morning she received the sacrament, still affirming her innocence; and the constable, in a letter to secretary Cromwell, a few hours before she was beheaded, shews with how much calmness she looked on her approaching fate. "Sir," says he, "this is to advertise you I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers removed out of the Tower, and so they be, by the means of Richard Gressum, and William Lake, and Wythepoll; but the number of strangers passed not thirty, and not many other, and the embassador of the emperor had a servant there, and (he was) honestly put out. Sir, if we have not an hour certain I think here will be but few, and I think a small number were best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a . . . . woman for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death: for, this morning, she sent for me, that I might be with her at the time as she received the good Lord, to the intent I should hear her confessions touching her innocency alway to be clear; and, in the writing hereof she sent for me, and, at my coming, she said: "Mr. Kyngston, I hear say, I shall not die before noon, and I am very sorry therefore; for I thought to be dead now, and past my pain." I told her, it should be no pain, it was so subtle. Then she said, "I have heard say the executioner is very good, and I have a little neck;" and, putting her hands about it, laughed heartily. I have seen many men and also women executed, and, that they have been in great sorrow, and, to my knowledge, this lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and has been since two of the clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and so fare you well. Your William Kyngston."[u]

---

[r] Harleian MSS. No. 283, art. 134. [s] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. [t] Ibid.

A little before noon she was conducted to the scaffold, around which, among the few whose presence was permitted, were the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor, secretary Cromwell, and the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London.[x] She approached with a firm and graceful step; her beauty shone in all its wonted brightness, and every one seemed disarmed by the sweet benignity that beamed in her looks: even the executioner had not, for awhile, the heart to do his office! Anne alone, at this trying moment, appeared to retain a self-possession: she turned to the ladies who attended her, and endeavoured to calm their grief;[y] she presented each with a token of her affectionate regard,[z] and then addressed the spectators: but, contrary to expectation, her words were few, and those of the mildest nature. She said that, as she was judged by the laws, so she was come there to die; but, that she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the grounds whereon she was condemned: she prayed heartily for the king, and spoke of him with kindness; she adverted to the favors he had bestowed on her, with a grateful feeling: she begged that, if any should meddle with her cause, they would judge of it favorably;[a] and, with a fervent prayer she commended her soul to Christ, and resigned herself to the executioner. The fatal blow wrung from all who witnessed it, a deep-fetched sigh of anguish, but so little was the regard paid to her remains, that not even a coffin was provided to inclose them. Her body is said to have been instantly laid in a chest, made for containing arms, and to have been buried without ceremony in the Tower chapel.[b]

---

[u] Cotton. MSS. Otho, C. X. No. 223.

[x] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

Such was the end of the lovely Anne Boleyn, so lately the favorite of the people, and an object of adoration with the king. Introduced in early life to the French court, she had imbibed, perhaps, some of the lightness of its manners; and, by a strong flow of spirits, a lively, open, and unsuspicious disposition, she seems to have been betrayed into unguarded acts, which, though innocent in themselves, were unbecoming her exalted station as queen of England. Justice, as well as charity, requires us to acquit her of the crime which was made the ground for putting her to death; and, had Henry not fixed his eyes and wishes on another object, not her failings, but her benevolence and virtues, would have been the theme of history. We must regard Anne Boleyn as a victim to the capricious nature of her husband, and cherish her memory with reverential fondness, as the great heroine and promoter of the reformation.

---

[y] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, part iii. book iii.

[z] See Wyatt's Memoir of Queen Anne Boleyn.

[a] See Hall's Chronicle, Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, &c.

[b] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, part iii. book iii.

Shortly after the death of Anne Boleyn, the Tower became a place of confinement for two other prisoners who have an equal claim upon our pity. These were, LORD THOMAS HOWARD, youngest son of Thomas late duke of Norfolk, and MARGARET DOUGLAS, daughter to the Queen of Scots, and King Henry's niece. His lordship had contracted marriage with her without the king's assent, and, in consequence, both of them were committed to the Tower. The parliament being then sitting, an act was made to prevent similar occurrences: he was attainted of treason, and grief shortly ended his days in the Tower; after which she was restored to liberty.[c]

In 1537, the insurrections in the north, consequent on the changes in religion, and the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, filled the Tower with prisoners. The LORDS DARCY and HUSSEY, sir Francis Bygot, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer and his lady, sir Thomas Percy (brother to the earl of Northumberland), sir Stephen Hamilton, William son of lord Lumley, Nicholas Tempest, Robert Aske, and the abbots of Fontaine, Ryval, and Jervaux, were brought to that fortress, and executed. The two lords were arraigned at Westminster, before the marquis of Exeter, sitting as lord high steward, and found guilty of treason; and the rest were shortly afterwards tried and condemned for the same crime. Lord Darcy, at the age of four-score years, was beheaded on Tower-hill, greatly lamented by the nation; as his merits, his age, and his important services to the state for upwards of fifty years were looked upon as meriting the king's mercy.[d] Lord Hussey was beheaded at Lincoln, sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains at Hull, and Aske, the principal leader in the rebellion, suffered in like manner on one of the gates at York. Sir John Bulmer's wife, or paramour, was burnt to death in Smithfield, and the rest were executed at Tyburn.[e]

In the following year the MARQUIS OF EXETER, Henry Pole lord Montague, sir Edward Nevil, brother to lord Abergavenny, sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, and some others,[f] were brought to a similar fate. They were accused by sir Geoffry Pole, lord Montague's brother, of a treasonable correspondence with cardinal Pole, and were thereupon attainted in parliament;[g] as were the marchioness of Exeter, Margaret countess of Salisbury, cardinal Pole, sir Adrian Fortesque, and Thomas Dingley, who were also imprisoned in the Tower.

---

[c] Hall, Stow, Hollinshed, &c.

[d] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., vol. i. book iii.

[e] Hollinshed.

The marquess of Exeter and lord Montague were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, and found guilty, on the 31st of December, the lord Audley sitting as lord high steward; and, on the third day afterwards, sir Edward Nevil,[h] sir Geffry Pole, and the others, were also arraigned and convicted of treason. Nevil and the two lords were beheaded on Tower-hill on the 9th of January; sir Geffry Pole was pardoned his life, but expiated his perfidy by perpetual imprisonment, and the rest were hanged and quartered at Tyburn.[i]

SIR NICHOLAS CAREW after his attainder was respited, and remained a prisoner in the Tower till the 3d of March, on which day he was conducted to the scaffold on the adjoining hill, and beheaded. "He made a goodly confession, both of his folly and superstitious faith, giving God most hearty thanks that ever he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first savoured of the life and sweetness of God's holy word, meaning the Bible in English,"[k] which he had there read at the instigation of his keeper; a person who had been formerly confined in the Tower, through the persecuting spirit of sir Thomas More, and of Stokesley, bishop of London. He had been a favorite with the king from his youth; was a polished courtier, and greatly excelled in martial exercises; but appears to have been, in early life, of a light and dissipated nature, and consequently, in 1521, he and several others of a similar character, who held offices about the king's person, were removed by the council, and appointed to stations abroad.[l] Carew was made captain of the castle of Risebank, in the marches of Calais,[m] but was soon afterwards recalled, and Henry subsequently conferred on him the order of the garter, and made him master of the horse.[n]

---

[f] Croftes, Collins, and Holland.

[g] Lords' Journals, Anno 31 Hen. VIII.

[h] See page 152, where, by mistake, he is called lord Bergavenny.

[i] Hall, Stow, and Hollinshed.

[k] Hall's Chronicle.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Ibid.

The king pardoned the marchioness of Exeter;[o] but Fortescue and Dingley were beheaded, and the countess of Salisbury, after her attainder in parliament, was kept in close confinement in the Tower till the year 1541; when, on the rising of a new commotion in Yorkshire, she was put to death, on suspicion of her favouring the popish party, and of holding communication with cardinal Pole, her son. A scaffold was erected for her execution on the green within the Tower, but when conducted thither, and required to lay her neck upon the block, she steadfastly refused to do so, declaring she was no traitor; and the executioner followed her round the platform, striking at her hoary head; and in this shocking manner, at seventy years of age, the last of whole blood of the royal line of Plantagenet was literally mauled to death.[p] She was never brought to trial, and as there does not appear to have been produced any satisfactory proof of her guilt, we must regard this illustrious descendant of so long a line of kings, not as a sacrifice to justice, but as a victim to Henry's jealousy — a fate which, as we have already noticed, befel her brother, Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, in the reign preceding.

Among others who were also confined in the year 1539, chiefly on account of their adherence to the popish worship, the opposition of Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester, to the doctrines of the reformation, brought that prelate to the Tower.[q] He had combined with several persons, among whom were the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and London, for maintaining the old religion, and preserving its customs and traditions,[r] and he had also disobeyed the injunctions which Cromwell, in his capacity of vicegerent, had issued for the regulation of the church: but, after a rigid confinement for several months in the Tower, he humbly acknowledged his errors, and, by the intercession of Cromwell, was released.[s]

---

[n] Hall's Chronicle.

[o] Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 652.

[p] See lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII., in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 227.

[q] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. p. 520, edit. 1816.

[r] Ibid. pp. 516—522.

[s] Ibid. p. 522.

In the year 1540, the fickleness of the king, and the rising influence of the duke of Norfolk, and of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, produced the fall of THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX; one of the greatest characters that ever adorned the nation, and one of the best and most faithful ministers that ever served a king.

To his origin Cromwell owed nothing of his extraordinary fortune: he had no fame of ancestry to introduce to the world, nor paternal influence to place him in the road to greatness. His wealth, his power, and his honors were the just rewards of talent, fidelity, and worth. He was the son of a blacksmith, and the village of Putney, in Surrey, has the honor of being his birth-place and the scene of his early years. The wonderful vigour of his capacity, which surmounted all the forbidding circumstances of his birth and education, displayed itself in his youth. Eager in pursuit of knowledge, and with a mind that spurned the humble occupation of his father, he left his home and became a wanderer. He first travelled into France, and, driven perhaps by necessity, entered the army of the duke of Bourbon; with whom, as a common soldier, he was at the siege of Rome.[t] Few and confused are the particulars that have been handed down to us of his progress in early life, but we are told that he had made himself acquainted with Italy, France, and Germany; that the New Testament in the Latin tongue, which became the companion of his travels, he had got by heart;[u] that he was a second time in Rome, as a suitor for papal indulgences;[x] and to the opportunities that he then seems to have possessed of becoming acquainted with the extravagance and abuse of the pope's authority, we may reasonably ascribe the zeal he afterwards manifested in redeeming his country from superstitious thraldom, and in establishing the king's power as supreme head of the English church.

Soon after his second return from Rome we find Cromwell in the service of cardinal Wolsey. From the penetrating eye of that bounteous prelate talent seldom escaped, and equally ready was his fostering hand extended to cherish and protect it. His court was the nursery of genius, and there we find this great champion of the reformation springing up with More, Gardiner, and other distinguished characters of the day.[y] Cromwell, soon after he had entered the cardinal's service, successively became his steward, solicitor, and secretary; the founding and endowing of the two magnificent colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, begun by that prelate, were chiefly committed to his care; and, through the influence of his patron, he afterwards obtained a seat in parliament, where he soon became conspicuous for his general capacity for business, fidelity, and that decision of character, which qualified him for great actions.

---

[t] Fox's Book of Martyrs. Lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII.

[u] Ibid.

[x] Ibid.

In the year 1530, when the tide of fortune turned against Wolsey, the lords in parliament framed an address to the king, in order to his attainder: but, on their sending it for the concurrence of the commons, Cromwell stood forward almost alone in his defence, and with so much firmness and eloquence vindicated his fallen patron, that even the most violent against the cardinal could not restrain their admiration of the heart and talents of his advocate.[z] Such conduct became a great and generous mind; and, although it defeated the object of his master's enemies, it did not impede his own fortune; it rather gave weight and importance to his character.

Almost immediately afterwards, Cromwell was recommended to the king's notice by lord Russel, to whom he had rendered some eminent services while his lordship was employed in an embassy abroad. Than Henry the Eighth, few men have possessed greater penetration, and at the first interview with which he honoured Cromwell, which was in the royal gardens at Westminster,[a] he was so captivated with his extraordinary genius and information, that he immediately retained him in his service;[b] and hence the rapidity of his advance in the confidence and favor of the king, and to offices and honors in the state, was only equalled by his merits; the greatness of his services, and the success that attended his talents and his judgment, in all the great transactions that distinguish the brief but noted æra of his power.

---

[y] Fox's Book of Martyrs. Lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII.

[z] Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, pp. 82, 83. [a] Fox's Book of Martyrs. [b] Ibid.

The first distinction that the king conferred on Cromwell was to make him a privy-counsellor, and master of the Jewel-house;[c] he was also knighted, and in the following year was appointed, first to the office of clerk of the Hanaper,[d] and subsequently to that of chancellor of the Exchequer. But the powers of his mind required a wider field for action, and the capacity he had already displayed shewed that the rudder of the state could not be entrusted to fitter hands in that important crisis of affairs.

In 1534, Henry advanced Cromwell to be his principal secretary of state; in the same year he also made him master of the rolls; and, in 1536, he not only conferred on him the office of keeper of the privy seal,[e] and the dignity of a baron of the realm,[f] by the title of lord Cromwell of Okeham in the county of Rutland, but made him first his vicar general, and, shortly afterwards, preferred him to a still higher office over the church, by making him vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters; and the firmness and zeal, tempered with wisdom and moderation, which, in union with the virtuous Cranmer, he displayed in the exercise of these important duties, shew how much subsequent ages have been indebted to him for the blessings of the reformation.

Under the patronage of Cromwell, in 1538, the Bible obtained circulation in the English tongue;[g] and, by the king's authority, he likewise issued injunctions to all incumbents, "to provide one of these books to be set up publicly in the church, and to encourage all persons to read it, as being the true word of God, which every Christian ought to believe and follow, if he expected salvation:" he also enjoined them to instruct the people in the principles of religion, by teaching them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, in English; and he directed, that in all churches there should be made every quarter at least, a sermon, to declare to the people the true gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to works of charity, mercy, and faith, instead of putting their trust in pilgrimages, and other acts of idolatry and superstition.[h]

---

[c] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 370.

[d] Ibid. [e] Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. pars 1. [f] Journals, vol. i. p. 101.

[g] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part 1, pp. 385, 417.

In the dissolution of the monasteries Cromwell was also the leading instrument, and, as a reward for his services in that important work, he obtained a grant of vast possessions which had belonged to those establishments;[i] he was also created earl of Essex,[k] and soon afterwards made a knight of the garter, and lord high chamberlain of England.[l] But this proved the summit of his greatness, and the extraordinary rapidity of his rise was more than equalled by the suddenness of his fall. He had incurred the hatred of the popish party by his forwardness in promoting the reformation; and by his great subserviency to the will of his master, he had become generally unpopular: the old nobility were jealous of his advancement, and, by his having been the promoter of Henry's joyless marriage with Anne of Cleves, he had lost the favor and confidence of that capricious king. In this situation his enemies were not idle: articles of accusation were secretly preferred against him, and, whilst sitting in the council chamber at Westminster, on the 10th of June 1540, he was suddenly arrested by the duke of Norfolk, and carried instantaneously to the Tower, forsaken by his friends, and loaded with the imprecations of the people.

In the Tower, Cromwell underwent an examination by the council, and shortly after, a bill of attainder was exhibited against him in parliament, on charges of heresy and high treason; the preamble to which stated that, "the king had raised him from a base degree to great dignities and high trusts, yet he had now, by a great number of witnesses, persons of honor, found him to be the most corrupt traitor, and deceiver of the king and crown, that had been known during his whole reign."[m] This bill was brought into the House of Lords on the 17th of June,[n] and two days afterwards,[o] without a hearing of the prisoner, or a witness being called to substantiate the charges against him, it was read a second and third time; and, having passed, was sent to the Commons. On the 29th it was returned with some amendments from the lower house,[p] and the unfortunate minister was condemned to such death as his unfeeling master might assign.[q]

---

[h] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part 1, p. 386.

[i] Rot. Pat. 31 Hen. VIII. pars 5.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. vol. ii. p. 225.

[m] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.

[n] Lords' Journals, p. 145.

[o] Ibid. p. 146.

From his prison Cromwell addressed several letters to the king, in the first of which, "writtin with the quaking hand, and most sorrowfull harte of your most sorrowfull subject, and most humble servant and prisoner, this Satyrday at the Tour of London,"[r] he entered into a long account of the charges alleged against him: he declared that with regard to treason, as God knew, and, he doubted not, would reveal the truth to his highness, he never in all his life had thought willingly to do any thing that might or should displease his majesty, much less to commit so high and abominable an offence; he protested that the love he had to his majesty's person, honor, life, and every other advantage, was his ruling passion; and called upon God to witness the labours, pain, and travels he had taken in his service: he gratefully acknowledged his majesty's bounty and goodness; he besought the vengeance of heaven to light upon him, if he could have ever thought of being a traitor, and, if he had unwittingly offended in any thing, he humbly implored his majesty's gracious mercy and pardon.

In his adversity all the wonted greatness of Cromwell's mind seems to have forsaken him. A letter, which he wrote to the king the second day after his attainder, concludes in these abject terms: "I, a most woeful prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the Tower, this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand of your highness's most heavy, and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And beneath, in the heaviness of his affliction, and as a further call for pardon, he adds, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!"[s]

---

[p] Lords' Journals, p. 149.

[q] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

[r] Bibl. Cotton. Titus, B. I. See Appendix to the first edit. of this work.

[s] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part 1. p. 435.

This was, probably, the melancholy epistle which, we are told, had so much effect even on Henry's ungrateful heart, that he commanded it to be read to him three times, and seemed at last to relent.[t] But his passion for Catherine Howard, aided by the prevailing influence of Norfolk and of Gardiner, paralyzed every thought of mercy, and the fallen minister, after remaining a prisoner in the Tower till the 28th of July, was brought to close his days upon a scaffold, on the adjoining hill.[u]

Just before his death Cromwell addressed the surrounding multitudes that had assembled to witness his execution; and the speech which he is represented to have made on that awful occasion, has given birth to various conjectures as to the faith in which he died. Restrained, perhaps, by some prudent motives, he declined clearing himself of the offences for which he was to suffer, but said, that "he was by the law condemned to die, and thanked God for having appointed him that death for his offences:" he acknowledged his sins against God, and said, "it is not unknown to many of you that I have been a great traveller in this world, and, being but of base degree, I was called to high estate, and since the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as maintained evil opinions, which is untrue; but I confess, that like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witness that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church." He then begged them to pray for the king, and for the prince; and "once again," said he, "I desire you to pray for me, that, so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith."[x]

The prisoner then kneeled down, and before he submitted his head to the block, offered up this fervent prayer, for remission of his sins, and for admittance into eternal glory:

---

[t] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part 1. p. 439.

[u] Ibid.

[x] See Harleian MSS. No. 3362. Fox's Book of Martyrs. Fuller's Church History.

"O Lord Jesu, who art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of all that die in thee, I, a wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and, being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt, by thy grace, make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation; but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits, nor good works, which I may allege before thee; but of sins and evil works, alas! I see an endless multitude: yet through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of those to whom thou wilt not impute their sins, but wilt take and accept me to be an inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, for my sake, wast born, and didst both hunger and thirst: for my sake thou didst teach, and pray, and fast: for my sake all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest, and didst suffer most grievous pains and torments; and, finally, for my sake thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed upon the cross. Now, most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me that thou freely hast done for me: let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins: let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness: let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be a satisfaction for my sins: give me, Lord, thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant; that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me; that love wax not cold in me, and finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me also, most merciful Saviour, that when death hath closed the eyes of my body, the light of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee: Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul: Lord Jesu, receive my spirit."

Thus fell that great pillar of the state, and promoter of the reformation, Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex; and if we consider him as shining in public, or adorning the paths of private life, we shall find it no ordinary task to do becoming justice to his memory. That he raised himself, without the dint of interest, or the aid of friends, from one of the lowest ranks in society to the highest offices and honors in the state, is a sufficient evidence of his overpowering talents; and his having so long maintained himself in the favor of his sovereign, and in the enjoyment of his exalted stations, notwithstanding the envying of the great, and the malice of his religious opponents, is ample proof of the goodness and integrity of his conduct.

Unlike most men who have risen suddenly in the world, Cromwell bore his greatness with moderation, and possessed the noble and rare virtue of never forsaking a friend when fortune frowned upon him, nor forgetting the acquaintance of his earlier and more humble days. The admirable defence that he made for his fallen patron, Wolsey, when none other stood forward to shield him from destruction, raised him in the estimation of all good men: nor did his conduct towards the merchant who had befriended him in his adversity, reflect less credit on his heart. It happened that when Cromwell was wandering abroad in his early years, he was driven by distress to beg for his subsistence, and in this wretched condition, at Florence, he attracted the notice of Francis Frescobald, an eminent merchant of that city, whose intercourse with England gave him greater interest in the beggar's state, on being told that he had travelled from that country, and had come into Italy with the camp of Frenchmen who were overthrown at Gatilyon; where, said he, "I was the page to an esquire, carrying after him his pike and burganet." He took Cromwell into his house, and fed and clothed him; and when his guest was about to depart, he gave him a horse, and put sixteen ducats in his purse, to carry him to his native land. In a few years afterwards, Cromwell's extraordinary fortune had raised him to wealth and honors; whilst on the contrary his benefactor had, by the hazards attendant on his calling, been reduced to poverty. In his distress Frescobald came into England to seek some debts that were owing to him in this kingdom, and, shortly after his arrival in London, he was met by Cromwell, as he was riding towards the court; who no sooner beheld the generous foreigner, than he alighted, and embracing him, could scarcely refrain from tears. "You are Francis Frescobald the Florentine," said he: "I am, my lord," replied the merchant, in great astonishment, "and your humble servant." "My servant!" answered the statesman, "No; as you were not my servant in times past, so I will not now account you otherwise than as my great and especial friend, and I have reason to be sorry that I knew not before of your arrival; but I desire you will fail not to come this day to dinner at my house,"

Frescobald, on recovering from his surprise, remembered the traveller whom he had relieved in Florence, and at the hour of dinner he repaired to Cromwell's house; where the minister again embraced him, in the presence of the lord admiral and other noble friends, relating to them the story of their old acquaintance. At dinner he led the stranger to the seat of his best-welcomed friend, and after his other guests retired, and he had understood the cause of Frescobald's coming into England, he repaid him his sixteen ducats, with a present of sixteen hundred more.[y]

It is the fate of every fallen statesman to be forsaken by his friends and insulted by his enemies, and this was truly the case with Cromwell. In his behalf no voice was raised, save that of the virtuous Cranmer, and no one better than he was able to speak to his merits and his goodness. That prelate ventured to write thus humbly to the king in his favour, the day after his commitment to the Tower: "Though I heard yesterday," said the archbishop, "in your grace's council, that he is a traitor, yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against his king, who had advanced him, and was his only surety? He who so studied always to set forward whatever was your majesty's will, that he cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty; and who was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had before, and was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but that he detected them. I loved him," said he, "as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love I thought I ever saw him bear ever towards your grace, singularly above all others: but now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that I ever loved or trusted him, and I am glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet again, I am sorrowful; for who shall your grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your grace's chance herein; for I wot not whom your grace may trust; but I pray God continually night and day to send such a counsellor in his place, whom your grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your grace like him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your majesty from all dangers as I ever thought he had." [z]

---

[y] Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The speech that he is represented to have delivered just before his execution, made it questioned by many, of what religion he died: "but it is certain," says Burnet, "that he was a Lutheran. The term catholic faith used by him in his speech, seemed to make it doubtful; but that was then used in England in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome; so his profession of the catholic faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded that he died in the communion of the church of Rome." [a] His steady zeal in promoting the Reformation; his excellent injunctions for the regulation of the church; his promoting the circulation of the scriptures in our own tongue; his forbidding pilgrimages and other acts of superstition, and his protection to the reformers against the operation of the bloody statute, are evidences that he was a sincere protestant; and, whilst his prayer just before his execution bears him ample record that he died a zealous adherent to the faith in which he had lived, the manner in which his fate was accomplished, as well as the charges alleged against him, satisfactorily shew that he fell a victim to the caprice

[z] Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII. Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 440.

[a] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part i. p. 440.

of an ungrateful tyrant, rather than a sacrifice to any principles of justice.

The fall of Cromwell was a subject of great exultation to the advocates of the Roman catholic religion. He had been almost the only stay and prop of the reformation; and, by his authority as vicegerent, he had shielded many of the most zealous protestants from the severities of that iniquitous act, termed the statute of six articles: but none was now left who had sufficient power to stem the torrent of persecution; and, while all the prisons in London were crowded with persons stigmatized with the name of heretics, the Tower was tenanted with many eminent and learned divines;[b] some of whom were thence led to the stake, there to manifest the sincerity of their faith, amid the tortures of the flames.[c]

Perhaps the death of Cromwell, as well as all the persecutions that succeeded it, may be traced to Henry's unhappy passion for CATHERINE HOWARD, which gave to the popish party the prevailing influence. But whatever support was derived from her interest, was only of short duration; for the evil course of her life, before Henry had made her the partner of his royal bed, was soon discovered; and she, with LADY ROCHFORD, the confidant of her amours, and three gentlemen, named Mannoc, Derham, and Culpepper, were placed under confinement.

Mannoc and Derham having first been seized and privately examined, fully confessed their and the queen's guilt, and on this being made known to the king, he burst into tears, and bitterly bewailed his misfortune.[d] The queen was then removed, without any appearance of unkindness or disgrace, to Sion, where she was examined by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and other lords. At first she made solemn protestations of her innocence; but, on finding that the charges would be proved against her, she made, and subscribed to, a full confession of guilt with Derham before her marriage;[e] but, notwithstanding that, during her late progress with the king, Culpepper had been brought to her bedchamber at Lincoln, at eleven o'clock at night, and had staid there till four next morning,[f] she positively denied any violation of her marriage vows.[g] On these grounds Derham and Culpepper were tried and hanged at Tyburn;[h] while some of the queen's relations, and several other persons, were found guilty of misprision of treason, for concealing her incontinence, and sentenced to imprisonment for life;[i] and this was afterwards confirmed by bill of attainder in parliament.[k]

---

[b] About the same time the Tower was also the prison of Walter lord Hungerford, lord Leonard Grey, and Thomas Fines, lord Dacres. The lords Hungerford and Grey were beheaded on Tower-hill; the former for having procured a person to conjure, to know how long the king should live, and the latter on various charges of high-treason, while in the office of lord deputy of Ireland; and lord Dacres suffered in the same place, for committing murder, in company with some light persons, while unlawfully hunting in Laughton park, in Sussex.

[c] On the 30th of July, Dr. Robert Barns, Thomas Gerrard, and William Hierome, all priests who had been among the earliest converts to the doctrines of Luther, were drawn on hurdles from the tower, and burnt to death in Smithfield; and doctors Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, all zealous adherents to the very opposite tenets, were also drawn from the Tower, and hanged at the same time and place, for denying the king's supermacy.

Some time after her examination at Sion, the queen was conveyed with great privacy to the Tower, whither also had previously been sent the lady Rochford, the old duchess of Norfolk the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard her uncle, his lady, and the countess of Bridgewater, as well as several inferior persons; and, the parliament having met in January, acts of attainder were passed on the 11th of the following month, against the queen and lady Rochford for high treason, and against all the others for misprision of treason, as before related; and, on the second day afterwards, the two former were beheaded on the green within the Tower.[l]

Lady Rochford was generally unpitied, and every body looked upon her end as an evidence of the Almighty's justice, for she had been the leading instrument in the death of Queen Anne Boleyn, and of her own husband, lord Rochford; and as her fate revived the memory of those unhappy sufferers, so the badness of her character, as it now appeared, served still farther to convince the world of their innocence. The queen before her death was attended by Dr. White, who was afterwards bishop of Winchester, and to him she again confessed the misconduct of her life, before the king married her; but stood firm to her denial of any thing after, taking God and his angels to be her witnesses, upon the salvation of her soul, that she was guiltless of that act of defiling her sovereign's bed, for which she was condemned.[m] They had both devoted themselves to obtain reconciliation with the Almighty power they had offended, and, as they approached the scene of their dissolution, the greatest piety and resignation marked their carriage: indeed, says an eye-witness of their execution, 'they made the most godly and Christian's end that ever was heard tell of since the world's creation, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, with wonderful patience and constancy unto death: they acknowledged their heinous offences against God from their youth upward, in breaking all his commandments, and also against the king's royal majesty: they confessed that they had been justly condemned, by the laws of the realm and parliament, to die, and called upon the people to take example from them, for the amendment of their ungodly lives: they besought them gladly to obey the king in all things: they required all who were present to join in their hearty prayers for his preservation, and, commending their souls to God, and earnestly imploring his mercy, they submitted themselves to the executioner.'[n]

---

[d] Herbert, in Kennet, vol. ii. pp. 228, 229. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

[e] Burnet's Hist. vol. iii. part ii. p. 228.

[f] Hall's Chronicle.

[g] Burnet.

[h] Hall and Stow's Chronicles.

[i] Hall's Chron., and Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII.

[k] Burnet, vol. i. part i. p. 484.

[l] Hall.

The sentence passed upon the queen's relations for not disclosing the ill course of her life before her marriage, was generally deemed severe, and Henry soon afterwards pardoned the duchess of Norfolk and some of the others; but lord William Howard did not survive his confinement. He expired in his prison in the Tower, in 1542.[o]

A few months before this, Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, also died, a prisoner in the Tower; though under very different circumstances to those of lord Howard: the latter's death was probably hastened by grief, but lord Lisle's was accomplished by the effects of sudden joy, on hearing that he was restored to favor. He was a natural son of King Edward the Fourth, and had been appointed by Henry to the command of Calais; but, on suspicion of his having favored a design for betraying that town to the French, he was ordered home, and immediately committed to the Tower: [p] on further examination, however, his innocence was clearly established, and his majesty commanded his secretary, sir Thomas Wriothesley, to carry to him a diamond ring, as a token of his favor, assuring him, that although in so weighty a matter he could not have done less with his own son; yet, since it had been proved that he was void of all offence, he was sorry for having had occasion so far to try his truth, promising him also, thereafter to account and advance him as his true and faithful kinsman; and this welcome news coming suddenly to the prisoner, when perhaps he was anticipating destruction, threw his lordship into convulsions, of which he died the same night! [q]

---

[m] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part i. p. 484.

[n] See p. 69.

[o] Stow's Chronicle, p. 583.

Although the opponents of the reformation lost some of their influence by the attainder and death of Catherine Howard, there was no one now left, after the fall of Cromwell, who had sufficient authority to screen the protestants from destruction, or defend their church from danger. The statute of the six articles still had effect, and the rigorous manner in which it was enforced brought many religious persons to the stake, and among them was that celebrated martyr, MRS. ANNE ASKEW, who was racked in the Tower, and subsequently burnt in Smithfield, in 1546.

This lady, who was of an ancient and considerable family in Lincolnshire, possessed great natural talent, aided by a degree of learning uncommon to her sex, in the age in which she lived; but having been unhappily married, contrary to her own inclination, to a violent papist, she was driven from her home, and went to London, where the singular devotion of her life brought her under the notice of those advocates of superstition who disgraced human nature by their cruelties, and have left the blot of infamy on their names. She was charged with having in conversation denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; a doctrine which was zealously upheld by the clergy at that bigotted and superstitious period; and thereupon she was committed to prison, and several times examined before the lord mayor, and Bonner bishop of London;[r] but answered all their questions with so much acuteness and learning, that she often surprised and confounded her persecutors. After this she was liberated on bail, but in a short time was again taken into custody, and, after undergoing two very long and severe examinations before the council at Greenwich,[s] she was sent to confinement in Newgate; where she wrote some devotions and letters, which shew her to have been a woman of most extraordinary parts.[t] She was at last tried at the guild-hall by the commissioners appointed under the act of the six articles, and condemned to suffer in the flames: but, before the execution of this horrible decree, she was conveyed to the Tower, where she was again examined by some of the council, with the view to extort information concerning the duchess of Suffolk, the countess of Hertford, and some other ladies, who were suspected of favoring her opinions; but when it was found that neither promises nor entreaties could draw from her any confession whereby those persons might be brought under the lash of persecution, the prisoner was taken into a dungeon and stretched upon the rack; and we are informed that sir Richard Rich, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, the chancellor, were not only present, but assisted in increasing her tortures![u] All, however, could not prevail: and, notwithstanding that their severity deprived her of the use of her limbs, she bore her sufferings with the same fortitude and resignation that finally supported her at the stake. She was shortly afterwards carried to Smithfield, and there consumed to ashes, together with three other persons, for the same cause, in the presence of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas Wriothesley, the lord mayor, and a vast concourse of people, who had assembled to witness this barbarous spectacle.[x]

---

[p] Hollinshed.

[q] Ibid. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 312.

The last persons of distinguished rank confined in the Tower in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, were THOMAS HOWARD, the third DUKE of NORFOLK, and his eldest son, the renowned

---

[r] Fox's Book of Martyrs.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part i. p. 527.

[u] Fox's Book of Martyrs.

[x] Ibid.

Henry Earl of Surrey; two of the greatest of his subjects: "the one," says Sir Walter Raleigh,[y] "whose deservings he knew not how to value; having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the king's service: the other never having committed any thing worthy of displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes."

The duke of Norfolk had long enjoyed great confidence and favor with the king, and he had merited his distinctions by the many important services he had rendered his country, and by the obedience he had always shewn to his sovereign's will, even when compliance was in opposition to his own religious principles, his family, and his party feelings. While he bore the office of lord admiral, he had led the English fleets, and distinguished himself for bravery and skill: he had fought and gained honors at the field of Flodden: he had executed the duties of lord deputy of Ireland, and lord treasurer, to the credit of himself, and to the honor and interests of the nation; and he had often commanded the armies of his country, with success attending him in every enterprise. Though zealously attached to the Roman Catholic faith, he had complied with all the changes in the church in submission to Henry's dictates; and on the fall of his two nieces, who were queens, he had abandoned the innocent as well as the guilty, to gratify the passions and to preserve the favor of his king.

But all these services were forgotten, when, by the malicious suggestions of his enemies, he had become an object of royal jealousy. His high descent, his great alliances, his places of profit and of power, his vast estate and numerous retainers, shewed him to be the greatest subject in the kingdom; his rank, at the head of the popish party, gave addition to his weight and influence: and, as the king was now evidently approaching his dissolution, the family of Seymour, aspiring to place and power on the accession of prince Edward, looked upon the Howards' greatness as a stumbling-block to their own fortunes: others of the nobility likewise regarded them with envy: some had been incensed by taunting expressions, reflecting on their modern elevation; and, to add to the numbers that were ready with artful insinuations to inspire the king with animosity against them, dissensions in the duke's own family brought his duchess, and his daughter the countess of Richmond, to join the party of their adversaries.[z] Mrs. Holland, who was reported to have formerly been the duke's mistress, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Knivet, were also forward accusers of the parties;[a] and the worst construction being put on all their words and actions, the duke and his son, without any previous reason to anticipate such a measure, were arrested in the month of December, and committed to the Tower: an order was likewise issued for seizing the duke's goods, and, although the charges against them are too trifling to bear the name of crimes, it was officially notified to the ambassadors abroad that he and his son had conspired to take upon them the government of the king, during his majesty's life, and also after his death, to get possession of the prince's person; but that their devices had been revealed, and they committed to prison in the Tower.[b]

---

[y] Pref. to his Hist. of the World.

The earl of Surrey, not being a peer of parliament, was brought to trial at the guild-hall, on the 13th of January, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners;[c] where the principal charge preferred against him was, his quartering the arms of King Edward the Confessor, which, although he shewed that they had been, as authorised by the heralds, borne by his ancestors, was construed as a proof of his aspiring to the throne! two Italian servants in his household were taken for spies: his being known to converse much with foreigners was regarded as an evidence that he corresponded with cardinal Pole: some unguarded expressions which he was charged with making use of, were also insisted upon, as reflecting on the king, and indicating a design to subvert his government; and on these slight grounds, although he confounded his accusers by the judgment and acuteness of his answers, he was declared guilty of high treason! After receiving sentence, the noble prisoner was led back to the Tower, with the fatal axe borne inverted before him, and on the 19th of the same month, he was beheaded on the adjoining hill.

---

[z] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 264. [a] Ibid.

[b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. Hollinshed; and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

During his confinement, lord Surrey's high rank and exalted name did not shield him from those deprivations and hardships to which, in that stern age, the tenants of these prisons were but too generally subjected; and in this he partook the lot of his noble father. Previous to his trial he addressed a sensible and affecting letter from the Tower, to the lords of the council;[d] the whole style of which bears ample testimony to at least the innocence of his intentions, and gives us additional cause to lament his untimely end. After referring to a hasty suit he had before made to each of them, by one of his servants, for favor, he begged that they "would impute that error rather to the fury of restless youth, than to a will not conformable and contented with the quiet bearing of the just reward of his folly; as then he had not sufficiently pondered and debated with himself that a prince, offended, hath no redress upon his subject, but condign punishment, without respect of persons. Yet," said he, "let my youth, unpractised in durance, obtain pardon; although for lack of strength it yield not itself wholly to his gentle chastisement; whilst the heart is resolved with patience to pass over the same in satisfaction of mine errors. And, my good lords, if it were lawful to persuade by the precedent of other young men reconciled, I would affirm that this might sound to me a happy fault; by so gentle a warning to learn how to bridle my heady will, which in youth is rarely attained without adversity.

"Where I might," continues the accomplished prisoner, "without vaunt, lay before you the quiet conversation of my past life, which (unstained with any unhonest touch, unseeming in such a man as hath pleased God and the king to make me,) might perfectly promise new amendment of mine offence; whereof if you doubt in any points, I shall humbly desire you, that during my affliction (in which time malice is most ready to slander the innocent) there may be made a whole examination of my life, wishing that, for the better trial thereof, rather to have the time of my durance redoubled, and so declared, and well tried as unsuspected, by your mediations to be restored to the king's favor, than condemned in your grave heads without answer or farther examination, to be quickly delivered this heinous offence always unexcused, whereupon I was committed to this so noisome a prison, whose pestilent airs are not unlike to bring some alteration of my health. Wherefore, if your good lordships judge me not a member rather to be clean cut away, than reformed, it may please you to be suitors to the king's majesty in my behalf, as well for his favor as my liberty: or else, at the least, if his pleasure be to punish this oversight with the forbearing of his presence unto every loving subject, especially unto me, (which from a prince cannot be less counted than a living death,) yet it would please him to command me into the country to some place of open air, with like restraint of liberty, there to abide his grace's pleasure." Among some further observations, he declared his wish to make out for his error by devotion to the service of his king; and, apparently little suspecting the fate that awaited him, he concluded with a prayer that God would preserve them in his pleasure.

---

[d] Harleian MSS.

The death of this rising ornament to an age and country that knew not how to appreciate his worth, was generally censured as an act of injustice and severity, and it ever after loaded the Seymours with popular odium;[e] for he was a man on whose learning and many noble qualities every writer has bestowed the highest meed of praise. He is celebrated, says an elegant biographer,[f] by Drayton, Dryden, Fenton, and Pope; illustrated by his own muse, and lamented for his unhappy and unmerited death: he shone in all the accomplishments of that martial age, and his name is renowned in its tournaments and in his father's battles. With high personal courage he united a politeness and urbanity of manner then almost peculiar to himself;[g] and his writings display an elegance of composition little if at all inferior to that of our best poets at any succeeding period.[h] He wrote several very beautiful sonnets; he also rendered some select portions of scripture into English metre; and "His lordship's," says another writer,[i] "are not only the first, but are equal to the best English love-verses; and in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology, approach so near the productions of the present age, that they will hardly be believed to have been produced in the reign of Henry the Eighth." The principal subject of his muse was the passion of love, which he treated in the spirit of the Italian poets, and as a professed follower of Petrarch; and in them he revived "the force of expression, the polished style, and the passionate sentiments of the best poets of antiquity."

---

[e] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

[f] Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

[g] Lodge's Biography of Illustrious Characters.

[h] Lord Surrey has left translations from Ecclesiastes, and some Psalms, and the second and fourth books of Virgil's Æneid, in blank verse; poems addressed to the duke of Richmond; Satires on the Citizens of London, one book; Juvenile Poems; and Boccace's Consolation to Pinus on his Exile.

Such was the virtuous and noble Surrey! but we must now leave the son to pursue the story of the father, who remained a prisoner in the Tower, subject to such hardships that, in a petition to the council, he had even to beg for sheets to lay upon![k] The duke of Norfolk, either better acquainted with the nature of his master, or growing fonder of life as it drew nearer to the dregs, wrote a pathetic letter to the king, protesting that, "in all his life he never so much as imagined an untrue thought against his majesty, or his succession, nor could he judge or cast in his mind what should be laid to his charge; and certainly, if he knew that he had offended in any point of untruth, he would declare it to his highness; but, as God helped him, he could not accuse himself so much as in thought. For all the old services he had rendered his majesty in his life, he implored that his accusers and he might be brought together before his majesty, or his council; and then, if he should not make it apparent that he was wrongfully accused, that he might have punishment according to his deserts: he had no refuge but in his majesty, and he prayed that he might not be cast away through his false enemies' informations: he knew not that he had offended any man, unless it were those who were angry with him for being quick against such as had been accused for sacramentaries; but as for all causes of religion he would declare, as he before had to his grace and many others, that he knew his majesty to be a prince of such virtue and knowledge, that whatsoever laws he had made in times past, or might thereafter make, he would, to the extremity of his power, stick unto them, as long as his life should last; and finally, he repeated his petition that he might know what was laid to his charge, most humbly beseeching his majesty to have pity on him, and let him recover his gracious favour, with the taking away of his lands and goods, or such of them as might please his highness."

---

[i] Anderson's British Poets, vol. i. p. 593.

[k] See pp. 133, 134.

Whether the prevailing party ever permitted this reasonable and impressive appeal to meet Henry's eye, or whether his maladies had not so far increased as to render him incapable of attending to his public as well as private affairs, is uncertain; but we are sure that it brought to the noble prisoner no relief; and this, in his anxiety to save his own life, and the fortune of his house, seems to have driven him to a state of desperation and of weakness, far below the dignity of his rank and former character. From protestations of innocence he went to the opposite extreme, and, on the day before the trial of his son, he drew up and subscribed to an abject confession, by which he not only involved himself, but sealed the fate of the ill-fortuned Surrey![l] But it was neither the nature of the king nor the character of the times to ruin men by halves, and the fate of the duke of Norfolk was decided on: a parliament had been summoned to meet on the 14th of January, and on the 18th a bill was brought into the house of lords and read the first time, for the attainder of him and of his son, lord Surrey; and so great was the anxiety which seems to have been felt to complete the ruin of this distinguished nobleman, that on the 24th it had passed both houses! on the 27th it received the royal assent by commission, and the same night an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for leading the duke on the following morning to a like fate that, a few days before, had befallen his injured son![m] But heaven interposed in his behalf, and before the appointed hour for the duke's decapitation, Henry himself was removed to another world! The king died early in the morning of the 28th, and in the confusion consequent on that event the duke of Norfolk's life was saved: the council did not venture to order his execution; but he was excepted out of the general pardon which graced the day of Edward's coronation,[n] and, during his reign the illustrious name of Howard disappears in the page of history. With lord Courtney, afterwards earl of Devonshire, Tunstall bishop of Durham, and some others, he remained a prisoner till the accession of Queen Mary, when he was liberated, and regained that rank in his sovereign's favor which he had lost in the closing days of her father.

---

[l] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. pp. 265, 266.

[m] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

In the latter years of the reign of Henry, STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, by his deep dissimulation, and an extraordinary capacity for business, had raised himself to the consideration of that monarch; and by his diligent court, and obsequiousness to his master's will, had gained that influence over the affairs of the church and state, which rendered him, in conjunction with the duke of Norfolk, not only the successful rival of Cromwell, but gave him the power of paralyzing all the efforts of the leading protestants, and of reviving, by the statute of the six articles, some of the most obnoxious doctrines of the Romish church. He was a man of great parts, as well natural as acquired; was well skilled in the canon and civil laws, and moderately so in divinity; his style too in Latin was good, and he well understood the Greek; but his greatest strength lay in his innate cunning, a quickness of apprehension, a great foresight in business, a close and artificial way of concealing his own mind, and of insinuating himself into the affections and confidence of others.[o]

Towards the close, however, of Henry's life, his power had declined, and soon after the accession of the sixth Edward, he began to taste of those rigors, which, in the period of his own authority, he had so cruelly exercised towards the protestants. He was at first imprisoned in the Fleet, but by promises of conformity with the new regulations of the church, he was restored to liberty, and the subsequent proceedings against him appear to have been somewhat tinctured with the severity that characterized the religious zeal of the times. On the ground of disobedience, in preaching contrary to the king's injunctions set forth for the reformation of errors, superstitions, and abuses in the church, and for nonconformity to the book of common prayer, he was arrested in his own house, in 1550, and immediately conveyed under a strong guard to the Tower; where he underwent several examinations by the council; as appears from the following account of his imprisonment, contained in his answers to articles framed against him, before his deprivation from the bishoprick of Winchester.[p]

---

[n] Stow's Chron. p. 594.

[o] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

"After I was once in the Tower, until it was within six days of a whole year, I could hear no manner of word, message, comfort, or relief, saving once when I was sick, and methought some extremity towards me, my chaplain had licence to come to me for one time, and then denied again, being answered that my fever was but a tertian; which my chaplain told me when he came to me at the Easter following, and then being with me from morning till night on Easter-day, departed, and for no suit could I ever have him since. To master lieutenant I made divers suits to provoke the duke of Somerset's grace to hear me, and, if I might have the liberty of an Englishman, I would plainly declare that I had never offended law, statute, act, nor his own letter: but all would not help, and I shall report me to master lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or used any unseemly words, ever demanding justice, or to be heard according to justice. When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within six days or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the lord chancellor of England, now being the lord treasurer, and master secretary Petre, who calling me unto them, said, they 'had brought with them a book passed by the parliament, which they would I should look on and say my mind to it, and, upon my conformity in it, my lord protector would be a suitor to the king's majesty for mercy to be ministered to me.' Whereunto I answered, that I trusted, if I might be heard, his majesty's justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, but could not be heard; and to sue for mercy when I have not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of this place, where asking of mercy implieth a further suspicion than I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient."

---

[p] See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

After some conversation had passed on the subject of his offences, he says, "My lord chancellor then shewed me the beginning of the act for common prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him it was true, and therefore, if I came abroad, I would be well aware of it: but, quoth I, it is after stated that no man should be troubled for this act, unless he were first indicted, and therefore, I may not be kept in prison under this act. Ah! said he, I perceive ye know the law well enough: I told him my chaplain had brought it to me the afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the book, and to say my mind on it. I answered that I thought it not meet to yield myself a scholar, to go to school in prison, and then slander myself, as though I redeemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the law which I know not, I will honor it like a subject, and if I keep it not, I will willingly suffer the pain of it; and what more conformity I should shew I cannot tell, for mine offences be past, if there be any. If I have not suffered enough I will suffer more, if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new law, if I keep it not, punish me for that likewise.

"Then my lord chancellor asked me whether I would not desire the king's majesty to be my good lord; at which word I said: alas, my lord! do ye think that I have so forgotten myself? my duty required so, and I will on my knees desire him to be my good lord, and my lord protector also. That is well said, quoth my lord chancellor, and what will ye say further? In good faith, said I, this, that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still, and had it not been for the article of the supremacy, I would have rather feigned myself sick, than be occasion of this that hath followed: but going to the pulpit, I must needs say as I said. Well, quoth my lord chancellor, then ye desire the king's majesty to be your good lord, and my lord protector also; and ye say that ye thought not to have offended? All this I will say, quoth I. And ye will, said my lord chancellor, submit yourself to be ordered by my lord protector? Nay, said I, but by the law; for my lord protector hath scourged me over sore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with my lord chancellor when I could not refer my order to my lord protector, but to the law: and staying at this point, they were content to grant me of their gentleness to make their suit to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go into the gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two days following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the book by way of contempt, nor in evil manner; but that I was loth to yield myself a scholar in the Tower, and to be seen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my conscience. My body, I said, should serve my conscience, but not contrariwise.

"But I heard no more of my matter for one whole year within fourteen days, notwithstanding two letters written to the council, to be heard according to justice; but at the end of two years almost there came unto me the duke of Somerset and other of the council; and on the ninth day of July, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, lord great master, sir William Herbert, and master secretary Petre, came to the Tower, and called me before them, and delivered to me the king's majesty's letters, which I received at the hands of the lord treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and, still upon my knees, read them,—whereas they right gently required me to take more ease, and to go apart and consider them; which, after I had thoroughly read, I lamented that I should be commanded to say of myself as was there written, and to say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me; and, where I trust my deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn myself with my tongue. I should sooner think of obeying your commands if ye were to bid me to throw myself into the Thames.

"My lord of Warwick, seeing me in that agony, said, what say ye my lord to the other articles? I answered that I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of myself. Well, quoth he, will ye subscribe to the other articles? I told him I would; but then, said I, the article that toucheth me must be put out; to which I was answered, that needeth not; for I might write on the one side what I would say unto it. Then my lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would needs whilst

I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange to do so, he pulled me nearer to him, and said we had ere this sat together, and trusted we should again. And then, having pen and ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me, these words: I cannot with my conscience say this of myself, or such like words. And there followed an article of the king's majesty's primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an I, and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their articles, which I did. Whereat, because they shewed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, that by this means I had placed my subscription above them all, and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort. And I was bold to recount unto them merry tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear; and then I told them also, (desiring them not to be miscontent with what I should say,) when I remember each of them alone, I could not think otherwise of them but they were my good lords; and yet when they meet together I feel no remedy at their hands. I looked, quoth I, when my lord protector was here, to go out within two days, and made my farewell feast in the Tower, and all; since which time there is a month past or thereabout; and I agreed with them, and now agree with you, and may fortune again to be forgotten. My lord treasurer said nay, I should hear from them the next day, and so by their especial commandment I came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen depart as my good lords, and so was done.

" The next day came unto me sir William Herbert, and master secretary Petre, to devise with me how to make some acknowledgement of my fault, because the other form liked me not. Whereunto I said I knew myself innocent, and to enter with you to entreat a devise to impair my innocency in any point by my words or writings, can have no policy in it: for, although I did more esteem liberty of body than the defamation of myself, when I had done so with you, I were not so assured by you to come out; but should lock myself the more surely in, and a small pleasure were it to me to have my body at liberty by your procurement, and to have my conscience in perpetual prison by my own act.

"On the Monday following, in the morning, came the bishop of London, sir William Herbert, master secretary Petre, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain articles written it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required that my matter might be tried by justice, which, though it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it that endeth certainly the matter. And I could never come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more articles, or to trouble myself with the reading of them: yet they desired me so instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read; and to show my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of prison, to make my answer unto them all, such as I would abide by and suffer pain for, if I have deserved it. I would, indeed, gladly have been in hand with my lord of London, but he said he came not to dispute, and that it was by the hand of God that I was in prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time. Finally, my request was, that they should make my answer to the lords of the council, as followeth: 'That I most humbly thank them for their good will to deliver me by way of mercy, but because, in respect of mine own innocent conscience I would rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both were in the king's majesty's hands, that I might have it, which, if it happen to me more grievous, I will impute it to myself, and evermore thank them for their good-will;' and so parted I with them."

After this he was brought before the council, and the lords acquainted him that they sat by a special commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe certain articles that were then read; but he prayed them earnestly upon his knees, to let him be tried upon the grounds of his imprisonment, since he desired not to be delivered by way of mercy, but by justice. If he might have the articles with him in his prison, he would then shortly make particular answer to them, and suffer the pains of the law that by such answer he might incur: but he was required to subscribe them all, without any qualification, which he refused to do, and thereupon the fruits of his bishoprick were sequestered; he was deprived of the liberty of walking in the garden, which they had before granted him, and again confined to his chamber as a close prisoner; he was afterwards solemnly deprived, and remained a prisoner in the Tower till the accession of Queen Mary; when he again rose to the highest confidence and favor, and became the chief director of the many persecutions and cruelties that blot the period of her reign.

Other persons of distinction confined in the Tower in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, were Thomas lord Seymour, of Sudeley; the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Durham;[q] Edward duke of Somerset, the protector, together with his duchess; lords Grey and Paget; the earl of Arundel; sir Thomas Palmer; sir Ralph Vane; sir Thomas Arundel; sir Miles Partridge; sir Michael Stanhope, and many more of his friends and servants.

LORD SEYMOUR, the king's uncle, a turbulent and ambitious character, who had been raised to the degree of a baron at Edward's coronation, and also made lord high admiral of England, began to shew a restless thirst for power almost immediately after King Henry's death, not only by his endeavours to get the rule of the young king's person, but by his presuming to sue for the heart and hand of the princess Elizabeth, Edward's sister. He was a man of high courage, courtly manners, and noted for his accomplishments, his graceful person, and a voice peculiarly magnificent; but he was vain, haughty, impatient of a superior, and possessed but little of the heart and character of a christian. His first marriage was with the dowager queen, Catherine Parr, a woman of remarkable abilities, piety, and learning; and whose hasty match with him, immediately after Henry's death, was the only reproach to her virtuous and discreet life: to her the admiral is said to have been a harsh and unkind husband; and her death, which opened new and extended prospects to his ambition, by aspiring to the hand of the princess Elizabeth, was not, perhaps, looked upon by him as a very infelicitous event.

---

[q] Heath bishop of Worcester, and Day bishop of Chichester, were committed in 1550; the former for refusing to subscribe to the new book of ordinations, and the latter for not obeying the king's order for taking down altars in his diocese, for which they were both deprived of their sees: and Tunstall bishop of Durham, sent to the Tower in 1551, was charged with being privy to a treasonable conspiracy to raise a rebellion in the north, for which he was tried and found guilty, deprived of his bishoprick, and remained a prisoner till the accession of Queen Mary.

For some time after lord Seymour's union with the queen dowager, Elizabeth was under her care and protection; and notwithstanding their disparity of years, the captivating person and manners of the lord admiral, added to his attentions, made an impression on her young and inexperienced heart, which seems to have been the first, and, probably, the strongest attachment of her life. His familiarities with her on some occasions appear to have been of a very unbecoming and extraordinary nature. We find mention even of his going to her bedroom before she was up, and that when he was coming, "She ran out of hir bed to hir maydens, and then went behynd the curteyns of hir bed;" and, "at Hanworth, in the garden, he wrated (romped) with hir, and cut hir gowne in a hundred pieces, being black clothes."[r] Nor did this intercourse entirely cease with her removal from the residence of the queen: it was afterwards thought "that the lady Elizabeth did bere some affection to the admiral, for sometimes she wolde blush if he were spoken of;"[s] and no sooner was Catherine dead, than Seymour revived his suit with greater earnestness, through the medium of her governess, and other persons in her household; and as far as her inclinations could avail he was flattered with prospects of success. But Elizabeth's consent was not of itself sufficient; and, when he found his views were not likely to be sanctioned by the protector and the council, he yielded his mind to dark and daring measures, by which he rashly hoped to crush the opposition that was offered to his wishes. He secretly endeavoured to supplant his brother, the protector, in the confidence and favor of the young king, and had been equally active by slanderous accusations, to render his government odious to the country: several of the nobility, whose friendship he had courted with assiduity and effect, he had tempered to his purposes; his office of high admiral gave him a command of men, and he had embarked in various traitorous measures for supplying arms and money necessary for his execution of his plans.[s] But in the midst of these vain and dangerous schemes he was suddenly arrested, on the 19th of January 1549, and committed to prison in the Tower.[t]

---

[r] See Lord Burleigh's Papers, by Haynes.

[s] Ibid.

It was an ungracious task, and one that ill accorded with the mild disposition of the protector, to proceed to extremities against his brother: lord Russel, the earl of Southampton, and secretary Petre, were first ordered to examine the charges alleged against him,[u] and it was not till every expedient had been ineffectually tried to soften the turbulence of his temper, and to bring him to submission, that any decisive measures were pursued. On the 22d of February, a full report was made to the council of the various grounds of his accusation; and on the following day, the lord chancellor, with all the privy council, excepting the archbishop of Canterbury and the speaker of the house of commons, went to the Tower, and read to him the articles of his charge, earnestly desiring him to make plain answers to them, excusing himself where he could, and where he could not, to shew submission. But in vain! his only answer was, that he expected to have an open trial, and that he and his accusers might be brought face to face.[x]

On the 24th the whole council waited upon the king, to know his majesty's pleasure, whether the matter should be submitted to the determination of parliament. The lord chancellor opened the subject; each of the other councillors gave their opinions separately, and "last of all the protector spoke: he protested this was a most sorrowful business to him; that he had used all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood: and therefore, he should not oppose the request of the other lords, that the matter might be left to the judgment of the parliament, adding that, if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should not think himself worthy of life; and the rather, because he was of all men the most bound to his majesty, and therefore he could not refuse justice!" To which the king readily made answer: "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to the lord admiral, our uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive that you require justice to be done: we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request." [y]

---

[s] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

[t] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials. Holinshed. Stow.

[u] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. part 1, p. 156.

[x] Ibid. p. 157.

The parliament, however, was still loth to proceed against a nobleman so near in blood to the king, as well as to the protector; and it was resolved, that a deputation from both houses, consisting of the lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton, sir John Baker, sir Thomas Cheyney, and sir Anthony Denny, should first go to him in the Tower, to try once more if he would answer the articles objected against him, or shew any signs of submission. But all could not prevail! After much persuasion he spoke to the three first charges,[z] but then stopped suddenly, and bade them be content, for he would go no further; nor could all their entreaties induce him to give answers to the rest, or to set his hand to those he had already made.[a]

On a bill of attainder being brought into the upper house, on the 25th of February, several peers with whom he had leagued himself, and to whom he had trusted for support, rose voluntarily, and betrayed his designs; and, so satisfactory was the evidence brought to substantiate the articles of his accusation, that it passed unanimously;[b] and on the 27th it was sent to the commons, with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those peers that had given evidence in their own house should come and declare it to the commons.[c] But the unpopular mode of proceeding adopted by the lords met with a spirited opposition in the lower house: many of its members argued forcibly against the injustice of attainders in absence; they thought it strange that some peers should rise up in their places, in their own house, to relate matters to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted; and they pressed that the lord admiral should be brought to a trial at the bar, and be heard to plead for himself.[d] But there appear to have been some secret reasons for this not being acceded to, and on the fourth of March a message was sent from the king, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral, and that the lords should come down and repeat before them the evidence which they had given in their own house. This was accordingly done; the bill was agreed to, and passed the commons in a full house, with but ten or twelve dissentient voices; and on the following day it received the royal assent,[e] and his lordship was condemned to death.

---

[y] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. part 1, p. 158. [z] Ibid. p. 159, and collection of Records, No. xxxi. [a] Ibid. [b] Burnet, p. 159. [c] Ibid.

Thus far had the violence of his own nature, aided perhaps by the secret ill offices of the designing Warwick, conspired to urge the fate of lord Seymour; and on the tenth of March the council, resolving to press the king that justice might be done on him, waited on his majesty, and received his answer, that he had well observed what had been done, and commanded them to proceed in it without further troubling him or the protector. Whereupon the bishop of Ely was ordered to attend upon the lord admiral in the Tower, to instruct him in the things that related to another life, and on the 17th, the lord chancellor, and the rest of the council, having met in the king's palace at Westminster, and heard the bishop's report, resolved that his lordship should be executed on the Wednesday following, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, upon Tower-hill; his body and head to be buried within the Tower; and, having called the bishop of Ely again into the council-chamber, they willed him to declare this their determination to the prisoner, and to instruct and prepare him to a quiet and patient suffering of justice.[f]

What effect these warnings had on his lordship's mind, or whether in the remaining hours he had to live, he properly devoted himself to meet his end, we are not informed. On delivery of the latter message he expressed a wish that bishop Latimer, and certain of his own servants might be with him; he requested that his infant daughter should be committed to the care of the duchess of Suffolk, and desired also that the day of his execution might be deferred;[g] to which the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to shew him the resolute answer of the council, and, according to his sentence, on the 20th of March he was conducted to the scafford; where the closing scene of his earthly existence but too much corresponded with the violent course of his former life. "He dyed," says a venerable father,[h] "very daungerously, yrksomelye, horryblye!"

---

[d] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 159. [e] Ibid. p. 160.

[f] Burnet's Collection of Records, No. xxxii. ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 247.

Thus, says an eminent writer,[i] fell Thomas lord Seymour, lord high admiral of England, a man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure; and he adds that, "the protector was much censured for giving way to his execution by those who looked only at the relationship between them, which they thought should have made him still perserve his life; but others, who knew the whole series of the affair, saw that it was scarce possible for him to do more in behalf of his brother than he had done. Yet the other being a popular notion, that it was against nature for one brother to destroy another, was more easily entertained by the multitude, who could not penetrate into the mysteries of state. The mode, however, by which his fate was accomplished, was much and deservedly condemned; for to attaint a man without allowing him to defend himself, or to see and answer the witnesses that were brought against him, was so unwarrantable and unjust, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be said for it, that his was a little more regular than parliamentary attainders had been in the late reign; for here the evidence upon which it was founded was given before both houses."

The time was but short ere the intrigues of the proud and aspiring Dudley brought the protector himself to an end alike to that which befel the turbulent and ambitious Seymour. Surrounded and overwhelmed by a desperate faction, that amiable but ill-fortuned nobleman, was first deprived of the office of protector, and imprisoned in the Tower, in the year 1549.[k] But, although this was followed by an appearance of a reconciliation between him and the earl of Warwick, strengthened by a marriage betwixt the two families, that bold and crafty leader, who had now raised himself to the title of duke of Northumberland, and assumed the whole authority of the state, was determined to complete his downfal, in order to secure his own progress to that summit of power and dominion for which his ambition yearned. The duke of Somerset was accordingly arrested, with several of his friends and dependants, on the 17th of October 1551, and again committed to the Tower, charged with high treason and felony: with the former, on the ground of his having intended seizing the king's person, taking upon himself the government, and to have raised insurrections in the North, and in the city of London; and with the latter, for that he had formed a design to imprison the earl of Warwick, then duke of Northumberland; — an act of the last parliament having made it felony to conspire against a privy councillor. His grace was brought to trial in Westminster-hall, on the first of December, before the marquis of Winchester, sitting as lord high steward, and seven-and-twenty other peers; among whom were the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, his acknowledged enemies, and against the first of whom he was charged with having conspired!

---

[g] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 207.

[h] Bishop Latimer's Fourth Sermon, p. 56, 1st edition.

[i] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.

During his trial the duke supported himself with great dignity and temper; and, although the counsel for the prosecution had been very bitter against him, yet he never took notice of their reflections, nor seemed much affected by them. The witnesses against him were not examined in court, only their depositions read, and these his grace so satisfactorily answered that his peers acquitted him of treason; yet found him guilty of felony, on the ground of having conspired to seize and imprison the duke of Northumberland, one of the king's ministers.[l]

Somerset's mild and amiable disposition had rendered him so great a favorite with the people, that the interest felt by all classes in his fate has been but seldom if ever equalled: all the avenues to the court were thronged; and when the lords returned from deliberating, and pronounced him acquitted of the charge of treason, the people thought him saved, and their loud and reiterated bursts of joy proclaimed to distant parts of the capital the happy news of his supposed deliverance.[m] But their exulting was soon changed to consternation and sorrow, when they heard that he was sentenced to die for felony.

---

[k] See p. 75.

[l] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. State Trials, vol. vii.

From the place of trial the DUKE OF SOMERSET was taken by water to London-bridge, and thence conducted through the streets, under a strong guard, to his prison in the Tower,[n] where he remained till his enemies, by providing a series of sports and pastimes, had so diverted Edward's mind from his uncle's troubles,[o] that they could bring him to the fate they had designed. On the morning of the 22d of January 1552, between eight and nine o'clock,[p] his grace was brought to the place of execution. He approached and ascended the scaffold with a firm and undaunted step; indeed, composure marked his whole deportment, while his noble mien displayed that serenity of mind, which in his awful state none could feel but he whose conscience whispered peace. After he had kneeled down and prayed, he arose, and thus addressed the people:

" Dearly beloved friends —I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true to this realm, as any man hath been. But forasmuch as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others to be subject thereto: wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death; and thereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching the Christian religion, which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my doings, but rejoice therein, sith that now the state of religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church; which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God, both to you and me; and most heartily I exhort you all that this which is most purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow."

---

[m] King Edward's Journal. Stow. Hollinshed.

[n] Hollinshed.

[o] See King Edward's Journal.

[p] Ibid.

When he had proceeded thus far, a knight was seen riding towards the scaffold, and the people, throwing up their caps, began to shout "Pardon, pardon, God save the king!" But the duke calmly made a sign for them to compose themselves, and continued:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, to whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient: wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death; which I am most willing to suffer. And let us now join in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always shewed myself a most faithful and firm subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm; (to which the people cried, it was most true;) unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover I do wish unto all his councillors the grace and favor of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice; unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and most profitably for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty. Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended: and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive." He then begged the people to be still, that his mind might be undisturbed; for, said he, "Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and through your quietness I shall be more composed. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end."[q]

On the scaffold the duke was attended by an eminent protestant divine, who, after he had done speaking to the people, gave him a form of confession that he had prepared, which his grace kneeled down and read; and then calmly prepared for his execution. He took an affectionate leave of the lieutenant of the Tower, and others about him; covered his eyes with a handkerchief, and, fervently calling upon Christ for salvation, he laid his devoted head upon the block.

Thus, deeply lamented by the people, fell the good duke of Somerset; a person of great virtues, eminent for piety, humble and affable in his greatness, and sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a zealous promoter of the reformation, and a conscientious counsellor of his king. At the head of armies he was generally successful, and in the field of Musselboro', he shewed himself a valiant and skilful general. As he was open and generous in his own nature, he was little supicious of others; always a friend to the poor and oppressed, and, in a word, says an eminent writer, "he had as many virtues, and as few faults, as most great men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had."[r] It was generally supposed that all this pretended conspiracy for which he was condemned, was but a forgery; for sir Thomas Palmer, and Crane, the chief witnesses, as well as Bartuile, and Hamond, who had also turned accusers, were soon after discharged; and the duke of Northumberland continued after that in so close a friendship with Palmer, that it was commonly believed he had been corrupted to betray him.[s] Indeed, the not bringing the witnesses into court, but only their depositions, and Northumberland and his other enemies sitting as judges, gave great occasion to condemn the proceedings against him; for it was thought that all was an artifice of Palmer's, who had put the duke in fear of his life, and so got him to have men about him, for his preservation; and this was confirmed on the execution of the duke's four friends, who all died with protestations of innocence. So generally was the duke a favorite with the people, and so greatly were they affected by his death, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, to preserve in remembrance of him; and a lady, on seeing Northumberland himself, a few years afterwards, led a prisoner to the Tower, condemned for treason, is said to have shaken one of these tokens, saying, "Behold! the blood of that worthy man, which was shed by thy malicious practices, doth now begin to revenge itself on thee."[t]

---

[q] Fox's Acts and Monuments. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., &c.

[r] Burnet. [s] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

After the duke's execution, his duchess remained a prisoner; but lord Gray[u] and the earl of Arundel were liberated; and of the rest of the prisoners who had been unjustly implicated in the same transaction, all appear to have escaped punishment, save lord Paget, sir Ralph Vane, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Miles Partridge, and sir Michael Stanhope.

Lord Paget was a nobleman whose great abilities and fidelity had raised him from an inferior station in life to a considerable rank and consequence in the nation. By King Henry the Eighth, after successively filling the offices of a clerk of the signet, clerk of the council, and clerk of the privy seal, he was, in 1542, made clerk of the parliament for life;[x] in the same year he was sent as ambassador to the court of France,[y] and, soon after his return from that negociation, Henry raised him to the office of one of his principal secretaries of state.[z] In 1544, he attended the king in his expedition to Boulogne, and, in conjunction with the earl of Hertford, the bishop of Winchester, and sir Richard Rich, was appointed to treat with the ambassadors of France, at Hardelot castle: in 1546, he was again in the capacity of a commissioner treating of peace with that nation, and by Henry's will, he was appointed one of the sixteen persons who were to be his executors, and the governors to his son during his minority.[a]

---

[t] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

[u] Lord Gray was liberated on the 10th of June following.—*King Edward's Journal.*

[x] Dugdale. [y] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. [z] Dugdale.

After the accession of King Edward the Sixth, he rose to still higher offices and honors: in 1550, he was one of the commissioners who negociated a peace with France, between Boulogne and Ardres;[b] about the same time he was sent as ambassador to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and, shortly after his return into England, the king rewarded his services, by conferring on him the order of the garter; and he also made him comptroller of the royal household, and chancellor of the duchy of Cornwall,[c] and summoned him to parliament by the title of lord Paget of Beaudesert.[d]

But, notwithstanding his many services, and the rank and confidence to which he had attained in the nation, he was involved in the ruin of the duke of Somerset. He was accused of having conspired with him to invite certain of the lords to Paget House, with the design of killing them.[e] On this charge he was committed to the Tower, and, although the trial of the duke himself shewed that it was without foundation, he was deprived of his offices, and still kept a prisoner in that fortress, where, on the 22d of April following, he was formally degraded from the order of the garter, on the pretence that he was not a gentleman by blood;[f] but in the days of Queen Mary, he was restored to all his honors, employed as an ambassador, and filled the office of lord privy seal.[g]

The duke of Somerset's execution was followed by the trial and death of his four friends, Arundel, Stanhope, Vane, and Partridge; the two former of whom were beheaded, and the others hanged, on the 26th of February, on Tower-hill;[h] where they all met their end with exemplary firmness.

Sir Thomas Arundel, who was greatly pitied, was brought to his trial on the 29th of January, at seven o'clock in the morning, but it was with great difficulty that the ruling party could get a verdict against him; nor was it till after the jury had been locked up for part of that day and all the following night, that they could agree; and then, those who thought him innocent are said to have yielded for fear of their own lives.[i] Sir Michael Stanhope, who was a relation of Somerset,[k] and sir Miles Partridge, were less regretted; for, as all great men have persons about them who make use of their greatness for their own ends, so they were the persons upon whom the ills which had been done by the duke were chiefly cast.[l] But Sir Ralph Vane was most of all lamented: he was a veteran officer, and esteemed one of the bravest men in the nation; had served in all the late wars, and was justly the soldier's pride: his deeds had been conspicuous in many a hard-fought field, and at the remembered hill of Musselboro', his valor was among the fondest of the warrior's themes. Nor was his end less noble than his days were glorious: he pleaded for himself at his trial, and scorned to make submissions for a life that had so long been devoted to his country's service.—"But," said he, "the wars have now ended, and the coward and the courageous are alike esteemed!"

---

[a] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.

[b] Hayward's Life of Edw. VI. p. 311.

[c] Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 390.

[d] Dugdale's Sum. to Parl. p. 125.

[e] King Edw. Journal.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Goodwin. Dugdale's Baron. p. 390.

[h] Stow's Chron. p. 607. Hollinshed.

On the death of Edward the Sixth, the earl of Devonshire, the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner late bishop of Winchester, Tunstal of Durham, and Day of Chichester, the duchess of Somerset, and some others, who had long been confined in the Tower, were released; but their prisons did not remain untenanted. Besides the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, the lady Jane Grey, and many other distinguished persons concerned in the rash attempt to place that innocent usurpress on the throne, the council-book[m] makes frequent mention of many more, whom religion or other causes brought to these gloomy abodes.

At a council held in the Tower on the 16th of August, Bradford,[n] Vernon and Theodore Basill, who are termed "seditious preachers," were ordered thither to confinement;[o] on the 25th of the same month a letter was directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, "to permit justice Montague[p] to have open ayre, at his discretion, and to suffer the lady his wife, in consideration of his weakness, to repaire to him at convenient tymes, to dresse his meate;"[q] and two days afterwards the constable and lieutenant were commanded "that the viscount Hereford should, in consideration of his sicknes for want of ayre, have the comoditie of the garden and gallerie, and that the lady his wife might have free accesse unto him."[r]

---

[i] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.

[k] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

[l] Burnet.

[m] Among the Yelverton MSS. in the possession of lord Calthorpe.

[n] John Bradford was an eminent protestant divine, and a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was committed to the Tower in consequence of a disturbance at St. Paul's Cross, excited by the preaching of Bourne, bishop of Bath, in favor of the Roman Catholic worship, although he had, by his interference, been the means of appeasing the people, and of saving the preacher's life. After undergoing great persecution, this celebrated martyr was burnt to death in Smithfield, in 1555.—*See Fox's Acts and Monuments.*

The duke of Northumberland, together with his associates, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates, was led out of the Tower on Tuesday the 22d of August, to a scaffold on the adjoining hill, where he atoned with his life for the blood of that lamented duke, whom, not two years before, he had been the principal means of bringing to a similar end.

JOHN DUDLEY DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, was the eldest son of that Edmund Dudley who fell a victim to popular hatred shortly after the accession of King Henry the Eighth;[s] and on his father's death, being then young, was placed under the guardianship of Edward Guildford, an esquire of the body to the king, whose only child he afterwards married. In 1511, his father's attainder was repealed by a special act of parliament, and himself restored in blood and degree;[t]—the least requital that Henry could make for sacrificing a servant, whose fault was that of having been too devoted to his father's will.

Dudley's vigorous and aspiring mind soon introduced him into public life. In 1523, he was in the army in France, commanded by Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, by whom, after the siege and captures of Bray and Mountdedier, he was knighted.[u] In 1527, he accompanied cardinal Wolsey in an embassy to the court of France;[x] and in his early years he several times distinguished himself in the martial exercises of the day. In 1541, on the death of Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, Dudley was advanced to that dignity, by reason of his descent on his mother's side; and afterwards he rose to still higher consequence and favor. In 1545, he was appointed one of the commissioners by whom a treaty of peace was concluded with the French, in the camp between Ardres and Guisnes; and, afterwards, with the bishop of Durham, and "divers other lords, and above an hundred gentlemen, all in velvet coats and chains of gold," he went as chief ambassador to Paris, for its ratification. King Henry the Eighth appointed him one of the executors of his will, and a guardian to his son; and shortly after the accession of Edward the Sixth, he was created earl of Warwick, and made lord high chamberlain of England. But his advance to greatness was merited by the series of eminent services that he rendered his country. As lord admiral of England he signalized himself on many occasions in command of the English fleets: he gained great honor by his courageous defence of Boulogne in 1544, against an army of more than fifty thousand men; and, if valiant deeds were wanting to perpetuate his name, his prowess in the memorable field of Musselboro' would preserve it with lasting glory.

---

[o] Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 4. [p] Sir Edward Montague, and Sir Roger Cholmondeley, had been committed for advising the council relative to Mary's deprivation. [q] Yelverton MSS. No. 171. pp. 5, 6. [r] Ibid. p. 6. [s] See pp. 354. 355.

[t] Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII., vol. ii. p. 8. Dugdale's Baron., vol. ii. p. 218.

[u] Hall. Hollinshed. Stow. [x] Dugdale's Baron.

In 1549, Dudley added to the obligations of his country by his skill and resolution in vanquishing the Norfolk rebels; nor was he less conspicuous in all the chief transactions that distinguish the short reign of Edward: but he presumed on his services, and by many a bold and daring stride, he had forced himself to an height of rank and authority scarcely compatible with a subject's state. His ambition kept pace with his fortune, and impelled him to acts which at length brought ruin on his family, and obscured all the valiant deeds of his earlier life in an ignominious death. He had urged the fate of the younger Seymour, as a step towards the accomplishment of the elder's downfal: he afterwards trampled upon those nobles who had assisted him in his elevation; and, not content with establishing himself on the ruins of the ancient and illustrious house of Percy, he formed the extravagant design of aggrandizing his own family, by altering the succession to the crown itself!

We are told that this crafty politician was favored with a handsome countenance and stature; ready in wit; regardless of the means by which he attained his ambitious ends; and possessing the art, by promises or threats, of drawing others to his purposes.[y] He was cruel and unjust to a high degree; directed by an aspiring mind, and possessed of talents, bravery, and perseverance, equal to the greatest enterprizes. But, as the tide of his fortune turned, that courage which had so eminently distinguished his previous career deserted him; and the proud and haughty Dudley could sue for pardon, and even disown his religion, to save existence! — but death makes cowards of all, especially of the wicked.

When the earl of Arundel appeared at Cambridge to arrest him, he is said to have fallen on his knees, and in that humble posture to have craved the pity and intercession of a nobleman whom he had before insulted and imprisoned! When brought to trial, he observed great reverence towards the peers who sat to judge him, "protesting his faith and obedience to the queen's majesty, whom he confessed grievously to have offended, and said, that he meant not to speak any thing in defence of himself:[z] but as he had taken care to do nothing without the concurrence and direction of the council, he begged the court to answer him on two points: first, "whether a man doing an act by the authority of the prince and council, and by warrant of the great seal, and doing nothing without the same, may be charged with treason for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof?" And secondly, "whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon him his death?"[a]

"Whereunto it was answered, that, as concerning the first, the great seal, which he laid for his warrant, was not the seal of the lawful queen of the realm, nor passed by authority; but was the seal of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him: and to the second, it was alleged that, if any were as deeply to be touched as himself in that case, yet, as long as no attainder were on record against them, they were nevertheless persons able in the law to pass upon any trial, and not on that account to be challenged, but at the prince's pleasure."[b] From this answer the duke perceived that no excuse, however reasonable, could avail, and he thereupon pleaded guilty; but declared his earnest repentance, and besought the duke of Norfolk, who sat as lord high steward at his trial, to be a mediator with the queen for mercy. After his example, the MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON, and the EARL OF WARWICK, who were arraigned with him, also confessed their indictments, and were condemned.

---

[y] Hayward's Life of Edw. VI.

[z] Harleian MSS. No. 2194.

[a] Ibid.

On judgment being pronounced, the duke craved the favor of such a death as was executed on noblemen, and not the other; beseeching also that a favorable regard might be had to his children, in respect of their age; and, concerning the lady Jane, he is said to have generously declared that, so far from aspiring to the throne, she was rather "by enticement and force made to accept it." He likewise begged that he might be permitted to confer with some learned divine for the settling of his conscience; and lastly, that her majesty would be pleased to send unto him four of her council, for the discovery of some things which might concern the state.[c]

After this the prisoners were returned to their abodes in the Tower; but Northumberland seems still to have indulged hopes of pardon; for, on receiving notice to prepare for death, he addressed the following abject letter to the earl of Arundel:

"Hon^{ble} lord, and in this my distress my especiall refuge, most wofull was the newes I receyved this evenynge by Mr. lieutenant, that I must prepare myselfe agst to morrowe to receyve my deadly stroke. Alas, my good lord, is my cryme so heynous as noe redemcion but my blood can washe awaye the spottes therof? An old proverb ther is, and y^{t} most true, y^{t} a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh! that it would please her good grace to give me life, yea, the life of a dogge, if I might but lyve and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her hon^{ble} services, as I have the best part already under her worthie brother, and most glorious father. Oh! that her mercy were such as she would consyder how little proffitt my dead and dismembered body can bringe her; but how great and glorious an honor it will be in all posterityes when the report shall be that soe gracious and mightie a queene had graunted life to so miserable and penitent an object. Your hon^{ble} usage and promise to me since these my troubles, have made me bold to challenge this kindnes at your handes. Pardon me if I have done amiss therin, and spare not, I pray, your bended knees for me in this distresse. The God of heaven, it may be, will requite it one day, on you or yours; and, if my life be lengthened by your mediacion, and my good lord chauncellor's, (to whom I have also sent my blurred letters,) I will ever owe it to be spent at your hon^{ble} feet. Oh! my good lord, remember how sweet life is, and how bitter the contrary. Spare not your speech and paines; for God, I hope, hath not shut out all hopes of comfort from me in that gracious, princely, and womanlike hart; but that, as the doleful newes of death hath wounded to death, both my soule and bodye, soe the comfortable newes of life shall be as a new resurrection to my wofull hart. But if no remedy can be founde, eyther by imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, and the like, I can saye noe more, but, God grant me pacyence to endure, and a hart to forgive the whole world.

---

[b] Harlcian MSS. No. 2194.

[c] Ibid.

"Once your fellowe and lovinge companion, but now worthy of noe name but wretchednes and misery. J. D."

To give, perhaps, a fresh consideration to this awful subject, a respite of a single day was granted: but, on the Tuesday morning, the duke, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were led to execution; [e] and on their way to the closing scene of their lives, he and Gates reproached each other for being the cause of their coming to the destiny that then awaited them. When they first met, on being brought out of their prisons, the duke said, "Sir John, God have mercy on us, for this day shall end both our lives, and I pray you forgive me whatsoever I have offended, and I forgive you with all my heart; although you and your council were a great occasion thereof." "Well, my lord,"

---

[d] Harleian MSS. No. 787.

[e] The following curious entry, in connexion with this tragedy, appears among the acts of the council: "A letter to sir Edmond Peckham for x. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. to the lord chamberlain, for soe much by him delivered to the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, to give almes at their execution."—*Yelverton MSS. vol.* 171. *p.* 14.

replied sir John, "I forgive you all, as I would be forgiven, and yet, you and your authority were the original cause of it altogether; but the Lord pardon you, and, I pray you, forgive me."[f] And so, being charitably reconciled to each other, the duke proceeded: he was attended by Heath bishop of Worcester, and, when he came upon the scaffold, "puttinge off his gowne of swane coloured damask," he addressed the people. He confessed his crime, and earnestly asked her majesty's forgiveness: he said that it was through false and seditious preachers that he had erred from the catholic faith and well-doing of Christ; but he declared from the bottom of his heart that he was a stedfast believer in the old religion, and called upon the bishop of Worcester to bear testimony to the truth of his assertion. He besought the people to reject the new doctrines, as the source of all the evils that for many years had befallen the country, and, after begging them to pray for him, he humbled himself to God, and covering his eyes, submitted to a death which he owned he had deserved.

The duke's exhortations in favor of the Roman catholic religion greatly astonished the people; but the general opinion was, that being a cunning man and fond of life, he did so in hopes of pardon, and that, when he looked round and saw himself deceived, he repented of it:[g] indeed, Fox the martyrologist says, that the duke had a promise of pardon, even though his head were on the block, if he would recant and hear mass: and that, relying on this assurance, he did what was required; and, still buoyed up with the same hope, he denied on the scaffold that true religion which, both in the days of King Henry and King Edward, he had manifestly supported and avowed.

Sir John Gates, who confessed that no man had lived more viciously than he, added that he had been "the greatest reader of the scriptures that might be, for a man of his degree; but a worse follower thereof was not living: for he did not, as he said, read with the intent to be edified, nor to aid the glory of God; but contrariwise, arrogantly, to be seditious, and to dispute thereof, and privately to interpret it after his own liking and affection.

---

[f] Harleian MSS. No. 2194. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.

[g] Thuanus.

Wherefore he exhorted his hearers to beware after what sort they should come to read God's holy word; for, as the bee from every flower doth gather honey, and the spider poison from the same, even so they, unless they humbled themselves to God, and charitably read the scriptures to the intent to be edified thereby, would bring themselves in danger." [h]

When Sir Thomas Palmer came upon the scaffold, he made his obeisance to the people, saying, "God give you all good morrowe;" to which many of them answered, "good morrow:" and he replied "I do not doubt but that I have a good morrow, and shall have a better even. Good friends, I am come hither to die; for I have lived here under a law, and have offended the same; and for so doing, the same law findeth me guilty, and by it I am condemned to end here my life this day: for the which I give God thanks, in that he hath shewed me the things which I have seen, and which also I know to be just and true; and that is, I have, since my coming out of yonder place, (pointing to the Tower,) seen with mine eyes my Redeemer, sitting at the right hand of God the Father, in glory and majesty equally, and in whom whoso putteth his trust shall never be deceived; for, as he is almighty, so can he do what he listeth, and to whom he will, and when he will, and that none in the heaven above, nor in the earth beneath, can or may let his determinate will, by whom I live, by whom I am, and in whom I trust to live eternally. I have, as some of you do know, good people, been a man not altogether nourished in England, but some part of my bread I have eaten in other realms; but to say that before now I did know God aright, the world aright, or myself aright, I did never: and now, what I have said, ye know. I say, God is such an one that, without thou wilt sit down and behold the heavens above, the sun and moon, the stars above the firmament, the course of them, and of the clouds, the earth, and all that in them is, and how they are all preserved, thou shalt never know God aright. The world is altogether vanity; for it is nothing but ambition, flattery, foolish or vain glory, pride, discord, slander, boasting, disdain, hatred, and malice; all which things, the same God that made the world, or, as ye say, man, which here I compare to the world, doth utterly detest and abhor: in the which offences I have lived so noseled, that now, having a just occasion to look unto mine own self, I have seen nothing but a body void of all goodness,—a very miserable creature, and yet the work of the mighty hand of God." But notwithstanding, in now knowing his Creator aright, he implored pardon for his sins; he also begged the people to pray for him, and besought them that, when they should see the deadly fall of the axe, they would call upon the Lord to receive him to his mercy.

---

[h] See Appendix to first edition.

These executions were followed by the release of the two chief justices, the lord Ferrars,[i] the marquis of Northampton, sir Henry Gates, and some others, who had been less deeply implicated in the conspiracy for raising the lady Jane to the throne: but their gloomy abodes in the Tower were soon repeopled. Besides many of the clergy of inferior note, Latimer, late bishop of Worcester, appeared before the lords of the council, on the eleventh of September, and, "for his seditious demeanour was committed to the Tower, there to remain a close prisoner, having attendant upon him one Ansley, his servant;"[k] and, on the following day, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, also appeared before the council, then sitting in the star-chamber, and "after long and serious debating of his offence by the whole board, it was thought convenient that, as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's majesty, as also for the aggravating of the same his offence by spreading about seditious bills, moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state, he should be committed to the Tower, there to remain and be referred to justice, or further ordered, as shall stand with the queen's pleasure."[l]

Near the same time many other persons were imprisoned for causes of religion;[m] on the fourth of October, the archbishop of York, who had shewn reluctance to attend the queen's coronation, it being performed with the popish ceremonies, was, "for divers his offences," also committed to the Tower;[n] and shortly afterwards, several more were sent to the same place "for their divelish and lewd sayings that the late King Edward bee yet on lyve."[o]

---

[i] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 34.

[k] Liber Concilii. Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 10.

[l] Ibid. p. 11.

[m] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

[n] Lib. Concil. ut supra, p. 13.

The LADY JANE GREY, the earl of Warwick, the lords Dudley, and many more distinguished prisoners, were still confined in the Tower, and, as yet, with undecided fates. Mary, however, seemed more ready to forgive offences against her own person, than to relax in her cruel persecution of those who did not favor the religion of which she was so zealous and bigotted a supporter; and could she have converted her youthful prisoners to the Roman catholic faith, it is probable that they might have obtained her pardon. The lords Dudley, the lady Jane, and the other delinquents involved in their misfortunes, do not appear to have experienced the hardships which often fell to the share of those who were confined in these prisons: on the tenth of September, the council, then sitting at Richmond, directed a letter to the lieutenant of the Tower, willing him to permit the wives of lord Ambrose, and lord Robert Dudley, of sir Francis Jobson, sir Henry Gates, and sir Richard Corbett, "to have access to their husbands, and there to tarry with them, so long, and at such times as by him should be thought convenient."[p] On the following day a similar order was made in favor of the countess of Warwick;[q] and some time afterwards, we find a minute of another letter addressed to him, "willing that, at convenient times, by his discretion, to suffer the late duke of Northumberland's children to have liberty of the walks within the garden of the Tower, and also to minister the like favor to the lady Jane, and to doctor Cranmer, upon suggestion that divers be, and have been, evil at ease in their bodies for want of air."[r]

It was not till after the ceremony of the queen's coronation that lady Jane Grey was brought to trial. On the 13th of November, she and lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, archbishop Cranmer, and the lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, were taken from the Tower, under a guard of four hundred men, and arraigned for high treason, at the guild-hall, "for having levied war against the queen, and conspired to set up another in her room;"[s] to which charge they all pleaded guilty, and the sentence in consequence passed upon them was subsequently confirmed by attainder in parliament. Cranmer, in extenuation of his crime, reminded his judges how unwillingly he had consented to the queen's exclusion, and that he had not done so till those whose profession it was to know the law had signed it, and thereupon he submitted to her majesty's mercy.[t]

---

[o] Lib. Concil. ut supra, pp. 14. 16., &c.

[p] Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 9.

[q] Ibid. p. 10.

[r] Ibid. p. 15.

Lady Jane appeared before her judges in all her wonted loveliness: her fortitude and composure never forsook her: nor did the throng and bustle of the court, the awful appearance of the seat of judgment, or the passing of the solemn sentence of the law, seem to disturb her mind: of their native bloom her cheeks were never robbed, nor did her voice seem once to falter: on the beauteous traitress every eye was fixed; and the grief that reigned throughout the whole assembly bespoke a general interest in her fate.

After the mournful ceremony of their condemnation, the prisoners were reconducted to the Tower; where they remained, enjoying even less severe restrictions than those which were imposed upon them before their trials: no intention appears to have been shewn of bringing them to execution, and it may reasonably be conjectured, that the lady Jane and her husband would have been objects of the queen's clemency had not the rebellion of Wyat, and the duke of Suffolk, barred all hopes of pardon, by convincing Mary that the future quiet of her reign depended on their deaths.

No sooner were Wyat, Suffolk, and other leaders in that ill-conducted scheme secured and lodged in the Tower than preparations were made for bringing these two innocent victims to a termination of their lives. On the 8th of February 1554, Feckenham, the queen's confessor, and afterwards abbot of Westminster, was sent to acquaint the lady Jane that she must prepare for death on the following day; and, by her majesty's instructions, he availed himself of this interview to try the power of his eloquence, in exhorting the amiable prisoner to forsake what he termed the heretical path in which she had trodden, and to embrace the doctrines of the church of Rome; but, although he had but just informed her of the near approach of death, she answered him on the subjects of faith and holiness, the sacrament, the scriptures, and the authority of the church, with a calmness of mind, and clearness of reasoning, which repelled all his arguments.[u] He is said, however, to have interceded with the queen, and to have obtained a three days' respite of her sentence; in order, during that interval, to intrude himself again upon her presence, and to disturb her meditations by controversy: but he still found himself repelled by that faith and truth which had supported her in all her former trials.

---

[s] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.

[t] Ibid.

It has been said that Mary had hoped long before, by the terrors of the scaffold, and the gloom and seclusion of a prison, to convert her captives to that religion which she so ardently espoused herself; and that some learned divines had, with this view, visited them in the Tower; but especially the lady Jane, whom they had endeavoured, by art and flattery, and by promises of life and fortune, to gain to the Roman catholic faith;[x] "but all their labours were bootless; for she had art to confound them in their arguments, wisdom to withstand their flatteries, resolution above their menaces, and so true a knowledge of life, that death was to her no other than a familiar acquaintance."

With like results ended her long and irksome disputation with Feckenham; and, in despair, the confessor left her, with this taunting speech: "Madam, I am sorry for you; for I am now sure that we shall never meet," meaning in heaven. To which the prisoner replied, "It is true, sir, we never shall meet, except God turn your heart; for I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case; and I pray God, of his infinite mercy, to send you his holy spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him also to open the eyes of your heart.[y]"

[u] Burnet.

[x] Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 36.

[y] See Harleian MSS. No. 425. Fox's Acts and Mon. Ballard, p. 105, &c.

The short remainder of her days, the lady Jane spent in meditations, and in making her peace with God. She calmly read over and corrected a prayer which she had composed in the earlier days of her imprisonment;[z] and she thus addressed that unhappy parent, whose rashness had procured the fate that then awaited her:

"Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whome my life should rather have beene lengthened, yet, can I soe patiently take it, that I yield to God more hearty thanks for shortning my wofull dayes, than if the world had been given into my possession, with life lengthened at my owne will. And, albeit I am very well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled many wayes, both in bewayling your own woe, and especially, as I am informed, my wofull state; yet my deare father, if I may without offence rejoyce in my owne mishaps, herein I may account my selfe blessed, that, washing my hands with the innocence of my fact, my guiltless bloud may cry before the Lord, mercy to the innocent! And yet, though I must needs acknowledge that, beinge constrayned, and, as you know well enough, continually assayed; yet, in taking upon mee, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queene and her lawes. Yet doe I assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is so much the lesse, in that being in so royall estate that I was, my enforced honor never mingled with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I presently stand. My death at hand, although to you, perhaps, it may seeme wofull, yet to mee there is nothing that can bee more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure, with my Christ and Saviour; in whose steadfast faith, if it be lawfull for the daughter soe to write to the father, the Lord that hath hitherto strengthened you, soe continue to keepe you, that att the last wee may meete in heaven, with the Father, Sonn, and Holy Ghost. I am your obedient daughter till death, Jane Dudley."[a]

[z] See Appendix to 1st edition.

[a] Harleian MSS. No. 2194.

During her imprisonment, the lady Jane had experienced some kindness and humanity from the lieutenant of the Tower, through whose means she and the lords Dudley had been shewn many little indulgences, which tended to relieve the solitary hours of their confinement: indeed, their long abode under his charge, had impressed him, as well as all the attendants in the Tower, with an unusual interest in their fortunes; and, a little before her death, in compliance with his wish that she would write some sentence in a manual of devotions, which he might keep in her remembrance, the beauteous prisoner, with that mild complacency that had distinguished all her life, is said to have taken her pen, and have given him this fervent admonition:[b] "Forasmuche as you have desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so worthy a booke, gode mayster lieuftenante, therefore I shall as a friend desyre you, and as a Christian require you, to call upon God, to encline your harte to his lawes, to quicken you in his waye, and not to take the worde of trewthe utterlye oute of your mouthe. Lyve still to dye, that by death you may purchase eternell life: and remembre howe Mathusael, whoe, as we reade in the scriptures, was the longeste liver that was of a manne, died at laste: for as the precher sayethe, there is a tyme to be born, and a tyme to die; and the daye of deathe is better than the day of oure birthe. Youres, as the Lorde knowethe, as a frende. Jane Duddeleye."

The day preceding that of her execution, while her attendants were all overwhelmed with grief, the lady Jane was alone, absorbed in religious exercises; and, at night, finding some blank leaves at the end of a Greek Testament, which she had been reading, she wrote on them the following exhortation, and committed the book to the care of one of her attendants, to be conveyed to her sister, lady Herbert; and this precious relic is said to be still in existence:

"I have sent you, good sister Katherine, a booke, whych, although it be not outwardly trymmed with golde, yet inwardlye it is more worth than precyous stones. It is the booke, deare sister, of the law of the Lord: it is his testament and last wyll, whyche he bequethed unto us wretches, whyche shall leade you to the path of eternal joye; and if you with a good minde reade it, and with an earnest desier folowe it, it shal bryng you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teache you to lyve, and learn you to dye. It shall wynne you more then you shoulde have gained by the possession of youre wofull father's land: for, as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his landes, so if you apply diligently this booke, seeking to direct your lyfe after it, you shall be an inheritour of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdrawe from you, neither theefe shall steale, neither yet the mothes corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understande the lawe of the Lorde your God. Live still to dye, that you, by death, may purchase eternall life; and truste not that the tendernesse of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soone, if God call, goeth the yong as the olde: and labour alwayes to learne to dye. Defye the world, denie the devill, despise the fleshe, and delighte your selfe onely in the Lord. Be penitent for your sinnes, and yet despayre not: be strong in fayth, and yet presume not, and desire with saint Paule to be dissolved, and to be with Christ; with whom even in death there is lyfe. Be lyke the good servaunt, and even at midnight be waking, least when death commeth and stealeth upon you lyke a theefe in the night, you be with the evill servaunt found sleeping, and least, for lacke of oyle, you be found like the fyve foolish women, and lyke hym that had not on the wedding garment; and then yee be cast out from the marriage. Rejoyce in Christ, as I do: follow the steps of your mayster, Christ; and take up your crosse: lay your sinnes on hys backe, and always embrace hym. And, as touching my death, rejoyce as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption: for I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortall life, winne an immortall life: the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his feare, and to dye in the true Christian fayth; from the which, in God's name, I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for feare of death;

---

[b] See Harleian MSS. No. 2342.

for if ye will denie his truth to lengthen your lyfe, God will denie you, and yet shorten your dayes. And if you will cleave unto him he will prolong your dayes, to your comfort and to his glory: to the which glory God bring me now, and you heereafter, when it please him to call you.

"Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must helpe you. Your loving sister. Jane Dudley."[c]

It appears to have been at first the intention of the council that the lady Jane and her husband should both have been beheaded on Tower-hill; but that order, probably for fear of the compassion of the people, was afterwards countermanded, and preparations were made for her execution within the fortress. As soon as this information reached lord Guildford Dudley, he earnestly begged permission to see once more his unhappy wife, and this was granted, on the morning which was to terminate their troubles; but lady Jane prudently declined the interview, on the ground that pain of parting might overcome their fortitude, and disturb that constancy and resignation with which they ought both to meet their ends; yet she affectionately reminded him, that their separation would be but for a moment, and that they should shortly meet in heaven, where their love would know no interruption, and where their joys and felicity would be eternal.

The twelfth of February, 1554, was appointed for their execution, and as lord Guildford was led to the scaffold on Tower-hill, he passed beneath the window of his consort's prison, whence she is said to have taken a parting look, and to have waved her hand to him as a last and sad token of her remembrance. When he came to the outer gate of the fortress, he found several of his friends waiting to take their leave: he shook hands with sir Anthony Browne, and some others, bidding them adieu, with great fortitude; but begged them to pray for him. With a firm step the unhappy youth then advanced towards the scaffold, which he ascended with much dignity and resolution; and, after kneeling down and offering up a short but fervent supplication to heaven, he arose, and, turning to the people, requested their prayers, and calmly laid his neck upon the block.

---

[c] Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The lady Jane lived to hear how nobly her husband had met his fate: it seemed to give her great satisfaction, and immediately afterwards, on seeing his headless body pass by in a cart, she is said to have exclaimed, "Oh, Guildford, Guildford! the ante-repast is not so bitter that thou hast tasted, and which I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble; it is nothing compared to that feast of which we shall partake this day in heaven!"

She had but just uttered this sentence, when the lieutenant came to perform the afflicting duty of leading her to a like end; and when he offered her his hand, she arose with cheerfulness, and accompanied him to the scene of her execution. A scaffold had been erected on the green within the Tower; the spot on which Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Margaret countess of Salisbury, had been brought to a similar termination of their lives; and towards this she advanced with the meekness and composure of a lamb, attended by Mistress Tylney and Mistress Ellen, her servants, and by Feckenham, who continued to her last moment to obtrude himself, in the vain hope of eventually triumphing over the constancy of her faith. The unhappy victim ascended the scaffold without a symptom of fear or grief; throughout the trying scene we are told her countenance remained unchanged; and that, with an unfaltering voice, she thus addressed the people: "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offence against the queen's highness was only in consenting to the device of others, which is now deemed treason; but it was never of my seeking, but by the counsel of those who should seem to have further understanding of such things than I, who knew little of the law, and less of the title to the crown. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and so the consenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good people, this day:" and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then she said, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only son, Jesus Christ; and I confess, that when I did know the word of God I neglected the same, and loved the world and and myself, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet, I thank God of his goodness that he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent; and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers."

She then knelt down to pray, and turning to Feckenham, who appears to have been the only divine that was allowed to attend upon her, said, "Shall I say this psalm?" to which the confessor answered, "Yea;" and she then devoutly repeated in English, the psalm, "Miserere mei Deus;" adding to Feckenham, "God will requite you, good sir, for your humanity, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death."

Having finished her devotions, the lady Jane began to prepare for the last scene of the mournful tragedy. "Her gloves and handkerchief, she gave to her mayden, Mrs. Ellen, and her book to Maister Brydges,[d] the lieutenant's brother-in-law; and, as she began to untie her gown, the executioner attempted to assist her, but she requested him to let her alone, and turned to her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, giving her a fair handkerchief to bind about her eyes."[e] Then the executioner fell on his knees and begged her forgiveness, which she granted most willingly, begging him to despatch her quickly. Kneeling down on some straw which covered the platform, she turned again to the executioner, saying, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" but he answered, "No, madam." She then tied the handkerchief over her eyes, and feeling anxiously for the block, said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" when one of the by-standers directed her to the fatal instrument, on which she laid her neck, and "most patiently, Christianly, and constantly, yielded to God her soul," exclaiming, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit."[f]

Such was the end of that pattern of female excellence, lady Jane Grey, who fell a victim to the rashness and ambition of her misguided parents. Under the tuition of Aylmer, who was afterwards bishop of London, she made great progress in learning, and, though scarcely eighteen years of age when she suffered, she had evinced, by the variety and extent of her acquirements, a most extraordinary capacity and mind; with personal charms which made her an object of admiration, she was endued with exemplary piety, and possessed a sweetness of disposition, and a nobleness of heart, that gained her universal love: in short, by her virtuous qualities she was no less distinguished than by her illustrious birth; and, though she was induced to accept the crown, she took it rather as a burthen than a favor, and resigned it with as great indifference as she would have laid down a garland, when its beauties had faded, and its scent had gone.

---

[d] Fox's Acts and Monuments. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

We are told by sir Thomas Chaloner that the lady Jane was well versed in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, French, and Italian languages; that she had a natural wit, which was improved by art and study; that she played well on instrumental music, wrote a curious hand, and was excellent at her needle; and that, notwithstanding all these rare endowments, she was of a mild, humble, and modest spirit, and never shewed an elated mind till she shewed it at her death. Ascham, who was Queen Elizabeth's tutor, says, in his "Schoolmaster," "Before I went into Germanie, I came to Brodegate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholdinge. Her parentes the duke and duches, and all the houshould, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the parke. I found her in her chamber readinge 'Phædon Platonis,' in Greeke, and that with as much delite as some gentlemen would reade a merie tale in Bocase. After salutation and dewtie done, with some other taulke, I asked why she would leese such pastime in the parke. Smiling, she answered me, 'I wisse all their sport in the parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure I find in Plato.'" The same writer also said of her, "that however illustrious she were by fortune, and by royal extraction, these bore no proportion to the accomplishments of her mind, adorned with the doctrine of Plato, and the eloquence of Demosthenes." He reckoned her, and lady Mildred, wife of sir William Cecyl, as the two most learned women in

England, but gave the preference to the lady Jane; and Fuller adds,[g] respecting her, that she had "the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of the middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, yet the death of a malefactor for her parent's offences."

But we must now return to speak of other prisoners.—The circumstances connected with the rebellion of sir Thomas Wyat, which hastened, if not procured the death of lady Jane Grey and her husband, are well known. Defeated and taken in his ill-judged attempt to force an entrance to the capital, on the 6th or 7th of February, he and his leading associates, among whom were the three sons of lord Cobham, sir Henry Isley, sir George Harper, Thomas Isley, Cuthbert Vaughan, Thomas Vane, Robert Rudston, Culpepper,[h] the Knivets, the Mantells, and other Kentish gentlemen, were lodged prisoners in the Tower:[i] about the same time the duke of Suffolk and the lord John Grey, his brother, who were also supporters of the rebellion, were brought up from Warwickshire by the earl of Huntingdon, with a guard of two hundred horse, and conveyed to the same place; and, besides lord Thomas Grey, another of the duke's brothers, sir James Crofts, sir Gawen Carew, and others engaged in the conspiracy; the marquis of Northampton, lord Cobham, sir Edward Rogers, sir William Seintlow, sir Edward Warner, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and the earl of Devonshire, were also sent to the Tower, on suspicion of favoring Wyat's designs.

Nor was the princess Elizabeth to escape without sharing the troubles of this unhappy period. The day after Wyat broke into open rebellion, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis were despatched to her house at Ashridge, in Hertfordshire, with a guard of two hundred and fifty horse, to bring her a prisoner, to London; and the manner in which these minions of the court executed their commission reflects but little honor on their names. Elizabeth was then confined by severe illness, and, notwithstanding that these messengers did not arrive at Ashridge till ten o'clock at night, they immediately sent her word that they were bearers of a message from the queen, and forced themselves directly to her bed-room — a rudeness at which her native spirit fired; and, although worn down by sickness, her tone marked her indignation at their conduct. She expressed surprise that they should, unbidden, have intruded themselves there at such an hour of the night, inquiring, " Is the haste such that you could not have waited till the morning?" But their answer was, that they came to do their duty from the queen, whose pleasure it was that she should repair with them without delay to London; and added that, " they must take her with them whether quick or dead!" Nor could her own remonstrances, or the entreaties of her household, prevail upon them to have consideration to her state of health. She was strictly guarded that night, and on the following morning, at nine o'clock, was placed in a litter, and thus they began their journey with her towards London: yet, so dangerous was her illness, that they could proceed no farther than Redborne, where she rested that night: on the following day they reached St. Albans, where she lay at sir Ralph Poulet's, and on the next arrived at " Maister Dodde's house," at South Mymmes, where she remained that night: and thence, on the fourth day, they came with her to Highgate, but her illness was now become so much more dangerous that it was found necessary on the following morning to delay her journey, and many messengers, in the interim, passed to and fro from the queen and council.

---

[g] Holy State, p. 311.

[h] See p. 107.

[i] Stow's Chron. pp. 621, 622. Hollinshed.

During her journey the people assembled in the roads to see her, and Elizabeth every where received the strongest demonstrations of the interest that was so generally felt in her fate, and especially on the sixth day, when she was conveyed from Highgate to the court, many gentlemen rode out to meet her, as a mark of their attachment to her person, and multitudes thronged about her litter, " lamenting and bewailing her estate."

When the princess arrived at Whitehall, she was shut up, a close prisoner, under the charge of the chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, without communication with any one, for near a fortnight, when, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, and nineteen other of the council, came from the queen, and charged her with being privy to Wyat's conspiracy, alleging that she was concerned with the Carews, and other gentlemen in the west; and, although she utterly denied these things, and cleared her innocency, they informed her that it was her majesty's will and pleasure that she should go to the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined.[k]

With the idea of going to the Tower Elizabeth was struck with dismay: she reiterated vows of her innocence, and her truth and loyalty to the queen; and desired them to intercede with her sister, that, being neither in thought nor word, nor deed, untrue towards her majesty, she might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place. But nothing could avail! the lords departed assuring her that there was no remedy, for that it was the queen's majesty's determination that she should go to the Tower; and, in an hour afterwards, the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, and the earl of Sussex, again entered with a guard, and removed all her servants and attendants, substituting a gentleman usher, two grooms of the chamber, and three gentlewomen of the queen's in their place; and there were put "an hundred of Northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the garden all that night; a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certain lords watching there also with their band in company." [l]

On the following morning the earl of Sussex, and another lord, whose name is withheld to save it from infamy, came to inform her that forthwith she must go to the Tower, and that the barge and tide were then in readiness. But, in great distress, she begged delay, and permission to see or write to the queen, the unnamed lord however sternly answered, that he durst not permit it, adding that in his judgment it would rather hurt than profit her in doing so: but Sussex, more courteous and feeling than his companion, kneeled down and told her highness that she should have liberty to write to the queen her sister, pledging his honor that he would convey her letter, and bring an answer to it; and so for that day her removal was delayed; though it was only a putting off of the evil hour; for on the morrow, being Palm

---

[k] Fox's Acts and Mon., vol. ii. p. 2092. [l] Ibid.

Sunday, in order that she might be conveyed thither with more privacy, it was directed throughout the capital, that the people should all repair to church and carry their palms; and in the meantime Sussex and the other lord again waited upon her, declaring that she must then depart.

Elizabeth now began to think that every hope had vanished, and yielded to her fortune: she marvelled what the nobility of the realm could mean in suffering her thus to be led to prison; and, desiring the two lords to proceed, she followed them down the garden to the barge. There went with her, besides the guards, the two lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman usher, and two grooms of her chamber; and in passing the bridge, owing to the fall of water, the whole party narrowly escaped with their lives.[m]

When they came to the Tower, the barge was directed to that dismal entrance known by the name of the Traitors' Gate, where she spurned the degradation of landing, till the unnamed lord resolutely told her that she should not chuse. It rained, and he offered her his cloak; but, "putting it back with her hand with a good dash," she indignantly refused it, and as she set her foot upon the stair, she said with her wonted spirit: "Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs, and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friends than thee!" On her ascending into the fortress, she found the guards and warders drawn out in order, at which she expressed surprise; and, on being informed that it was a custom when prisoners entered, she desired that, if it were so, for her cause they might be dismissed; "whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice prayed God to preserve her: for which on the next day, they were all discharged!" Passing a little further, she sat down on a stone, and there rested herself. The lieutenant pressed her to rise, out of the rain, but she answered, "Better sit here than in a worse place: for God knoweth whither you will bring me;" and, turning to her gentleman usher, who was weeping, she rebuked him: "You ought rather to comfort than dismay me," said she; "especially for that, I know my truth to be such that no man shall have cause to weep for my sake."

---

[m] Fox's Acts and Mon., vol. ii. p. 2092.

She then arose and was conducted to her prison, and when the doors were locked, and she was close shut up, the lords of the council "had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his opinion in that behalf, agreeing streightly and circumspectly to keep her:" but the earl of Sussex, who still continued her friend, and was influenced by a noble soul, said, with an oath: "My lords, let us take heed, and do not more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter; and, further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter, and therefore we should use such dealing that we may answer to it hereafter, if it shall so happen; for just dealing is always answerable." [n]

Of the many prisoners, associates or victims of Wyat's guilt, who were confined at this time in the Tower, some were closely examined, while on others every art was tried, either by the tortures of the rack, by hopes of pardon, or promises of reward, to obtain evidence, that might have afforded Mary any pretext for wreaking her vengeance on a sister who was so much an object of her jealousy and hatred. Nor were any endeavours wanting to make her criminate herself! She had been but a few days in the Tower ere Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and others of the council, came and examined her touching a conversation, which they charged her with having had, at Ashridge, with sir James Crofte, on the subject of her removal thence to her castle of Donnington. To which, after a moment's recollection, she answered, "Indeed, I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in my life; and as for any that may have moved me thereto, I do not remember:" yet "to enforce the matter," they brought sir James before her, and Gardiner, who was ever Elizabeth's bitter enemy, demanded what she had said to that man? She answered that she had little to say to him or to any others who were then prisoners in the Tower. "But, my lords," said she, "you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and have offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly; and I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. As concerning my going to Donnington castle, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you, sir James Crofte, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords? May I not go to mine own houses at all times?" To which the earl of Arundell, kneeling, replied: "Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about such vain matters." "My lords," said she, "you do sift me very narrowly; but well am I assured you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all."

---

[n] Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The lords were then about to depart, but sir James Crofte first kneeled down before the princess, declaring that he was sorry to see the day that he should be brought as a witness against her; "but I assure your grace," said he, "I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which, the Lord knoweth, is very strange to me; for I take God to witness before all your honors, I do not know any thing of that crime which you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so straight a trial."

Elizabeth's confinement in the Tower was of the meanest and most severe description: mass was constantly obtruded upon her in her apartment: for a whole month she was shut up, without the liberty of even passing the threshold of her prison; and afterwards, when she had obtained permission from the council to take the air in the queen's garden, she was always attended by the constable, the lieutenant, and a guard; indeed, so rigidly was she watched, that a child but four years of age, who used to visit her and other prisoners, to bring them flowers, was suspected of being employed as a messenger between her and the earl of Devonshire; and his father was charged by the constable and lieutenant, to prevent him from repeating his visits to the chambers of the prisoners. They strictly examined the child, and with promises of figs and apples endeavoured to extract some ground for accusation. After questioning him when he had been with lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, they asked what the earl had sent by him to her grace? and notwithstanding the simplicity of the child's reply, "that he would go and know what he would give to carry to her," the constable was not satisfied. "This same is a crafty boy," said he. "How say you, my lord Chandos?" "Ay, my lord," cried the child, "but pray give me the figs you promised me." "No, marry," quoth the suspicious officer, "you shall be whipped if you come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or to the lord Courtney."

Of the many who had been committed to the Tower as concerned in Wyat's rebellion, the **Duke of Suffolk** was the first that was brought to punishment: the earl of Arundel was appointed to the office of lord high steward, to preside at his trial; and, on the 17th of February, he was conveyed, under charge of the lieutenant of the Tower and his officers, to Westminster-hall, where he was arraigned for high treason, of which his peers returned him guilty.

After condemnation his grace was carried back to the Tower, and on the Friday following, about nine o'clock in the morning, he was conducted to the scaffold. Doctor Weston, a violent Roman Catholic divine, was appointed to attend him, though much against the duke's will:[o] for when he arrived at the spot on which he was to suffer, his grace refused his offices, and twice interrupted him in his attempt to accompany him on the platform: but Weston insisted, saying, that it was the queen's pleasure; whereupon the duke, casting his arms abroad, ascended with great apparent resignation, and, after a short pause, he thus addressed the people:[p] "Masters, I have offended the queen, and her laws, and thereby I am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient; and I pray God that this my death may be an ensample to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery; the which died for me, and for all men that truly repent and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, that when ye see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul." He then kneeled, and holding up his hands, and looking with great devotion towards heaven, repeated the psalm, "Miserere mei Deus," and, on rising, added with much fervour, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." He delivered his cap and scarf to the executioner, who on his knees begged pardon: to which his grace answered, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it quickly, and God have mercy to thee."[q] Having tied a handkerchief over his eyes, he said the Lord's Prayer, and, calling upon Christ for mercy, submitted his head to the block.

---

[o] Fox's Acts and Mon., vol. ii. p. 1467.

[p] Ibid.

Of the character of this ill-fated peer, writers somewhat vary in opinion; but with considerable weakness he appears to have possessed many good qualities. While one writer says that, "he was a man, for his harmless simplicity neither misliked nor much regarded:" another states that, "for his weakness he would have died more pitied, if his practices had not brought his daughter to her end:" but Hollinshed, after giving an account of his death, as above related, adds: "Such was the end of this duke of Suffolk; a man of high nobility by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous: more easy, indeed, to be led, than was thought expedient: of stomach nevertheless stout and hardy; hasty and soon kindled, but pacified strait again, and sorry, if in his heat aught had passed him otherwise than reason might seem to bear: upright and plain in his private dealings: no dissembler, nor well able to bear injuries: but yet forgiving and forgetting the same, if the party would seem but to acknowledge his fault, and seek reconcilement: bountiful he was and very liberal; somewhat learned himself, and a great favorer of those that were learned; so that to many he shewed himself a very Mecænas. As free from covetousness as void of pride, and of disdainful haughtiness of mind; more regarding plain-meaning men than claw-back flatterers: this virtue he had, that he could patiently hear his faults told him, by those whom he had in credit for their wisdom and faithful meaning towards him; although he had not always the hap to reform himself thereafter."

The death of the duke of Suffolk was followed by the execution of several of the Kentish leaders, who were sent into their own county to suffer. Sir Henry Isley, Thomas Isley, and Walter Mantel, were hanged at Maidstone, where Wyat first raised the standard of rebellion: Anthony and William Knivet, and another of the Mantels, were executed in like manner at Sevenoaks; Rudston also suffered, and Alexander Bret, who commanded the Londoners, and deserted with them to join the rebels, was hanged in chains at Rochester.[r]

---

[q] Fox's Acts and Mon., vol. ii. p. 1468. Edit. 1583.

Of the other prisoners, Thomas the youngest son of lord Cobham, and lord John Grey, were tried and condemned, but afterwards pardoned; the marquis of Northampton, lord Cobham, and his two sons, sir William and George Cobham, and others,[s] after remaining some time in the Tower, were released, without a trial, and the earl of Devonshire and the princess Elizabeth were removed; the one to Fotheringay and the other to Woodstock; but there were many others who still remained prisoners.

Sir Thomas Wyat, was taken from the Tower and arraigned of high treason, before the earl of Sussex and other special commissioners, at Westminster; and, having pleaded guilty, was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, with a view to gaining information which might implicate Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the execution of his sentence was respited; and, indeed, the hopes of saving himself seem so far to have prevailed, that he is said, while in prison, to have accused them of being concerned in his plot: but just before his execution, he begged to see the earl of Devonshire, and being brought into the chamber where his lordship was confined, he fell on his knees, in the presence of the lieutenant of the Tower, and besought the earl to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the lady Elizabeth and him;[t] and when he was afterwards brought to the scaffold, he solemnly protested with his dying breath that, notwithstanding any thing he might have said in his examination, he could not accuse either of them of knowing any thing whatever of his rising.[u] He was beheaded and quartered; his head stuck up on a gallows near St. James's Park, and the quarters of his body in four different parts of the capital.

---

[r] Hollinshed.

[s] Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iv. pp. 159, 160.

[t] Fox's Acts and Mon.

[u] Ibid. Harleian MSS. No. 559.

Sir Thomas Wyat's execution was followed by the trials of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir James Crofte, and William Winter, and by the suffering of lord Thomas Grey, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twenty-seventh of April, and whose death closed the horrible scene of executions, connected with this rebellion. Throgmorton, during a severe trial of ten hours duration, defended himself with such admirable ability and courage that he was acquitted,[x] yet still detained a prisoner, and at length laid under a fine of two thousand pounds; and sir James Crofte, with less good fortune, was found guilty and condemned, but after a long imprisonment was pardoned, subject to a fine of five hundred pounds.[y] Many others of inferior note were, at several times, released.

Wyat's was not the only conspiracy which at this time disturbed the state. There were suspicions of a design to take away the queen's life, and William Thomas, a gentleman of very considerable parts, who had been clerk of the council in the last reign, was charged with it, and committed to the Tower, in February 1554, "there to remain in secret custody without conference with any but his keeper."[z] On Thursday in the Whitsun-week he was arraigned and found guilty, at the Guildhall, and, on the following morning, drawn on a sledge from the Tower to Tyburn, where he was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, and his head set upon London-bridge.[a]

Of the nature of Thomas's offence but few particulars are left us. Sir Nicholas Arnold, who was implicated in Wyat's conspiracy, discovered, in his examination, that Throgmorton had shewn him how Thomas had devised for John Fitzwilliams to kill the queen; but Throgmorton, upon being charged with this at his trial, utterly denied it, and required that Fitzwilliams, who was present, might be examined on the subject; but the attorney-general prayed that he might not be sworn, nor suffered to speak, and he was accordingly sent out of court: however, sir Thomas Wyat, at his trial, had been questioned whether he were not privy "to a devise to murder the queen at a place where she should walk?" and he answered that, "this was the invention of William Thomas, whom for that cause he had ever after abhorred:" yet it must be remembered that Wyat said this at a time when he was ready to accuse any one, in hopes of saving his own life, as he had shewn by impeaching Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, which he solemnly revoked at his execution.

---

[x] See Hollinshed's Chronicle.

[y] Acts of the Council, Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 43.

[z] Ibid. p. 20.

[a] Strype's Eccl. Mem., vol. iv. p. 199.

"Constrained by misfortune," as he himself tells us, "to abandon the place of his nativity, and to walk at the liberty of the wide world," Thomas had been a great traveller abroad, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, but particularly in Italy, of which country he wrote a short and methodical history. At Padua he had compiled a dictionary and grammar of the Italian language, which were printed in 1567, by direction of sir Walter Mildmay; he also wrote a small book on the "Vanitie of the Worlde," printed about the year 1545, and he translated some Italian pieces into English. But the most noted of his works is a very scarce book, written first in Italian, and afterwards translated into his own language, entitled, "Palerine Inglisse," or, "The English Pilgrim;" in which, by way of discourse with some Italians in his travels, he gives an interesting account of various transactions in England, and cleared Henry's character from many of the aspersions that were so bountifully bestowed on it abroad, especially in Italy, respecting his divorce, and other acts; and this, perhaps, operated against him with Mary, on the occasion of his death.

On his return into England, in the time of Edward the Sixth, he enjoyed for some time the office of clerk of the council, and he appears to have been in considerable favor with the young king, for whose study he wrote several political treatises, a discourse touching the reformation of the coin, &c., which are preserved among the manuscripts in the Cottonian Collection.[b] Thomas was held by many in high estimation for his wisdom, and it was suspected that his death was rather a grudge or trick of state than an act of justice. "He made a godly end, and in his imprisonment wrote many pious letters, exhortations, and sonnets."[c]

[b] Vesp. D. 18.

[c] Strype's Eccl. Memorials, vol. iv. p. 289.

During this storm of bloodshed and confusion, the earl of Warwick and his brothers, lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henry Dudley, sons of the late duke of Northumberland, were still immured, with many other distinguished captives, in the Tower. On the 5th of June 1554, the council, at the humble suit of their mother, the duchess of Northumberland, signified to the lieutenant that it was her majesty's pleasure for them "to repair to the chapel within the Tower, and to hear mass, at such times as he shall think most fit for that purpose, so as he be present with them at their being there, giving diligent heed that no manner of person be suffered to have conference with them; and after they shall have heard the divine service, to see them conveyed again to their lodging, from time to time, until the queen's highness' pleasure shall be further signified unto him."[d] On the 24th of the same month we find another order of the council, that the lieutenant of the Tower should be allowed six shillings and eight-pence per diem for the diet of each of them and of the lord John Grey, including the maintenance of their servants; and for sir Andrew Dudley and sir James Crofte 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per week each, including the diets of their servants;[e] and for Edward Tremayne, by the week, ten shillings.

The EARL OF WARWICK did not outlive his misfortunes; he died on the 21st of October; and in January following the council met at the Tower, and after liberating his three brothers, lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henry Dudley, discharged the archbishop of York, sir Edward Warner, sir George Harper, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir William Seintlowe, John Harrington, Edmond Tremayne, sir Andrew Dudley, sir James Crofte, Cuthbert Vaughan, sir Gawen Carew, Mr. Gybbs, sir John Rogers, and many other prisoners,[f] which was made a subject of public rejoicing; and, in order to reconcile the people to Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, this act of grace was publicly attributed to his intercession: the archbishop, however, and several of the others, were subjected to heavy fines, to be levied at the pleasure of the crown.[g]

---

[d] Acts of the Council, Yelverton MSS. pp. 30, 31. [e] Ibid. p. 33.

[f] Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 43. Strype's Eccl. Mem., vol. iv. p. 342.

[g] Acts of the Council, Yelverton MSS., No. 171. p. 43.

The prisoners of greatest note confined in the Tower in the remaining years of the reign of Queen Mary, were sir Anthony Kingston, sir John Cheke, William West lord De la Ware, lord Bray, and Charles lord Stourton.

Sir Anthony was committed by a full council, sitting at St. James's, on the 10th of December 1555, "upon a contemptuous behaviour, and great disorder by him lately committed in the parliament house."[h] On the following day it was ordered, by the same authority, "that justice Stamford, and Mr. Serjeant Browne, should from time to time, as oft as they shall see cause, repair to the Tower, to examine him upon such matters as they have in charge;"[i] and at the same time Thomas Hall, serjeant-at-arms, "for permitting sir Anthony Kingston to take from him the keys of the parliament house," was also committed to the Tower, "there to have the liberty of the house, so as nevertheless he talk not with any of the prisoners."[k] On the 24th of the same month, sir Anthony, being brought before the lords of the council, was upon his humble submission and acknowledging of his offence, discharged of his imprisonment;[l] but soon afterwards he was suspected of being concerned with others in a plot for raising a rebellion: they had planned first to rob the exchequer; and Kingston, who was then absent from London, was sent for, to appear before the council; but died on his way towards the capital.[m]

Of sir Anthony, some anecdotes have been preserved, which reflect but little credit on his memory. When the country was disturbed by insurrections in 1549, he held the office of provost marshal of the army which was sent against the rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, and the cruelties that he exercised when searching out the springs of those seditions, display the worst marks of a barbarian. Bodmin having been on that occasion the principal rendezvous of the Cornish insurgents,[n] Boyer, the mayor of the town, had fallen under suspicion, either for having encouraged or not opposed them, and Kingston, after partaking of the hospitalities of his table, took the unsuspecting magistrate, and, without ceremony or notice, immediately hanged him before his own door.[o] The mayor of St. Ives he treated with no greater mercy; [p] and on going to search for a miller, who had been active in the rebellion, manifested a similar want of feeling.[q] The miller, anticipating the provost's good intentions, absconded, first instructing a sturdy fellow, his servant, that if any one should inquire for him, he should say that he himself was the person; and, accordingly, when the provost with his retinue appeared, the man came forth and answered for the master, affirming that for three years past he had kept the mill. Then, said the provost, lay hold on him, and on the nearest tree he shall be rewarded. In vain did the poor fellow retract, and shew that he was only the miller's servant. "Sirrah," replied the humane officer, "I take thee at thy word: if thou be the miller thou art a busy knave: if thou be not, thou art a false liar, and whatsoever thou art, thou shalt be hanged." Some persons present interfered in his behalf, confirming his statement that he was only a servant: "and what then," said the provost, "could he ever do his master a better service than hang for him?" and so the poor fellow was despatched! [r]

---

[h] Acts of the Council, p. 82.

[i] Ibid. p. 83.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Ibid. p. 86.

[m] Stow, Hollinshed, &c.

[n] Carew's Survey, p. 124. Edit. 1602.

In the same year the Tower became the prison of Sir John Cheke, whose memory must be respected as the preceptor of King Edward the Sixth, and as a man of great piety and learning, though his fair fame was at last tarnished by his denial of that true religion of which he had before been so zealous and so firm an advocate, and by his being induced by the fear of death to acknowledge those doctrines which were so repugnant to the former professions of his faith.

Sir John Cheke was educated in the university of Cambridge, of which he became one of the brightest ornaments, and where, by the influence of his example, he greatly promoted piety and learning, as he afterwards did among the young nobility at court. At the recommendation of his great friend, Dr. Butts, physician to King Henry the Eighth, that monarch appointed him tutor to his son,[s] and how highly he merited the important charge of framing the mind of the young prince, is amply shewn by the disposition, the religious principles, and the extraordinary learning of his pupil; during whose reign he was deservedly an object of royal favor.

---

[o] Carew's Survey, p. 124. Edit. 1602. Goodwin, vol. ii. p. 295.

[p] Borlase's MSS. Lysons's Hist. of Cornwall, p. 149. [q] Goodwin and Carew, ut supra. [r] Goodwin, ut supra, pp. 295, 296. [s] Strype's Eccl. Mem., vol. v. p. 41.

At the period of King Edward's death, sir John embarked in the fatal scheme of setting aside Mary's right to the throne: for which, however, he was at last pardoned, and being permitted to travel, he went to the continent, and visited the principal seats of learning. After passing some time in Rome, he returned in 1555 to Strasburgh, and soon afterwards he and sir Peter Carew were seized, between Brussels and Antwerp, by the secret orders of King Philip, and conveyed into England, bound hand and foot like malefactors.[t] They were shut up in the Tower, where Cheke, in order to save himself from the flames, was prevailed upon to renounce his former good profession of the gospel, and to acknowledge the popish doctrines: he there subscribed to a full belief in the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar,[u] which he sent by Feckenham, then dean of St. Paul's, in a letter to cardinal Pole. By these means, and by writing to the queen, professing his compliance in matters of religion, and imploring her favor,[x] he at length regained his liberty; but remorse of conscience threw him into great melancholy and trouble of mind, and, in the following year, he ended his life in misery.[y]

In the year 1557, the dissatisfaction that began to manifest itself throughout the country by reason of the religious persecutions and the increasing authority of the Spaniards, encouraged a party of refugees, remnants of the last insurrection, to attempt to raise an opposition in the north. Headed by Thomas second son of lord Stafford, a descendant of the Staffords dukes of Buckingham,[z] they sailed from France, and, landing at Scarborough, got possession of the castle with little or no resistance;[a] but before they could be joined or prepare for defence, they were overpowered by the earl of Westmorland and others in those parts, and taken prisoners.

Stafford, whose chief object is said to have been to recover the long lost title of duke of Buckingham,[b] gave himself out as governor and protector of the realm; intending to depose the queen, whom he called the unrightful and unworthy queen of England, as forfeiting her crown by her marriage with a stranger, and for favoring and maintaining Spaniards, and putting castles into their hands, to the danger of the nation.[c] This leader, together with captain Richard Saunders, and three others, named Stretchley or Strelly, Bradford, and Procter, were conveyed to prison in the Tower, and were all tried, and condemned for high treason: but Saunders obtained pardon. Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 28th of May, and on the morrow the other three were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and hanged. Their heads were set on London-bridge, and their quarters over the gates of the city;[d] and twenty-seven others were tried and executed in Yorkshire for the same offence.[e]

---

[t] Strype's Eccl. Mem., vol. v. p. 42. [u] Ibid. vol. vi. No. 54. [x] Ibid. No. 55.
[y] Ibid. vol. v. p. 43. [z] Ibid. p. 202. [a] Stow's Annals. Hollinshed.

The Lord De la Ware, on the last day of June, 1556, was led from the Tower to the Guild-hall, where he was tried and found guilty of treason, for which he was sentenced to be drawn and quartered;[f] but was pardoned. He afterwards had a command at the siege and battle of St. Quintin's,[g] sat on the trial of Thomas duke of Norfolk, and was distinguished on various occasions.

Lord Bray, who is said to have been "a loose man, and needy, and an unkind husband to a good wife," was implicated in a conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Norfolk and Suffolk, for which three gentlemen named Leuknor, Wray, and Turner, and some others, were arraigned and condemned at Guild-hall. Lord Bray was committed to the Tower in the month of June 1556, where he was confined in close prison, "and his condition so low, that his friends were fain, upon sufferance, to relieve him with meat and drink, which was delivered at the court gate to one of the jailors appointed to serve and attend upon prisoners there." He stood much upon his truth, and desired that his accusers might be brought before his face, which was granted; and two of them, Francis and Edmund Verney "touched him very sore."[h] He was to have been arraigned at

---

[b] Strype, vol. v. p. 202.
[c] Ibid. p. 203.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Ibid. p. 21.
[g] Hollinshed.
[h] Strype's Eccl. Memorials.

Westminster, and stood in danger of his life; but the interest of the earl of Shrewsbury prevailed upon the queen to pardon him,[i] and in the following year he had a command at the siege and battle of St. Quintin's.[k]

Lord Stourton's imprisonment and execution were for one of the most daring and horrid murders that ever disgraced the annals of any civilized nation; and, perhaps, the effects of malice on the human mind were never more forcibly or shockingly exemplified than in this vile transaction.

The victims to lord Stourton's revenge, were William Hartgill, and John Hartgill, his son, two gentlemen of Kilmington in Somersetshire; and, as the circumstances connected with this event present us with an extraordinary picture of the state of society at that gloomy period of our history, it may not be improper to introduce here a particular account of it, from a narrative which is stated to have been written soon after its occurrence.[l]

A quarrel had arisen some years before between the parties, respecting lord Stourton's mother, while she was on a visit at Mr. Hartgill's house; and shortly afterwards, on a Sunday morning, his lordship went to Kilmington, with a riotous assemblage of persons armed with bows and guns, and committed violent outrages. John Hartgill, "a tall lusty gentleman, being told of the said lord Stourton's coming, went out of the church, and drew his sword, and ran to his father's house, adjoining fast to the church-yard side. Divers arrows were shot at him in his passing, but he was not hurt. His father, the said William Hartgill, and his wife, being old folks, were driven to go up into the tower of the church, with two or three of their servants, for the safeguard of their lives. When the said John Hartgill was come into his father's house, he took his long-bow and arrows, and bent a cross-bow, and charged a gun, and caused a woman to carry the cross-bow and gun after him, and himself with his long-bow came forth, and drave away the said lord Charles and all his men from the house, and from about the church; so not one of all the company tarried, saving half a score that were entered into the church, amongst whom one was hurt with hail-shot in the shoulder by the said John Hartgill." Sir Thomas Speake, the sheriff of the county, was directed by the lords of the council to repress these disorders, and to bring up lord Stourton, who was at first committed to prison, and afterwards bound to keep the peace; but the desire of revenge continued to canker in his breast, and the Hartgills were the constant objects of his persecution: he destroyed their corn, drove away their cattle, and kept them in a continual state of alarm for their lives.

---

[i] Strype's Eccl. Mem.

[k] Hollinshed.

[l] See Strype, vol. v. p. 123. 132.

At length, availing themselves of the queen's being at Basing-end in Hampshire, they petitioned her majesty for redress, and the parties being called before the council, lord Stourton promised that, if they would come to his house and desire a reconciliation, he would not only grant it, but restore their goods and cattle. Whereupon, trusting to his promise made in such presence, they took a gentleman with them as a friend, and went to wait upon his lordship; but on coming near to his house, a number of lord Stourton's servants rushed out upon them in a lane, and attempted to seize the younger Hartgill, and on his turning round and riding away, he was stopped by six others, who beset him before and behind, and ere he could draw his sword, he was wounded in several places, and they left him for dead.

At length this business was brought before the star-chamber, and in the end, the matter appeared so heinously base on the part of lord Stourton, that he was sentenced to pay a sum of money to the Hartgills, and was committed to the Fleet; but some time afterwards was allowed to return to his country, having first given a bond for two thousand pounds to render himself a prisoner again in the Fleet on the first day of the following term,[m] and promised faithfully to pay in the meantime to the Hartgills the sums of money in which he had been condemned. He arrived at his house of Sturton Caundel, and in a few days afterwards sent to the Hartgills, informing them that he was ready to pay them the money which had been ordered by the star-chamber, adding, that he also wished to commune with them for an ending of all matters between them. Kilmington church was accordingly appointed as the place of meeting, and lord Stourton came accompanied with fifteen or sixteen of his own servants, many of his tenants, some gentlemen, and justices, to the number of sixty persons.

---

[m] Acts of the Council, Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 164.

The Hartgills, seeing so great a company, began to be alarmed, and the elder, as he approached lord Stourton, said, "My lord, I see many enemies of mine about your lordship, and therefore I am afraid to come any nearer," and, though assured that they should have no bodily hurt, they refused to enter any covered place, save the church. His lordship first laid down a purse, as if he were going to pay them; but he had scarcely begun conversing on the object of their meeting, when he seized them both, saying, "I arrest you of felony." [n] They were then bound with their hands behind them, by his lordship's order. He treated the younger Hartgill's wife in the most brutal manner, and had his two prisoners confined during that day in the parsonage house, without meat or drink; and it is said that, had he not been otherwise persuaded by one of his men, they would have been murdered there that night.

About one or two o'clock the next morning, these two unfortunate gentlemen were conveyed thence to a house at Bonham, within a quarter of a mile of Stourton, his lordship's own residence, where they were placed in separate apartments, fast bound, without food, fire, or any thing to lay on: and so they remained till four of the clock in the following afternoon; and then lord Stourton sent for their examination two justices of the peace, whom he made believe that he would the next morning send them to prison. The magistrates, finding them bound, directed that they should be loosed, and remain so; but they were no sooner gone than his lordship again had them tied with their hands behind them, and directed all the keepers to leave them, except four of his own servants, whom he had previously engaged to commit the horrid deed.

About ten o'clock at night the murderers took their victims to a close adjoining lord Stourton's house, where they forced them to kneel down, and knocked them on the head with clubs, the base director of the deed, "standing in the meantime at a gallery door not a good coyte's cast from the place."

---

[n] Acts of the Council, Yelverton MSS. No. 171. p. 165.

"This done, the bodies were wrapped up and conveyed through a garden into the gallery where lord Stourton stood, and so into a small place at the end thereof, his lordship bearing a candle to light the murderers. This place adjoined lord Stourton's own chamber, and when they were brought there, life not being quite extinct, they groaned, especially the old man, and one of the ruffians swore that they were not dead; another said it would be a good deed to rid them of their pains, and, lest a French priest lying near the place should hear, his lordship directed that their throats should be cut, himself standing by with a candle in his hand."

One of the murderers now beginning to feel remorse, said to his master, "Ah! my lord, this is a piteous sight: had I thought as I now think before the deed was done, your whole land should not have brought me to consent to such an act." To which his lordship answered, "What, faint-hearted knave! is it any more than ridding of two knaves, that living, were troublesome to God's laws and man's? There is no more account to be made of them than of killing two sheep."[o]

The bodies were then let down into a dungeon, where they were buried very deep, and covered first with earth, then with two courses of thick pavement, and the place finally covered over with a quantity of chips and shavings.[p]

The bodies were found by sir Anthony Hungerford, then sheriff of Wiltshire, whose exertions in discovering them received the merited thanks of the council.[q] Lord Stourton was apprehended and conveyed to the Tower in January, and on the twenty-sixth of the following month he was arraigned in Westminster-hall, before the lord chief justice Brokes, and other judges, the lord steward, the lord treasurer, and others, appointed by special commission to try him;[r] and his four servants were sent down to be arraigned in Wiltshire.[s]

The two unfortunate gentlemen who had fallen victims to lord

---

[o] Strype's Eccl. Mem., vol. v. p. 131.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Acts of the Council, p. 183.

[r] Strype, ut supra.

[s] Acts of the Council, ut supra, p. 179.

Stourton's violent and malicious nature, were protestants; and, as his lordship had always been a staunch supporter of the Roman catholic religion, and had rendered many services to the government, it was hoped by his friends that the queen would have spared his life; but she left him to the laws! and there is no act of Mary's reign that does so much credit to her memory as this demonstration of justice, and her horror at the baseness of his crime. On the 28th of February, the council directed the sheriff of Wilts to receive his body at the hands of sir Hugh Paulet, and to see him executed; and on the second of March he was taken under a strong guard from the Tower, on horseback, with his arms pinioned behind him, and his legs tied under the horse's belly.[t] The first day he was conducted to Hounslow; on the second to Staines; thence to Basingtoke, and on the fourth to Salisbury, where, on the next day, he was executed in the market-place;[u] and it is said that "he made great lamentation at his death for his wilful and impious deed."[x] It was directed that his servants should be hanged in chains at Mere,[y] and the only mark of distinction shewn to lord Stourton's rank, was his being hanged with a silken cord.[z]

On the death of Queen Mary the flames which had been so long fed with human blood were happily quenched: the protestants were freed from those horrid persecutions which have left so dark a stain on that stern bigot's memory; and the adherents to the Roman Catholic forms of worship were now doomed, in their turn, to taste of the severities with which the early ages of the Reformation were also tinged. This, added to the many conspiracies formed by the papists against her government and life, tended, during the whole reign of Elizabeth, to throng the Tower with prisoners; and the hardships and tortures to which they were frequently subjected cast a shade over the glories of the Elizabethan age, and detract from the character of a princess, whose name is cherished with so much fondness, and whose memory, as the establisher of our religion, has so many claims to reverential gratitude.

In 1560, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Ely, Lincoln,

---

[t] Hollinshed.
[u] Ibid.
[x] Strype's Eccl. Mem., vol. v. p. 39.
[y] Acts of the Council, ut supra, p. 183.
[z] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

Worcester, Exeter, and Bath, Dr. Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster, and other dignitaries of the church,[a] were deprived and committed to the Tower, for refusing to take the oath of the queen's supremacy; and it appears that the period of their restraint was considerably longer than our historians have generally accounted for. A list of the prisoners, made in 1562, shews that they were still in confinement, and that lady Catherine Grey, and the earls of Hertford and Lenox, and many other persons, had also been made tenants of these gloomy abodes.[b]

The confinement of LADY CATHERINE GREY, and of the earl of Hertford, her husband, was occasioned by her affinity to the crown, and that cankering spirit of jealousy, which was ever harassing the mind and destroying the peace of Elizabeth. She was the sister of the ill-fortuned lady Jane, whose story has been already related, and on the decapitation of her father, the duke of Suffolk, was left heiress of that illustrious house. Just before the death of Edward the Sixth, she was contracted in marriage to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke, on the same day that the hand of her sister was given to lord Guildford Dudley; but this union, which had not been consummated, was dissolved after the accession of Queen Mary, through the policy of lord Herbert's father. About the year 1560, she became privately wedded to the earl of Hertford, son of the late duke of Somerset, and her pregnancy having subsequently made this connexion known, she was questioned, and acknowledged her marriage. Hertford, who was then in France, was summoned home, and a day assigned him to produce evidence of their union, which he was unable to do so early as the day appointed; and, although the lady Catherine was not within the degree of consanguinity which would render her marriage without the royal assent unlawful, they were both committed to the Tower, to be kept in separate prisons. Nor was the arbitrary and tyrannical spirit of Elizabeth to be satisfied with the punishment of them only: sir Edward Warner, the lieutenant of the Tower, was directed, as by the queen's commandment, "to examine the lady Catherine very straitly, how many have been privy to the love between her and the earl of Hertford, from the beginning; and let her certainly understand that she shall have no manner of favor, except she shew the truth; not only what ladies and gentlewomen of this court were thereto privy, but also what lords and gentlemen: for it doth appear that sundry personages had dealt herein; and when it shall appear more manifestly, it shall increase our indignation against her, if she forbear to utter it!"[c] He was also directed[d] "to send to alderman Lodge secretly for St. Low, and to put her in awe of divers matters confessed by the lady Catherine; and also deal with her that she may confess all her knowledge in the same matters. It is certain that there have been great practices and purposes; and since the death of the lady Jane, she hath been most privy." And, it is added, "as ye shall see occasion, so ye may keep St. Low two or three nights, more or less; and let her be returned to Lodge's, or kept still with you, as ye shall think meet."[e]

---

[a] Hollinshed. See p. 87.

[b] See Appendix to the 1st. Edit.

Shortly after her commitment to the Tower, the lady Catherine was delivered of her first child; and Hertford having subsequently, by bribing his keepers, gotten access to his lady's chamber, the result of their meetings was the birth of a second son. Warner, who was privy to these interviews, was punished with the loss of his place, and the earl was sentenced, in the star-chamber, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds for each of the following offences: first, for having corrupted a virgin of the royal blood, in the queen's palace; secondly, for having broken prison; and, thirdly, for having renewed his intercourse.

Of all the arbitrary and unfeeling measures which detract from the character of Elizabeth, there is none, perhaps, which reflects deeper disgrace upon it, than her persecution of these illustrious captives. The lady Catherine died in the Tower, in 1567,[f] after a long illness, and without ever being again allowed to see her unfortunate lord; and he, besides his heavy fine, was condemned to a nine years' imprisonment to atone for this exaggerated offence.

The EARL OF LENOX, who was committed to the Tower for holding a private correspondence with the Queen of Scots,[g] was soon released; and, some years afterwards, while exercising the functions of regent of Scotland, fell by the hands of assassins.

---

[c] Burleigh Papers, by Haynes. [d] Ibid. [e] See Appendix to the 1st. Edit.
[f] Harleian MSS. No. 39.

The Poles, and other prisoners committed to the Tower in the reign of Elizabeth, have already been introduced to our notice by the interesting memorials left on the walls of their prisons;[h] and of other persons of consequence confined here during that period, the case of the duke of Norfolk will be the first to claim our interest.

Thomas Howard, fourth **Duke of Norfolk**, whose imprisonment was occasioned by his aspiring to the hand of Mary Queen of Scots, was the eldest son of the celebrated Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, who was cut off in the flower of life, in the time of King Henry the Eighth.[i] On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, this duke became an object of her royal favor, and, had he not violated the faith that he owed to his sovereign, he might have been among the happiest, as well as being the greatest of her subjects: but, notwithstanding the proscriptions and troubles that had befallen his ancestors for four generations, he could not close his ears to the voice of ambition, nor avoid the paths which had led his great-great-grand-father and his father to the block, and brought others of his house to the prison that himself was now doomed to occupy.

In 1559, shortly after Elizabeth had ascended the throne, this duke was made a knight of the garter; in the following year he was chosen to command the English army sent into Scotland to oppose the French; and, after accomplishing successfully the objects of that expedition, he was appointed lieutenant-general of the north. In 1568, when Mary Queen of Scots, after the murder of her husband, agreed to submit to Elizabeth an investigation of her conduct, Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, were sent as commissioners to hear the parties; and it appears to have been on this occasion that he embarked in those fatal intrigues which brought him at last to an untimely and disgraceful end. Robertson says that, "the fertile and projecting genius of Maitland first conceived this scheme; and, during the conferences at York, he communicated it to the duke himself, and to the bishop of Ross. The former," he says, "readily closed with a scheme so flattering to his ambition, and the latter considered it as a probable device for restoring his mistress to liberty, and replacing her on the throne. Nor was Mary, with whom Norfolk held a correspondence by means of his sister lady Scroope, averse to a measure which would have restored her to her kingdom with so much splendor." Camden, however, tells us that, although the subject was afterwards yielded to by Murray, Mary's brother, who thought that the match might be the best means of promoting the tranquillity of both kingdoms, and the firm settlement of religion, the duke answered, "that he could resolve nothing as to a proposal of that kind, before the queen stood acquitted of the crimes laid to her charge."

---

[g] Camden. [h] See the account of the Beauchamp Tower. [i] See p. 393. 397.

It began nevertheless to be whispered abroad that he was about to be married to the queen of Scots: and many persons of consequence are said to have heartily wished it. His grace had recently become a widower, and was then not only the most powerful, but the most popular man in England; and "a great many who observed Elizabeth's averseness to matrimony, and considered the Scottish queen as the undoubted heir to the crown of England, believed it would tend more to the settlement of affairs, and the fixing of Mary to just measures of government, should she marry the duke of Norfolk, a man bred up in the protestant religion, than should she admit of a foreign prince, who might by her help embroil both.[k]"

Among others of the nobility connected with this secret, were the earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, Sussex, Pembroke, and Southampton, and even the earl of Leicester, the queen's great favourite, appeared most strenuous in encouraging the duke in it; and, with his own hand, drew up certain articles of agreement, which were sent for Mary's acceptance; but it is highly probable that, from the beginning, Leicester was false, and was only spurring him on to ruin. It had been agreed on all hands that the matter should be communicated to the queen, which Leicester promised to do; but he delayed it from time to time, till Elizabeth had become acquainted with the whole design, and had taken an opportunity to hint it to the duke himself, by advising him "to be very careful on what pillow he laid his head."

---

[k] Camden.

Soon after this, the duplicity of Leicester became manifest: he fell sick, or pretended to be so, and on the queen's going to see him, he disclosed the whole business from the beginning; and Elizabeth, as if she had previously been ignorant of the subject, then burst forth with the greatest indignation. Norfolk was called before her, and not only reprimanded severely for attempting the match without her knowledge, but charged on his allegiance to abandon his pretensions, which his grace very readily promised to do: he treated the subject with a great shew of indifference, as if he had very little regard for the Scottish queen; adding, that his estate in England was worth nearly as much as the whole kingdom of Scotland, wasted as it had been by wars; and that when he was in his own Tennis-court, at Norwich, he thought himself at least a petty prince. Very shortly, however, after this interview, the duke perceived in the queen's looks and behaviour towards him, a greater indifference than before, and he saw also that several of the nobility who had been his friends, began to shrink by degrees from his interest and society.[1]

It unfortunately happened for the duke, that, at this critical moment, both the Spanish and French ambassadors began to press, even more earnestly than before, for the Scottish queen's release; and as this tended not a little to heighten the resentment and suspicions of Elizabeth, it made his grace's situation the more dangerous. He was terrified also with some false reports of a rebellion in the north, and hearing, from the earl of Leicester, that he was certainly to go to the Tower, he withdrew into Norfolk, intending to remain there till the present storms should blow over, or that he could appease her majesty by submissive letters. "But," continues Camden, "he had spies set over him, who had directions to observe his very looks and gestures, as well as his general conduct and deportment; and when he found there was little to be expected from his friends, and that it was the opinion and advice of persons of the first rank and quality in those parts, that if he knew himself guilty, he ought to throw himself upon the queen's mercy, he was distracted with the doubts and scruples which thronged upon him. The court, in the meantime, was not without apprehensions that this would end in a rebellion, and it was commonly rumoured that if it did so, the queen of Scots was to be put to death; but the duke being easy within, and conscious of no ill designs that could bring him under the charge of high treason, and being fearful withal that Mary would find harder treatment by reason of these surmises, he wrote to his friends, assuring them that he had retired to his seat for fear of being imprisoned, and begging them to remove, if possible, those unfavorable reports which had been spread at court, whither he was preparing to come to obtain the queen's pardon."

---

[1] Camden.

Elizabeth had now been fully informed by Murray, the regent of Scotland, of all the duke's intrigues, and of his correspondence with him on the subject of his proposed match: she knew also of the private communications between him and the bishop of Ross, Mary's ambassador; and, shortly after his appearance at court, his grace underwent a severe examination on these points: he was also taxed with a design to disturb the tranquillity of the nation; and, after a sharp reprimand for withdrawing from court without leave, was committed to custody in the Tower. The earl of Pembroke was also confined to his own house; and several noblemen, who had been privy to the duke of Norfolk's designs, asked the queen's pardon, and owned that they had given him their advice and consent to the match.[m]

After remaining a prisoner in the Tower for about a year, the duke was removed, under the free custody of sir Henry Nevil, to his own residence, the Charter-house: for the plague, which then prevailed in the capital, had begun "to wax hot" in the Tower.[n] But this indulgence, if it were not intended, eventually led to a consummation of Norfolk's fate! Even in the Tower he had found means to carry on his correspondence; and no sooner was he relieved from the restraints of that fortress, than he began to follow, with more than his former zeal, the fatal object of his blind ambition. But under an administration so vigilant as that of Elizabeth, it could not be expected that a continuance of this intrigue would be long concealed. A packet of letters, sent into England, for the duke, and others, by Ridolfi, a Florentine, who had been employed by them abroad in negociations with the pope and the duke of Alva, was intercepted; and although the bishop of Ross had sufficient address to get possession of them before their contents were known, the messenger, on being put to the rack, made such disclosures as led to the bishop's confinement:[o] Sir Thomas Stanley, sir Thomas Gerrard, and Rolston, were also sent to the Tower; and, shortly afterwards, a "mass of money," with letters in cipher, despatched by the duke of Norfolk for Mary's party in Scotland, and in Edinburgh Castle, was intercepted, and Higford, the duke's secretary, who wrote the letters, being taken and committed to the Tower, made a full disclosure of the whole matter.

---

[m] Camden.

[n] Ibid,

Upon these discoveries, sir Ralph Sadler was ordered to keep a strong guard about his grace's house,[p] formerly the place of the Carthusian monks; and two days afterwards the duke was questioned by the council, and, not knowing what his servants had confessed, or that some of his correspondence and ciphers had come into the hands of the queen's ministers, he boldly denied every thing.[q] However, on the 7th of September,[r] a day or two subsequent to his examination, he was again conveyed to the Tower; and Banister, his counsellor, as well as the earls of Arundel and Southampton, lord Lumley, lord Cobham, and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, and other persons of inferior note,[s] were likewise committed to prison, and each made confessions, in hopes of obtaining pardon.[t]

When his grace was acquainted with these proceedings, and knew the fate of the letters and papers, and especially his ciphers, which he had fondly hoped were burnt, he was aghast: "I am betrayed and undone by my confidants," said he, "whom I knew not how to distrust, though diffidence is the very essence of wisdom."[u] He then made "a lamentable submission to her majesty, and humbly besought the council to intercede for her mercy,[x] promising to conceal nothing which he knew." He solemnly protested that he had never consented to any proceeding which might prejudice the queen, or injure the realm; but had heartily declared against the plots that had been laid for surprising her person, as well as those for seizing the Tower and setting the Queen of Scots at liberty. The same day he was examined on a variety of articles, and withheld nothing; and the whole of this proceeding was afterwards reported in the star-chamber, in a full assembly of the nobility, the lord mayor and aldermen of London being present.[y]

---

[o] See p. 149.
[p] Camden.
[q] Ibid.
[r] A°. 1571.
[s] Camden. Lodge's Illustrations of British Hist., vol. ii. p. 6.
[t] Camden.

The duke now remained in the Tower, where he and some of his servants, as well as Barker and the bishop of Ross, underwent several examinations by the council;[z] and on the 16th of January he was brought before a tribunal of six-and-twenty peers, in Westminster-hall, where preparations had been made for this solemn occasion.[a] The queen had appointed George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, to preside as lord high steward of England,[b] and the noble prisoner was brought to the bar, and charged with the following crimes: — "That he had entered into a treasonable conspiracy for deposing the queen, taking away her life, and invading the kingdom, by raising war, and bringing in a foreign power: — That, though he knew for certain that Mary, late Queen of Scots, had usurped the crown, the title, and the arms of England, he had treated about a marriage with her, without acquainting the queen, and had lent her a sum of money, contrary to what he had promised under his hand: — That, though he was sure that the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and others, had raised a rebellion against the queen, and were driven into Scotland, yet he had supplied them with money: — That he had by his letters craved aid from the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke d'Alva, to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and to restore the popish religion in England," &c.

---

[u] Camden.
[x] Lodge, ut supra, p. 57.
[y] Camden.
[z] See Harleian MSS. No. 290.
[a] Camden.
[b] Harleian MSS. No. 290.

When called upon to plead to these charges, the duke craved that, if the law would allow it, he might have counsel assigned him to defend his cause; but Cateline, the lord chief justice, answered, that the law would not allow it. "It is fit," replied his grace, "that I should submit myself to the opinion of the judges, but in this case there are many nice points; nor had I notice till within these fourteen hours that I should be brought to my trial. I have been also unprovided with books, and I see now I must fight for myself without weapons. However, I have heard that, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, sir Humphrey Stafford had counsel allowed him in a case of high treason." But to this he was answered by Dyer, chief justice of the common pleas, "that Stafford had council assigned him about the privilege of sanctuary, whence he was violently drawn: as to the case of high treason, he pleaded his own cause without counsel." "To-day, then," said the prisoner, "I must plead for my life, my estate, my children, and, which is above all, for my honesty! If I die innocent, God will be sure to avenge my cause."

By the attorney general the duke was also charged with having treated with Ridolfi, about transporting ten thousand men out of Flanders, to be landed at Harwich, which he proved by examination of Barker, his grace's secretary; and he said that letters were likewise sent by Ridolfi to the king of Spain, and the duke d'Alva; and though the duke would not set his hand to them, he had, by advice of Ross, sent Barker, his secretary, to the Spanish ambassador, to assure him that the letters were his.

Intercepted letters of the bishop of Ross, from the Tower, to the Queen of Scots, were then brought forward against him; as well as a letter of his own, written with ochre, to his servant, ordering him to burn a packet of letters hid by Barker, his secretary; and to lay the blame upon Ross, who, by the privilege of an ambassador, would easily elude the law: Bromley, the queen's solicitor, also produced Ridolfi's letters, and letters from the pope to the duke, dated on the 4th of May. That the duke had relieved the rebels who were fled, was proved by letters from the countess of Northumberland, thanking him for the money which he had supplied to her and to her husband: and, to the accusation that he had relieved the Scots, the queen's enemies, his own letters to Banister, and that person's confession, were adduced as sufficient testimony.[c]

When the prosecution closed, the duke was asked by the lord steward, if he had any thing further to say in his defence; he said, "I confide in the equity of the laws!" His grace was then taken from the bar, and the peers, having withdrawn and consulted together, returned into court with the unanimous verdict of "guilty;" and sentence was accordingly pronounced, that he should be hanged, beheaded, and quartered.[d]

Having heard this decree, the duke calmly replied, "Sentence is passed upon me as upon a traitor! I have none to trust to but God and the queen: I am excluded from your society, but hope shortly to enjoy the heavenly. I will fit myself to die. Only this one thing I crave, that the queen will be kind to my poor children and servants, and take care that my debts be paid."

The duke was then taken back to the Tower, and being told that an early day would be appointed for his execution, he prepared himself to meet it with a nobleness of soul which at once characterised the Christian, and dignified the man. On the fourth day after his trial, he addressed from the Tower a long and excellent letter of advice to his children, pointing out to them, in the most affectionate and sensible manner, the paths to pursue, and the dangers to shun, in their future course in life. Philip his eldest son, to whose melancholy history we have already alluded,[e] he calls upon to love and fear God above all things, and to be affectionate and good to his wife. "Follow," says he, "these two lessons, and God will bless you; and without these, as you may see by divers examples out of the scripture, and also by ordinary worldly proof, where God is not feared all goeth to wracke, and where love is not between the husband and the wife, there God doth not prosper." He desires him to be kind to his brothers and sisters, and to his sisters in law; he tells him whom to make accompt of as his friends, and whom as his servants, "and," says he, "if your happ may be so good, as you may so live without being called to higher degree, oh, Philip, Philip! then shall you enjoy that blessed life which your woeful father would fain have done, and never could be so happy. Beware of high degrees. To a vain-glorious proud stomach, it seemeth at the first sweet; but look into all chroniclers, and you shall find that, in the end it bringeth heaps of cares, toils in the state, and most commonly an utter overthrow. Look into the whole state of the nobility in times past, and into their state now, and then judge whether my lessons be true or no." He warns him against an expensive mode of living, and continues, "Beware of the court, except it be to do your prince a service, and that, as near as you can, in the meanest degree; for that place hath no certainty: either a man by following thereof hath too much worldly pomp, which in the end throws him down headlong, or else he liveth there, unsatisfied, either that he cannot attain to himself that he would, or else that he cannot do for his friends as his heart desireth. Remember these notes and follow them, and then you, by God's help, shall reap the comodity of them in your old years, when, if it be his will, you may give the like advice to your own. — Beware of pride, leachery, taunting, and sullenness, which vices nature doth somewhat kindle in you, and therefore you must with reason and discretion make a new nature in yourself. Give not your mind too much and greedily to gaming: make a pastime of it, and no toil. And lastly, delight to spend some time in reading of the Scriptures, for therein is the whole comfort of man's life: all other things are vain and transitory. And if you be diligent in reading of them, they will remain with you continually, to your profit and comodity in this world, and to your comfort and salvation in the world to come: whither in grace of God I am now with joy and consolation preparing myself. Beware of blind sophistry, which brings nothing but bondage to men's consciences: mix your prayers with fastings; not thinking thereby to merit, for there is nothing that we of ourselves can do that is good: we are but unprofitable servants. But fast, I say, thereby to tame the wicked affections of your mind; and trust only to be saved by Christ's precious blood; for without your perfect faith there is no salvation. Let work follow your faith, thereby to shew to the world that you do not only say you have faith, but that you give testimony thereof to the full satisfaction of the godly. I write somewhat the more herein, because, perchance, you have heretofore heard, or may hereafter hear, false bruits that I was a papist: but, trust unto it, I never, since I knew what religion meant, I thank God, was of other mind than you shall hear that I die in; although I cry God mercy, I have not given fruits and testimony of my faith as I ought to have done, the which is the thing that I do now chiefliest repent.

---

[c] Camden. Harleian MSS. No. 834; 4314.

[d] Camden and Harleian MSS. No. 834.

[e] See p. 135—139.

"When I am gone, forget my condemning, and forgive, I charge you, my false accusers, as, I protest to God, I do: but have nothing to do with them if they live. Surely Banister dealt no way honestly and truly. Hickford did not hurt me in my conscience willingly, that was of weight, otherwise than truly; but the bishop of Ross, and especially Barker, did falsely accuse me, and laid their own treasons upon my back. God forgive them, and I do; and once more again I will you to do: bear no malice in your mind. And now, dear Philip, farewell. Read this my letter sometimes over: it may chance make you remember yourself the better; and by the same, when your father is dead and rotten, you may see what counsel I would give you if I were alive. If you follow these admonitions, there is no doubt but God will bless you, and I, your earthly father, do give you God's blessing and mine, with my humble prayers to Almighty God that it will please him to bless you, and your Nanne,[f] that you may both, if it be his will, see your children's children, to the comfort of you both, and afterwards that you may be partakers of the heavenly kingdom."

To Thomas, his second son, he applied the excellent instructions given to his elder brother, warning him also against stubbornness, which he had shewn in his nature from infancy, and recommended with parental interest the course he should adopt in life. To each of his other children he addressed a most affecting lesson of comfort and advice, desiring them, for Christ's sake, to be mindful of it, and in so doing, God would bless them.[g]

---

[f] Anne, his daughter-in-law, lord Philip Howard's wife.

This letter, which does so much credit to the heart, as well as to the head of this unfortunate peer, was accompanied with the following,[h] addressed particularly to the lord Philip, his eldest son, pointing out to him whom to trust, as the most faithful of his friends and servants, and adding the Christian admonition, "to forget all his injuries:"

"I forbeare, sonne Philip, to put these particulars hereafter remembered into y^e^ general letter sent unto you all, because most part of these thinges perteigne chiefly to your selfe. I made certaine conveyances which save to you y^e^ greatest part of my landes, w^ch^ can by noe means be taken from you but by act of parliam^t^; and to prevent y^t^, you must seeke, by good dealing, to gett your selfe as many to be your good lords and friendes as you can. My L^d^ Burghley hath been ever my friend, and therfore I hope he will be yours. My cowzen of Oxford is too negligent in his friend's causes, or else he might doe you more good then any kinsman you have. The M^r^ of y^e^ Rolles, and the Atturney, have been ever friendly unto me, and if you seeke theyr freindshipp I hope you shall finde y^em^ willing. Mr. Hatton is a marveylous const^t^ friend, one y^t^ I have been much beholding unto. Write unto him, and seeke his good will, and I believe you shall finde him assured. After sometyme is overblowne, write an humble letter to y^e^ queen's ma^ty^, laying your selfe prostrate at her highnes' feet, declaring your lamentable case. By this meanes I hope you shall asswage her majesty's ire, and thereby that land w^ch^ is left you, be w^th^out danger of rigour by parl^t^. This bearer hath been soe faithfull unto me, as if you be not mindfull to recompense him, if you be able, you shall show yourselfe unnaturall to me; therfore let your dealing be such towardes him, as he may think y^e^ faithfull and dangerous service y^t^ he did to your father not to be forgotten. Credit him in y^t^ he shall say by mouth to you from me, for I have comitted diverse things to his credit to be reported by worde. He is contented to spend his tyme w^th^ you: heare him, he will advise you nothing but for y^{e} best. Forgett not poore Anthony. I gave him y^{e} keeping of y^{e} tennis-court in Howard House, w^{ch} I would have you continue towardes him. I dare undertake you shall finde Hasset honest and trusty, though he be somwhat a tymerous man; he hath been my oldest officer, and therefore use him thereafter. Bannister is an honest man, and one y^{t} every ways is able to serve your turne: marry, I feare if he be once ridd of this trouble he will hardly be brougt to intermeddle with worldly matters. I am sure noe man shall gett him but your selfe. Dixy is a faithful servant, and one y^{t} I wish you to repose mostly upon: he is best acquainted wth y^{e} state of my reckonings now at my death. Let Cantrell never be from you, assure yo^{r}selfe he will never deceyve you. Provide by entreaties amongst friendes to provide for those my servants w^{ch} cannot provide for themselves. You shall find S^{r} Thomas Cornwallis your very friend, whose friendshipp you have need of for matters between Mr. Kitson and you, touching a morgage, and I thinke y^{e} like to himselfe; but beware of him and all other y^{t} be papists, touching giving any creditt to y^{em} in causes of religion; touching which matter I have written at more length in my other letter to your selfe. I owe to Cantrell 400*l.* w^{ch} in any case let it be discharged, as it will rise of y^{e} landes, or by sale of y^{e} goodes, and soe lett y^{e} residue of my debts. If lawe may take place, as I said, you shall finde y^{t} I have both taken sufficient order, and left sufficient to performe y^{e} paym^{t} of all debts, and other necessary charges. God send y^{t} you may finde justice wth favo^{r}. Noe body may stand you in better stead than my brother and your unkle may, who hath in this my trouble shewed himself so naturall, as for my sake he hath brought himselfe into trouble. Be not forgetfull, therfore, if it lye in your power to requite it, for I would not, if I had lyved, have forgotten his naturall kindness. I have written unto him what course he is best to take to doe most good in your causes: fforgett all injuryes done to your ffather, and be of an humble spirit: thanke God for all y^{e} troubles he hath layd upon you, and then he will relieve your greives, when it shall be his good will and pleasure.

---

[g] See Appendix to 1st Edition.

[h] Harleian MSS. No. 787.

" Trust Dercyes reporte, because I leave of now y^{e} care of y^{e} world. And you, my deare children, whereat flesh onely strives, you have lost a loving and naturall ffather; but God, I hope, shall have him before this comes to yo^{r} handes, and then thinke him not lost, but y^{t} rather he is most happily found, to y^{e} comfort of his soule; in comparison whereof, all things in this world is but vanitye. Farewell, my most deare and lovinge child: love y^{em} that have loved me, and for charitye's sake forgett all my injuryes. God bless you wth my good Nanne, y^{e} onely happy stay and comfort y^{t} is now left you. Recomend me to Roger Strainge. I am sorry it lyeth not in my power to give testimony unto him how willing I would be some waye to requite his paines taken wth you; but I hope, if you be hereafter able, you will not be unmindfull neyther of him nor yet of your painfull master, to whom, for his travell taken wth you and your brothers, you are not a little bound. Though you be but younge, yet you can discerne of your grandfathers, uncles, and aunts case: therfore I would wish you, as you shew your selfe naturell unto y^{em}, soe not too much to depend upon them y^{t} have noe creditt to stand you in stead. Farewell myne owne good sonne Philip, and for Christ's sake remember my naturall lessons and requests, and then you shall reape y^{e} comoditye. You and Nanne have my last written ffarewells. God bless you both and yours.

"Written wth y^{e} hand of him y^{t} was your lovinge and naturall ffather, and now is, before this come to your handes, I trust partaker of y^{e} heavenly joyes; which God send me of his great mercye, and you, when it shall please him to call you out of this unstable world. Amen. Trust Dercyes report to you from me. January y^{e} 20. 1571. T. N."

Calm, and unruffled by his impending fate, his grace never relaxed in his paternal solicitude for the future welfare of his young and unhappy family: he had prevailed on his good friend, lord Burghley, to become their guide and protector; and the following pathetic letter[1] he addressed to them from his prison: charging them to regard and obey him, as their adopted father:

"I trust, deare children, y^{t} you will be mindfull of my often repeated lesson unto you, To feare and serve God; w^{ch}, when

---

[1] Harleian MSS. No. 787.

I lyved amongst you, yo^{r} owne consciences can wittness how carefull I was to keep you in remembrance of y^{t} principall lesson; and now dying, as by my writing unto you I have left testimony, you may perceyve y^{t} my care thereof did rather encrease than decrease. If ye be therfore myndfull of your dutyes to God, he will noe doubt guide you with his mercifull hande, and keep you from all ill: he will mainteyne all love and charity amongst yee, w^{ch} is the badge of Christian life, and suppress all such vices as y^{e} wickedness of flesh is most prone unto. God for his Christ sake soe graunt. Amen.

"The next point of yo^{r} dutye in this world is not severed from this, but rather annexed, w^{ch} is, obedyence and earnest dutifull love to your soveraigne lady and majesty; w^{ch} lesson we are taught out of y^{e} scripture, not onely to be obedyent for feare, but even for conscience sake. This is generally spoken to all subjects; but how much more ought yee to be doubly mindfull of this lesson? as well to performe your owne obliged dutyes, as also, as farre as in you lyeth, to double it and treble it; thereby to make some recompence for your ffather's undutifull deserts. I hope the causes will sufficiently plant in your hartes feare, and love in you, toward our most gracious soveraigne: besides y^{t}, there are divers other causes y^{t} ought to encrease y^{e} same in yo^{r} brestes; ffor what be ye but abjectes in this world, wthout her majesty's most gracious goodnes? It hath pleased her ma^{ty} upon my most humble suite (which is a thinge y^{t} hath been rarely graunted to such as have been in my wretched case) to give me leave, consideringe yo^{r} younge yeares, yea even y^{e} eldest of you, as to chuse amongst my ffreinds to whose subjeccion I had best will to comitt you; for y^{e} which I thinke my selfe most bound to her ma^{ty}; ffor God knowes else, wthout a bridle, whither your unexperienced youth might carry you. Whereupon, searching with my selfe, God knowes wth a fatherly care, to what freind I my selfe have been most beholding, thereby gathering upon a sure ground y^{t} he that hath been soe great a friend to y^{e} father, will not forgett it to his poore children, if y^{e} fault be not in yourselves. Weighing againe whose wisdome, gravity, carefullness, and great experience in ordering of youth (as, thankes be to God, besides his owne, there appear other examples even at this day to y^{e} great comfort of this realme) might best keep under in you all vice, and plant in y^{e} same all vertue and godlyness; I have been soe bold as wth humble suite to make choyce of my good L^{d} Burghley, to be your adopted father; in whom myne owne conscience acknowledgeth those reasons of my choyce before specifyed; and it hath pleased y^{e} queen's highnes, of her most mercifull and charitable goodnes, to confirme this my humble suite and petition; and thereby my said good lord is contented to give a full testimony what good will he bare to me yo^{r} unhappy father, as to take y^{e} care of you, being now nothing else but desolates.

"Therefore, my children, even upon my blessing, I charge and require you, as you will answere before Almighty God, y^{t} you be as humble and obedyent unto my good lord, now yo^{r} adopted father, as you would have been to my selfe, if I had been lyvinge; and I charge you Philip wth this above all y^{e} rest. Lett your example of obedyence be a patterne to y^{e} others. Beware and take heed: God doth not a little plague those children who doe not faithfully performe theyr father's godly comandm^{ts}. This is one of my last, and therefore take heed how you wth disobedyence turne my blessing ex adverso; ffor all y^{e} freindshipp y^{t} I have heretofore founde at my good lord's handes, and, specially now in his accepting of you my greatest care, under his most friendly governmen^{t}, I cannot recompence more than wth my prayers during my short lyfe, nor can make other satisfaccon; nor yee, being but castawayes, can otherwise shew your gratefulness, but with humble and lowly obedyence; w^{ch} once againe, upon my blessinge, I charge you to keepe.

"Now I give over my fatherly right unto your new father, unto whom I doubt not but for your vertuouse bringinge up you shall be more beholding than you would have been to me. Although my happe hath been such as y^{t} my kinne have had cause to be ashamed of me, theyr kinsman; yet I hope when I am gone, nature will soe worke in them, as they will be in good will to you, as heretofore they have been to me. Amongst whom I will beginne as high as I, unworthy, dare presume, wth my couzen of Oxford, who I hope as nature hath made him a couzen to you, soe good-will will encrease his goodness towardes you. God send him every day to encrease, specially in y^{e} feare of God, as he hath hitherto given great hope to all his well-willers, and then I hope he shall be no small comfort to your overthrowne house. My next loving kinsman and couzen y^{e} earle of Sussex, I doe not only recomend unto you, as one y^{t} I hope will shew his naturall compassion unto you, but as y^{e} man, next to my L^{d} Burghley, I comande you to be most obedyent unto. And, besides kindred, of all men y^{t} I knowe, I wish you to imitate his example cheiflyest. I would to God I had as well ever followed his advice, as he hath freindly and naturally given it unto me. Nextly my uncle Will^{m}, I hope, will be your good uncle and adviser, in whom I have found sufficient proofe of his naturall affection during this my trouble. My other kinsfolke, I hope, will not be behinde, if yo^{r} deserts deserve y^{em}, although I doe not particularly name y^{em}. I have besides had many good freindes, w^{ch} have not been of my kinne, and yet in good will, as wellwishers to me, as if they had been linked by nature. Amongst whom I cheifly recomend to you my very good lord, my L^{d} Keeper, whose approved constancy hath ever appeared such, as I doubt not of his goodness towardes you, if you seeke to deserve it. And I intend by God's grace, if I may be so lycensed to send unto him, humbly to require him y^{t} he will not give over his former freindshipp borne to my selfe, but rather turne some sparkes thereof upon you. Nextly I hope y^{t} my L^{d} of Leycestr will be your good lord; who y^{e} oftener he remembers my honest freindshipp unto himselfe, I doubt not but he of his hono^{r} will seeke some waye to shew himselfe myndfull thereof unto you, y^{e} desolate children of his approved freind. With y^{e} rest I wish you not a little to depende upon good S^{r} Walter Mildmay's freindly advise, to whom I doe not onely direct you, for y^{e} proofe y^{t} I my selfe have ever had of his most faithfull freindshipp, but alsoe for y^{e} great godlyness, wisdome, and dexterity y^{t} I have noted in all his actions. Well I will conclude all my freinds wth this one admonition: — as neare as you can, lose none y^{t} have been freindly to your father. Your pittyfull case requires rather wth your vertuous life to winne more, w^{ch} God send you, for the comfort of your selves and your younger brothers."

He then instructs his son Philip relative to his worldly affairs: he charges him upon his blessing, to see all his debts paid, and that, if he should find that he had done wrong to any one, he should make satisfaction for it: he desires him to take care for the well-bestowing of his sister Margaret, and so to relieve his poor destitute servants, that, for want, they fall into no other mishap or distress.

"And soe w^th^ my most humble prayer to y^e^ heavenly ffather, y^t^ it will please him, for his wellbeloved sonne and our onely mediator Jesus Christ his sake, to powre upon you his abundant grace, which may encrease yo^r^ constant faith and godly life in this world, and afterward y^t^ yee may be in y^e^ number of them whom w^th^ his sweet voyce he will vouchsafe to call, 'Come my well-beloved, come my chosen into y^e^ kingdom prepared for you.' To y^e^ w^ch^ happyness our Lord send me, you, and all his elect, when it shall be his will and pleasure. Amen. Farewell my well-beloved children, and God bless you, both now and evermore. Amen. 28th of January, 1571.

"Written by y^e^ dying hand of your unhappy naturall ffather in this world. THO^S^. HOWARD."

Of the same date, the duke likewise left a paper, wherein, "considering his conscience, and fearing how divers opinions might be left in the judgment of the world, touching his guiltiness or unguiltiness," he declares various things with which he had been untruly charged; [k] but, nevertheless, does not attempt to excuse his undutifulness to his sovereign, and still continues to call upon God to forgive his false accusers.

In the Tower his grace was treated with great severity: at his trial he complained that his memory had been impaired by his evil usage since his imprisonment; [l] and, although a respite of his fate had been decided on, he was not acquainted with it up to the very hour that he expected to be called forth to suffer. The 11th of February appears to have been the day at first fixed upon for his death,[m] and he applied himself with great earnestness to be prepared to meet it. He spent most of the preceding night in devotions; and as the morning dawned, he wrote in a bible, the companion and solace of his confinement, a last and most affecting exhortation to his son.[n]

---

[k] See Appendix to the 1st Edition.

[l] Harleian MSS. No. 834, cod. 3.

[m] Ibid. n. 6991.

The occasion of his execution being delayed is not with certainty known, but, just as the duke was anticipating a period to his existence in this world, he was informed of an indefinite reprieve! It is possible that the queen entertained thoughts of extending to him her mercy and forgiveness: but plots continued to be formed against her government and life, and at length the voice of the house of commons, and the importunity of preachers, prevailed over her clemency;[o] and, after a respite of nearly four months, Norfolk was ordered for execution.

On the second of June, at eight o'clock in the morning, he was brought, amid an immense concourse of people, to a scaffold on Tower-hill. He approached this awful scene with great dignity and composure, and when Dr. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, who attended him, had demanded silence, he turned and addressed the people. "It is no new thing," said he, "for men to suffer death in this place; though since the beginning of our most gracious queen's reign, I am the first, and God grant I may be the last:" to which the people cried, Amen. He acknowledged that his peers had justly sentenced him to be worthy of death; nor had he any design to excuse himself: he freely confessed that he had treated with the Queen of Scots in things of great moment, without his sovereign's knowledge; which he was conscious that he ought not to have done: he was thereupon cast into the Tower; but was afterwards set at liberty, on making an humble submission, and promising on his honor to have nothing more to do with her: "yet," said he, "I confess that I acted contrary, and this greatly disturbs my conscience; but I neither promised nor sware it at the Lord's table, as is commonly reported. I did once confer with Ridolfi, but not to the queen's destruction; for there are several who know that I had to do with him about money matters, upon bills and bonds. I found him to be one that envied the peace of England, and forward to contrive any villany."

His grace owned that he had seen two letters from the Pope, but by no means approved of them, nor of the rebellion in the north: he acknowledged that some of his servants and acquaintance were addicted to the popish worship; but he declared that, ever since he had any taste for religion, he had been averse to the Romish doctrines: he had embraced the true religion of Jesus Christ: he had put his whole trust in the blood of his blessed Redeemer and Saviour; and, if he had offended herein, either God, the church, or the protestants, he prayed the Almighty to forgive him.

---

[n] Harleian MSS. No. 834, cod. 3. n. 6991.

[o] Camden.

After reading a psalm or two, he said with a loud voice "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." He then embraced sir Henry Leigh, and whispered to the dean, who turned to the people, and said, "the duke desires you all to pray to God to have mercy on him, and withal keep silence, that his mind may not be disturbed." The executioner having, as usual, asked the duke's forgiveness, he granted it; but on being offered a handkerchief to cover his eyes, he refused, saying, "I am not in the least afraid of death." Then falling on his knees, he lay prostrate, with his mind fixed upon God: the dean prayed with him, and presently after he stretched his neck upon the block, and with one blow of the axe his head was cut off, and held up, a lamentable sight to the people.[p]

Such was the melancholy close of a life, which, under the guidance of better stars, might have been a blessing, a support, an ornament to his country: but that frequent enemy of mankind, ambition, and the crafty wiles of the envious and of the guilty, had unhappily diverted him from his early course of life, and connected him with a faction and a cause for which he was by far too good. With a handsome person, and an elegance and dignity of carriage, were associated in him many amiable and excellent qualities. His affability, his munificence, and the goodness of his nature, became his exalted rank; and it is incredible how dearly the people loved him.[q] The wiser sort of men were variously affected: some were moved with pity; while others were terrified with the danger, which, during his life, seemed to o'erhang the state. His name is certainly stained with ingratitude and disobedience towards his sovereign, and with the yet darker blot of having violated his plighted honor: but when we view the closing scene of his life; when we read his last letters, and contemplate the beautiful picture which they present, of the man, of the father, and of the Christian, we cannot withhold the sigh of commiseration, nor deny a tear when we ponder his fate.

---

[p] Camden. [q] Ibid.

As a fellow prisoner with the duke of Norfolk, and connected with the same cause, was **John Lesley, Bishop of Ross.** He was in the English court, as the ambassador or chief agent of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, after she had sought an asylum in England, and thrown herself upon the promised protection of a sister sovereign, who could violate every principle of hospitality and of honor, consign her to a prison, and finally sacrifice to her own narrow-minded, and selfish policy an unfortunate outcast, of whose beauty and accomplishments she was jealous, and whom she hated as her competitor, and the heiress to her crown.

When Mary submitted to the Queen of England an investigation of her conduct, with reference to her expulsion from the throne of Scotland, the bishop of Ross was one of the persons whom she appointed to meet the English commissioners at York; and it is said that he there entered into negociations for her marriage with the duke of Norfolk. When the conferences of the commissioners were adjourned from York to Westminster, he continued in the service of his mistress; and during the period of her confinement, he was her most zealous advocate; — a deep and daring politician who would combat every difficulty, and every danger brave, to support her cause.

When the duke of Norfolk was first committed to the Tower, Ross was called several times before the council, and very sharply examined:[r] soon afterwards he wrote a book, under the name of "Morgan Philips," wherein he boldly asserted the honor of the Queen of Scots, and defended her title to the throne of England; maintaining at the same time the lawfulness of a female reign, which, says Camden, was then a subject in dispute. He never ceased to spur the duke on in the fatal design of his marriage, nor to plot and contrive for the liberation of the Scottish queen; even if it were attended with the destruction of Elizabeth herself, and the overturning of the government and religion of the English nation. But he was opposed, and under great disadvantages, to the talents, and the penetrating eye of Cecil. The seizure of Ridolfi's packet of letters, in 1571, led to a disclosure of the plots for setting the queen of Scots at liberty; and it being clearly shewn that Ross was a principal in these designs, it was the opinion of the chief civilians of the day that he had thereby forfeited the privileges and protection of an ambassador; and being brought before the council, it was declared to him that he should no longer be reputed or treated in that light, but be severely punished for his treasonable practices. He boldly asserted, however, "that as the minister of an absolute queen, who was unjustly deposed, he had, according to his duty, carefully endeavoured the delivery of his princess, and the safety of both kingdoms: he had come into England with the full authority of an ambassador under public warranty; and he maintained that the sacred privileges of that character were in no case to be infringed." But lord Burghley replied, that if an ambassador offended against the majesty of a prince, he forfeited his privilege, and was liable to punishment, else the lives of princes would have no protection. Yet Ross still contended that the privileges of ambassadors had never been violated, and he tauntingly wished them "to shew him no fouler play than the English ambassadors, Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland, had found: they had raised rebellions, and openly fomented them, yet had suffered no greater punishment than being commanded to depart the realm." Ross defended himself with great coolness and ability, and when the council urged him with the testimony of Englishmen, he stoutly objected to it: it was, he said, a commonly received custom, which had grown into a law, that the testimony of an Englishman against a Scotchman, or of a Scotchman against an Englishman, was not to be admitted: but after a sharp debate the council decided on committing him to the Tower. After being kept for some time as a close prisoner, he answered to a variety of articles propounded to him, with the proviso that his answers should not be prejudicial to any one: "he vindicated the Queen of Scots: she was a prisoner in the flower of her age, and had a right to use her utmost endeavours to regain her freedom, since Queen Elizabeth had denied her access to her presence, debarred her of all hope of liberty, and openly supported her enemies: the duke of Norfolk he excused, because he had done nothing as to the marriage with the Queen of Scots, but with the consent of many of the queen's council: indeed, he could not forsake her, though he had promised to do so, even under his hand and seal; for there was before a mutual engagement between them. With regard to himself, he was an ambassador and a servant, and he could not without sin depart from his duty, and abandon his mistress in her distress; adding, however, that he had proposed the design of seizing on the queen, with no other intent, than to try whether the duke had courage to undertake such an attempt." He extenuated the crimes of others who were implicated, but could not be prevailed upon to disclose the names of those gentlemen who had promised their services to the duke in seizing her majesty's person.[t]

---

[r] See Harleian MSS. No. 290.

The bishop of Ross was a high-minded, resolute man, and, notwithstanding his dark intrigues, the diligence, the zeal, and the determined loyalty with which he served his unfortunate sovereign during all her vicissitudes and distress, compel us to regard him with great, though not unqualified, admiration. After nearly two years imprisonment he was released from the Tower, and commanded to quit the kingdom.[u] He accordingly withdrew into France, where he continued to devote himself to the cause of his mistress. He does not appear to have ever returned to his native country, but died at Brussels in 1596.

At the same time several other persons were confined in the Tower, for treasonable practices against the state. Two of these, Kenelm Barney and Edmond Mather, with an accomplice, whose name was Herle, had engaged in a conspiracy to kill certain members of the privy council, and rescue the duke of Norfolk from the Tower;[x] but Herle discovered the plot, and when produced as a witness against his associates, Barney said to him, smiling, "Herle, thou art one hour beforehand with me, else I would have stood in thy place, as accuser, and thou in mine, as guilty, and to be hanged."[y] These two persons suffered, as traitors, a few days after the duke of Norfolk's condemnation;[z] and in the same year, John Hall, and Oswald Wilkinson, two gentlemen, who, in concert with the younger sons of the earl of Derby, and some others, had plotted to liberate the Queen of Scots, came to a similar end.[a] Their design was disclosed by Rolston, a gentleman pensioner to the queen, and son to one of the conspirators. Hall, who was of a respectable family in Derbyshire, fled to the Isle of Man, and thence, for safety, was sent by some of Mary's party to Dunbarton castle; but on the capture of that place by the regent's forces, a few months afterwards, he was taken and delivered to Elizabeth, "greatly to her contentation;" for she had "most earnestly desired to have him had."[b]

---

[t] Camden.

[u] Ibid.

[x] Ibid.

In 1581, there were many prisoners committed to the Tower, chiefly on account of religion; and three persons were also imprisoned there in the same year, for writing, printing, and publishing a pamphlet reflecting on the young duke of Anjou, and deprecating, in the most virulent terms, the queen's intended marriage with that prince. The prospect of such a match had called forth great animadversion and censure, as imprudent in every political point of view, and inconsistent as regarded the age of the parties; and among others who had expressed opinions adverse to such a measure, the celebrated Philip Sidney had ventured to reply to her majesty on the subject in a bold and eloquent letter, setting forth the dangers which it threatened to the country, as well as to his sovereign's reputation; and Elizabeth is said to have received it with complacency, and even attention. But not so with "The discoverye of a gaping gulphe wherein England is lyke to be swallowed up by the French marriage," &c.—the title of the book above alluded to. The author of this rare production was Mr. John Stubs, of Lincoln's Inn, a gentleman of great theological learning, who had been educated at Benet college, Cambridge; where he enjoyed the intimacy of Spenser the poet, and of others who were afterwards distinguished in the world. He was, nevertheless, a hot-headed professor of religion,[c] and his having given his sister in marriage to Cartwright, the noted leader of the puritans, sufficiently shews his attachment to that unfavored sect.[d]

---

[y] Camden.
[z] Camden and Stow.
[a] Stow's Chron. p. 673.
[b] Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist., vol. ii. p. 51.

All the copies of this famous " discoverye " were ordered to be seized and burnt, and Mr. Stubs, together with Hugh Singleton and William Page, the printer and publisher, were arraigned at Westminster, under an act of Philip and Mary, against authors and publishers of seditious writings. They were all adjudged to lose their right hands; but the printer was pardoned.[e] Oh the third of November, Stubs and Page were taken from the Tower to endure their sentence, on a scaffold erected for that purpose in the market-place at Westminster. Mr. Stubs addressed the people at considerable length: he bore his punishment with fortitude, and immediately on losing his right hand, he took off his hat with his left, and with a loud voice said, " God save the queen ! "[f]

In the same year the Tower was also the prison of many of those desperate adherents to the papal authority, and equally desperate enemies of the protestant church, — the English Jesuits. Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, many of the Roman Catholic priests, who had fled into the Netherlands, assembled themselves at Douay, where they formed a college; having the celebrated William Allen, afterwards dignified with the title of cardinal, at their head. To encourage and support these devotees, the pope granted them a yearly pension; but being afterwards driven out of the Netherlands by Don Lewis de Requesens, a similar establishment was formed at Rheims, by the Guises; and another soon after at Rome, under the auspices of pope Gregory XIII., who hoped thereby to keep up a connexion with England, as great numbers of youths were sent over and admitted into these seminaries. There they were not only taught to regard the pope as possessed, by divine right, of an absolute power over the world, but were brought up in principles determinedly hostile to the peace and

[c] Camden. [d] Ibid. [e] Stow's Chron. [f] Camden.

welfare of their native country: they were instilled with the belief that his holiness had authority from heaven, as supreme head of the universe, to depose princes, and to absolve their subjects of their allegiance, and even to assure themselves that to destroy those whom they termed heretics, was to advance the cause of religion.

The pope and the King of Spain were joined by the ties of most determined malice against the peace, the church, and the prosperity of the English nation; and, as these foreign seminaries furnished zealots sufficiently experienced for the undertaking, they were secretly despatched into England and Ireland to seduce the people from their duty; to stir up rebellion, and even to take away the queen's life, — ends in the pursuit of which many of them deservedly obtained what they were content to look upon as a crown of martyrdom.

Of these refugees, who from their establishments were denominated "Seminary priests," two of the first and most noted that came to perform their worthy offices in this country, were fathers Parsons and Campian. They arrived in England in 1580, and travelled up and down the country, and to popish gentlemen's houses in disguised habits, diligently pursuing the objects of their mission, both by words and writing.[g] Indeed, Parsons, who was a man of a seditious spirit, and armed with great boldness, tampered so far with the papists about deposing the queen, that some of them are said to have entertained thoughts of delivering him into the hands of the magistracy; and Campian, though more modest, wrote a paper challenging the protestant clergy to a disputation; and he afterwards put forth a well-penned book in Latin, called "Ten Reasons," in which he defended with considerable ability the doctrines of the church of Rome.

In the following year, the numbers of these Jesuitical wanderers greatly increased, and as the queen had now fully discovered the objects they had in view, she had Campian and several others taken and lodged in the Tower; but father Parsons contrived to escape, and was supposed to have been the author of that virulent attack upon the earl of Leicester, which was shortly afterwards published in Flanders, under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth:"—a book which so greatly incensed the queen, that she is said to have burst into a violent rage, and to have declared, "that she knew in assured certainty, the books and libels against the earl to be most malicious, false, and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil could dream to be true."

---

[g] Camden. Dod's Church Hist.

Campian, who appears to have been the first imprisoned, was put to the rack, to extort confessions, and afterwards, when brought forth to dispute, according to his challenge, he fell short of the expectations which had been formed of his abilities. On the twentieth of October,[h] he and seven others[i] were arraigned of high treason at Westminster, for having withdrawn themselves beyond the seas, where they lived under obedience to the pope, and engaged in his designs against the queen; and that, for this purpose, they had now come over into England to seduce the hearts of her majesty's subjects, and to conspire her death. They were all found guilty, and persisting obstinately to defend the pope's authority, several of them were put to death.

Neither these proceedings, however, nor an act which was shortly afterwards made against papists, could stop the influx of missionary priests, or prevent plots and designs against the life and government of the queen: writings were spread abroad to inflame the public mind: the pope's bull, by which he pretended to absolve the people of their allegiance, was preached to shake their fidelity; and a crown of glory was the promised reward of whoever would kill a heretic prince. On the other hand, however, the measures of the government were by no means calculated to allay the inveterate hatred of those who adhered to the Roman catholic faith: they were watched, hunted down, and persecuted; not by fair and open means, but by every dark and crafty proceeding that could mislead, ensnare, and betray them. In this deplorable state of things, the Tower was crowded with prisoners, chiefly Jesuits, and the cruelties and tortures of which

[h] Stow's Chronicle.

[i] Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteman, Henry Orton, Robert Johnson, and James Bosgrave; and afterwards Alexander Brian, Thomas Ford, John Shert, William Filby, and Lawrence Richardson.

that place became the scene, about this period, excited so great an outcry both at home and abroad, that it was deemed expedient to put forth a paper to explain and excuse the measures of government. It was entitled, " A declaration of the favorable dealing of her majesty's commissioners appointed for the examination of certain traitors, and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of religion."

This apology, which, in all probability, was written by or under the direction of lord Burleigh, states that " those slanderous reports of heathenish and unnatural tyranny, and cruel tortures pretended to have been exercised upon certain traitors who lately suffered for treason, and others, as well as spread abroad by runagates, Jesuits, and seminary men, in their seditious books, letters, and libels," are unjust; and " although her majesty's most mild and gracious government be sufficient to defend itself," it affirmeth for truth that, " the forms of torture in their severity or rigor of execution, have not been such as is slanderously represented ; " and that, " even the principal offender Campian himself, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein he was charitably used, was never so racked, but that he was presently able to walk and to write; and did write, and subscribe all his confessions." Of Briant also, — another of the Jesuits, who had been driven to such extremities of hunger and thirst in prison, that he licked the droppings of his vaulted cell, and even ate the clay out of its walls ! — it asserts that he was kept in such condition by his own fault; for, having certain treasonable papers found upon him, he was required to give a specimen of his hand-writing; and, in consequence of his refusing to do so, he was told that he should have no food till he wrote for what he wanted. It also states that, as touching these two, and others, it might be affirmed that the warders, whose office it was to put them to the rack, were ever by those who attended the examinations, specially charged to use it in as charitable a manner as such a thing might be! and that none of the catholics who had been racked during her majesty's reign, were in their torture examined on any points of faith or doctrine merely; but only as to persons at home and abroad, and touching what practices they had dealt in, about attempts against her majesty's estate, or person, or to alter the laws of the realm for matters of religion, by treason, or force; as also respecting the pope's pretended power to depose kings and princes, and especially for the deprivation of her majesty, and discharging her subjects of their allegiance."

It next informs us, "that none of these prisoners had been put to the rack or torture, not even for matters of treason, or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first known and evidently probable, by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the party was guilty, and could deliver truth of the things wherewith he was charged; so as it was first assured that no innocent person was at any time tormented; and the rack was never used to wring out confessions at adventure, upon uncertainties." It also says, "that none of them had been racked or tortured, unless he had first said expressly, or amounting to as much, that he would not tell the truth though the queen did command him;" and that, "the proceeding to torture was always so slowly, so unwillingly, and with so many preparations of persuasion to spare themselves, and so many means to let them know that the truth was by them to be uttered, both in duty to her majesty and in wisdom for themselves, as whosoever was present at those actions must needs acknowledge that there was in her majesty's ministers a full purpose to follow the example of her own gracious disposition."

This exposition of "favorable dealings toward state-prisoners" then goes on to tell us that, "albeit, by the more general laws of nations, torture hath been, and is lawfully judged to be used in lesser cases, and in sharper manner, for inquisition of truth in crimes not so near extending to public danger as these ungracious persons have committed, — whose conspiracies, and the particularities thereof, it did so much import and behove to have disclosed; — yet, even in that necessary use of such proceeding enforced by the offender's notorious obstinacy, is nevertheless to be acknowledged the sweet temperature of her majesty's mild and gracious clemency; and their slanderous lewdness to be the more condemned, that have in favor of heinous malefactors, and stubborn traitors, spread untrue rumors and slanders to make her merciful government disliked, under false pretence and rumors of sharpness and cruelty to those against whom nothing can be cruel, and yet upon whom nothing had been done but what was gentle and merciful."

To say more of the treatment of state delinquents would be unnecessary: this account of the "mild and gracious clemency" which they experienced in those days, is sufficient: it speaks volumes of itself.[k] But it is gratifying to know that such proceedings were even then repugnant to the general sense, the feelings, and the humanity of the nation; they were unlawful, cruel, and unjust; and, ere long, the common indignation which they excited occasioned an order that no species of torture should be applied to state-prisoners, for any cause whatever.[l] When we contemplate these things, how pleasing is it to contrast the manners of the age in which we live, with those that prevailed in the time of the Tudors! Then the greatest peer of the realm, if he were a prisoner in the Tower, was subject to every barbarity and insult.—But we must return to pursue our catalogue of prisoners.

In 1583, several persons were committed to the Tower, in consequence of a design to kill the queen. The principal was JOHN SOMERVILLE, a gentleman of Elstow, in Warwickshire. He was a young man, bigotted to the Roman catholic religion, and the seditious writings of the Jesuits had so wrought upon his mind, which was by nature furious, that he set out privately towards the court, with the determination to kill the queen; but by the way, as he was breathing nothing but vengeance against the protestants, he was taken into custody, and confessed the object that he had in view.[m] He was thereupon sent to the Tower; and his wife, Edward and Mary Arden, her father and mother, and a priest of the name of Hall, who were implicated in the design, were also committed to prison, and were arraigned and found guilty of high treason;[n] but the two women and the priest were spared.

Arden, who was a gentleman of a very ancient family in Leicestershire,[o] and his son-in-law, were removed, three days after their trials, to Newgate, in order to be executed on the following morning; but Somerville, within two hours afterwards, was found strangled in prison.[p] Mr. Arden was taken, according to his sentence, and hanged, bowelled, and quartered in Smithfield: his quarters were set over the gates of the city, and his head, with that of Somerville, was placed on London-bridge;[q] an act which brought great odium on the earl of Leicester, to whose malice he was supposed to have fallen a victim. It appears to have been chiefly on the suspicious testimony of Hall, who was supposed to have been the instigator of the whole, that Mr. Arden was convicted: it was known that he had incurred the earl's enmity by some reproachful expressions, and among other things, by having refused to wear his livery, — a species of courtesy with which other gentlemen of his neighbourhood seem to have flattered his vanity; — and when it was seen that, notwithstanding his being a catholic priest, and, perhaps, the greatest offender, Hall was liberated and sent abroad, through Leicester's influence, — even in opposition to sir Christopher Hatton, — there was thought to be strong ground for adding Arden's destruction to the list of crimes with which the memory of that unpopular minister is so generally charged.

---

[k] In the Appendix to vol. ii. 1st Edition of this work, will be found a curious diary of a prisoner, further shewing the treatment of state offenders at this period.

[l] Camden.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Stow's Chron.

[o] Camden.

The following year commenced with the trial and execution of five more seminary priests,[r] for having received holy orders beyond the sea, by the pope's authority, contrary to a statute of the first year of the queen;[s] and shortly afterwards FRANCIS THROCKMORTON was committed to the Tower, and shared a similar fate. By means of an intercepted letter to the Queen of Scots, this gentleman was detected in a treasonable correspondence: he was taken to the Tower, and it was no sooner known that he had been put to the rack, to extort confessions, than Thomas lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, a courtier, hastily fled, and sheltered themselves in France;[t] and the EARLS OF ARUNDEL and NORTHUMBERLAND, and some others, after several examinations, were also committed to the Tower.[u]

Throckmorton, previous to his apprehension, had contrived to send a cabinet of private papers to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador; but there were found in his coffers two lists, one of the ports that were convenient to land forces, and the other containing the names of all the English gentlemen that favored the Roman catholic religion. On seeing these, however, he declared that they were forged for his destruction, and he resolutely maintained it on the rack; but being brought a second time to be tortured, he then answered whatever questions were demanded of him: he confessed that, "being abroad some years before, he had consulted with sir Francis Englefield and another, how this country might be best attempted by foreigners, and the form of government altered; and to that end he had taken the notes in question: he had recently understood, by letters out of France, that the catholic princes had now resolved upon the invasion of England, and the setting of the Queen of Scots at liberty: he had imparted these things to Mendoza, and had shewn him the names of the ports, and of the catholic gentlemen: he had promised also his assistance: he had told the ambassador the names of those with whom he, as a public character, might safely treat of these things; and he had concluded with him how the principal men might raise forces in the queen's name, and afterwards join with the foreigners." [x]

---

[p] Stow.
[q] Ibid.
[r] See 1st Edition, vol. ii. Appendix.
[s] Stow's Chron.
[t] Camden.
[u] Stow.

Nevertheless, when brought to trial he steadfastly denied every particular of his confession, declaring that they were vain fictions of his own, to avoid the further tortures of the rack; and he openly accused the queen of cruelty, and his examiners of false-dealing.[y] He was sentenced to be hanged, bowelled, and quartered: and on the tenth of July he was taken from the Tower, to Tyburn;[z] where he again began to deny his confessions; although, since his trial, he had repeated all in writing, with the hope of obtaining pardon.[a]

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, whose committal to the Tower we have already noticed, in connexion with that of Throckmorton, was brother to that earl who was beheaded on account of the northern rebellion, in 1572; on which occasion he himself had also incurred a fine, though it was subsequently remitted; and he had previously been detected in a design to rescue the Scottish queen.[b] No wonder, therefore, that he should have been regarded with suspicion, or have fallen into trouble, at a period when snares were so thickly laid to beguile the innocent, as well as to entrap the guilty. After several examinations, some pretext was found for sending him to the Tower; and there he was detained, as was frequently the case in those days, without a trial, or aught being proved against him, till the middle of the following year, when he deliberately put a period to his existence. He was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets near his left pap: his chamber door was barred on the inside, and a coroner's inquest having viewed the body, considered the place, and found a pistol with gunpowder in the chamber: having also examined the earl's man, who bought the pistol, and the person that sold it, had no hesitation in giving their verdict, that he had killed himself.[c] It was a matter nevertheless which greatly agitated the public mind, and on the third day after, there was a full meeting of the peers of the realm in the star-chamber; where sir Thomas Bromley, the lord chancellor, briefly declared that the earl had been engaged in traitorous designs against his prince and country, and had laid violent hands upon himself; being terrified with a consciousness of his offence. To satisfy the people, who are always prone to believe the worst in such cases, the attorney and solicitor-general shewed the reasons why the earl had been kept in prison: the manner of his death was also related from the evidence before the inquest; and it was thereupon concluded, that he had with his own hands put an end to his life, out of fear of being attainted, to the utter ruin of his family.[d] But, notwithstanding all these circumstances, and the additional fact that he had previously conveyed away his lands, declaring indignantly that the bitch, meaning the queen, should not have his estate, the Roman catholics did not fail to throw a mystery over his death, and to mutter suspicions of some foul play on the part of government.[e]

---

[x] Camden. [y] Ibid. [z] Stow's Chron. [a] Camden.

In 1585, among the prisoners confined in the Tower, was WILLIAM PARRY, doctor of civil laws, a man of considerable talents and learning, but whose life is a melancholy instance of the power which the fanatical zeal of the day had over the minds of those who espoused the cause of the church of Rome. He was by birth a Welshman, and appears to have been well known to, and noticed by lord Burleigh; with whom we find him corresponding, at home and abroad, for many years. Though he seems never to have been in other than low circumstances, he enjoyed a seat in parliament; and when the bill was brought by the commons against the Jesuits, he was the only member that stood up in their defence. He declared that the law, if it should pass, would be "cruel, bloody, desperate, and of pernicious consequence to the English nation," and refusing to give his reasons for this assertion, except to the queeen's council, he was committed to the Tower; but, after explaining, and submitting himself, he was restored to his seat. Soon afterwards, however, Edmund Nevil, of the family of the earls of Westmorland, accused him of having been engaged in a design for taking away the queen's life, and, on being cast into the Tower, he voluntarily made a confession, which forms, of the latter portion of his life, a curious and extraordinary picture.

---

[b] Lodge's Illustrations of British Hist. vol. ii. p. 60.

[c] Stow's Chron. Camden.

[d] Camden.

[e] Ibid.

"In the year 1570," says he, "I was sworn one of the queen's servants, and continued entirely devoted to her majesty, till the year 1580; at which time I came into danger of losing my life with great disgrace. From that time I continued troubled in my mind; and, having procured a licence, withdrew into France, without any intention of returning hither again; for I had devoted myself to the catholic religion. At Paris I was reconciled to the church of Rome: at Venice I had conference with Benedict Palmio, a Jesuit, concerning the distressed catholics in England; and I gave him some hint, that I had found out a way to relieve them, if the pope or any learned divines would justify it to be lawful. Palmio extolled this as a pious design, and me he recommended to the pope's nuncio at Venice, whose name was Campeius; and Campeius recommended me to the pope. I besought by letters, that I might come to Rome with a safe-conduct. Letters of safe-conduct were sent to me from the cardinal of Como, but not large enough: afterwards others were sent me more large and full; but then I was returned to Paris. There I lighted upon a person named Morgan, who told me that it was expected by divers, that I should do some notable service for God and the catholic church. I answered that I was ready to kill the greatest subject in England. But, said he, why not the queen herself? and this, said I, might easily be done, if it might appear to be lawful. For Wattes, a priest, with whom I had conference about it, concealing persons' names, affirmed flatly that it was not lawful. Notwithstanding, I, having engaged myself both by letters and promises while I was in Italy, thought it an heinous sin to give over my enterprise, in case the pope should approve it by his letters, and grant me a plenary pardon, which I begged of him by letters I sent unto him by Ragozonio, his nuncio in France, who highly commended my design, and sent my letters to Rome.

"Being returned into England, I procured access to the queen, to whom in private I discovered the whole conspiracy, howbeit cloaked with the best art I could. She heard me without being daunted: I departed not without being terrified; and cannot now forget what she then said. 'That no catholic should be called in question merely for religion, or the pope's supremacy, provided that they showed themselves good subjects.' In the mean time, whilst I was a daily suitor in the court for the mastership of St. Katherine's, I received letters from the cardinal of Como, wherein my enterprize was commended, and myself absolved in the pope's name. These letters I imparted to the queen: what effect they had with her I know not: to me certainly they added courage, and took away all scruple. Yet was I not minded to offer her any violence, if she could by any means he persuaded to deal more favourably with the catholics; and therefore, lest I should commit the murder, I laid away my dagger still as often as I had access to her. When I truly considered her, and her truly royal virtues, I was distracted with doubtful thoughts; for my vows were recorded in heaven: my letters and promises among men. These things I often pondered with an unquiet mind: I was never much beholden to her for any thing: my life, indeed, she once pardoned; but to have taken it away on that occasion had been cruel and tyrannical. Hereupon I departed from court much unsatisfied with my condition. I lighted upon Dr. Allen's book against the justice of

Britain, where he taught that princes excommunicated for heresy were to be deprived of kingdom and life; which book did strongly encourage me to proceed with my attempt. This book I read to Nevil, whom I sometimes invited to my table, six whole months before he accused me. Afterwards he came to me and said, 'Let us venture upon somewhat, since we can get nothing from the queen:' and he propounded several things about the delivery of the Queen of Scots. But I have, said I, greater business in my mind, and of more advantage to the catholic church. The next day he came and swore upon the Bible, that he would conceal and constantly pursue any thing that should be for the good of the catholic religion: and I swore the like. We then resolved with ten horsemen to set upon the queen, as she rode abroad to take the air, and to kill her. All which Nevil concealed till now. But, having heard that the earl of Westmorland was dead, whose estate he had already swallowed in hopes, he presently broke his oath, and accused me of these things."[f]

These disclosures were made to lord Hunsdon, sir Christopher Hatton, and sir Francis Walsingham, as members of the privy council. He acknowledged his fault, and by letters to the queen, to lord Burleigh, and to the earl of Leicester, he earnestly begged for pardon. A few days afterwards he was arraigned at the bar of the King's Bench; and having owned himself guilty, judgment was demanded against him: but sir Christopher Hatton deemed it necessary for the people's satisfaction, that his crime should be clearly and fully represented from his own confession, which the prisoner acknowledged to be voluntary. It was accordingly read, and also the cardinal of Como's letters, as well as Parry's own to her majesty, to Burleigh, and to Leicester; but yet he denied that he ever resolved to kill the queen. On being asked if he had any thing to say why judgment should not be given against him, he answered, "I see I must die, because I have not been constant to myself;" but, being called upon to declare more fully what he meant, he replied, "My blood be amongst you!" and when sentence was pronounced, he furiously cited the queen to the judgment seat of God.[g]

---

[f] Camden.

On the second of March, Parry was conveyed from the Tower to the court of the old palace at Westminster, and, as the parliament was then assembled, many of the peers, as well as commons, were present at his execution. The termination of this unhappy culprit's existence but too much resembled the turbulent scene of his past life; and it is shocking to contemplate the intemperate zeal of those who disturbed his last moments, and refused to let the poor wretch die in peace.[h]

After a long and cruel controversial interruption, in which sir Francis Knolles took a leading part, Parry was allowed to conclude, saying, "Let my death be a warning unto you all, what you intend unto her majesty; and you that be of my profession in religion, beware that you never offer to lay your violent hands upon her: she is God's anointed, and before I die receive his comfort at my hands. In conference which it hath pleased her to have with me of you, she hath not only said it, but also sworn it, that as long as you behave yourselves like true and loyal subjects to her, she would never spill any of your bloods, to enjoy that is yours. She is a most merciful queen, and a most sweet princess. Love her, obey her, and let every man consider and weigh how God doth bless his hand in her reign over you."[i]

He then turned and said to the executioner, "I am now ready, when it pleaseth God." At which, some one called out, "Ask forgiveness of her majesty, and of God." "I have," said he, "asked her majesty to forgive me, and I do again, and I beseech God to forgive me all my offences."[k] After which he prayed, and then submitted himself to the executioner.

In 1586, the Tower was the prison of many unfortunate persons concerned in Babington's conspiracy;[l] and of these, fourteen, for the most part gentlemen of family and fortune, were led to execution.

---

[g] Camden.

[h] See 1st Edition of this Work, vol. ii. pp. 497—501.

[i] Harleian MSS. No. 39.

[k] Ibid.

[l] The principal of these were John Ballard; Anthony Babington, esquire; Edward Windsor, brother of lord Windsor; Thomas Salesbury; Charles Tilney; Chidiock Tichburn; Edward Abington; Robert Gage; John Travers; John Charnock; John Jones; John Savage; R. Barnwell; Henry Dun; and Jerome Bellarmine.—*See 1st Edition, vol. ii. p. 501. Note.*

In the same year the EARL OF ARUNDEL was also committed, there to end his days a prisoner; and in the remaining portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was also the place of confinement of SECRETARY DAVISON, SIR JOHN PERROT, RODERIC LOPEZ, EDWARD SQUIRE, and the party concerned in the rebellion of the earl of Essex; in each of whose stories there is much to claim our interest.

DAVISON, who for a considerable period filled, under Queen Elizabeth, the office of secretary of state, with a high reputation for his abilities, and as an honest and good man, was imprisoned, in order to screen his mistress from the odium attached to the death of the Queen of Scots. His case appears to have been one of great hardship. By a circumstantial account of this transaction, which he addressed from the Tower to secretary Walsingham, he sufficiently justified himself in the eyes of the world;[1] yet, besides being deprived of his office, he was sentenced in the star-chamber to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure; and in spite of the remonstrances of lord Burleigh, and the entreaties of the favorite Essex, he was ruined, by the rigorous exaction of his fine; and he was long detained a prisoner.

SIR JOHN PERROT derived his name and possessions from a family of a very ancient descent in Pembrokeshire;[m] but it was commonly believed that he was a natural son of King Henry the Eighth. Sir Thomas Perrot, his acknowledged father, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to that king, and married in the court a lady of great honor, and in the king's familiarity.[n] "But if we goe a little further," says Naunton, "and compare his picture, his qualities, gesture, and voyce, with that of the king, whose memory yet remains amongst us, they will plead strongly that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal."[o]

From his earliest youth he evinced a bold and impetuous spirit, and, at the age of eighteen, he is said to have brought himself into the notice of Henry the Eighth by his valiant defence when opposed to two of the yeomen of the guard, with whom he had quarrelled in Southwark, and who drew upon him. He was much esteemed by King Edward the Sixth, at whose coronation he was made a knight of the bath. In 1551, he accompanied the marquis of Northampton in his embassy to treat of a marriage between Edward and a daughter of the French king; and while in that country he gained great eclat by his strength and prowess. The marquis was a nobleman that delighted much in all activities and disports, and the French king, "willing to shew him such pleasure as was used in that countrie, on a time brought the marquis to hunt the wild boare, and being in chase, it fell out that a gentleman charging the boare with his chasing staff, did not hitt right, and so the boare was nearly ready to run in upon hym. Sir John Perrott, perceiving him to be in perill, came unto his rescew, and with a broad sword which he then wore gave the boare such a blow that he did well nigh part the head from his shoulders. The king of France, who stood in sight of this, came presently unto hym, took hym about the middle, and embracing him, called him Beaufoile: whereat he supposed the king came to try his strength, and taking the king also about the middle, lifted hym somewhat high from the ground: with which the king was nothing displeased, but proferred hym a good pension to serve hym."[p]

---

[1] See Appendix to vol. ii. 1st Edition.

[m] Camden.

[n] Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

[o] Ibid.

Shortly after the accession of Queen Mary, Perrot is said to have been committed to the Fleet, for entertaining heretics in his house in Wales; it is probable, however, that this imprisonment was no other than that alluded to in the minutes of the privy council, in 1554; by which it appears that, on the 18th of January, "the earl of Ormond, the lord Garret, and sir John Perrot, knight, were committed to the Fleet, for a fray which chanced between the said sir John Perrot and the earl of Worcester's servants, there to remain until, upon further examination of the matter, it may appear in whom the fault was."[q] At the same time, justice Morgan, the recorder of London, and John Throgmorton, were commanded diligently to examine the subject;

---

[p] Life of sir John Perrot.

[q] Acts of the Council, p. 18.

and two days afterwards, "the earl of Worcester, the earl of Ormond, the lord Garratt, and sir John Perrot, were before the lords and others of the council; and having a good lesson given them for their quiet behaviour hereafter, were, on the queen's highness' behalf, required to be friends the one to the other, and to forget all private and old grudges that might be conceived of any former quarrel, and to give commandment unto their servants to keep the peace, as they will avoid the punishment of the law; whereupon they shook hands, and became friends." [r]

Notwithstanding his religion, sir John Perrot enjoyed the smiles of majesty during the reign of Mary: he was also early in favor with Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the four gentlemen appointed to bear the state canopy at her coronation.[s]

In 1571, he was sent into Ireland, as president of Munster, and immediately began his meritorious exertions to establish the peace and ameliorate the condition of that unhappy country: he gained signal successes over Fitz-Morris, and other rebels; [t] and after about two years active services, he returned into England. But while visiting his place in Pembrokeshire, he was unexpectedly called to take the command of a squadron, intended to intercept forces which the king of Spain had prepared for the invasion of Ireland. Sir John was, "by his constellations, destined for arms," and he instantly obeyed the summons. He was attended by fifty men in orange-coloured cloaks, many of them gentlemen of birth and quality, and "as they lay in their barge against Greenwich, where the queen kept her court, sir John Perrot sent one of his gentlemen ashore with a diamond, as a token unto his mistress, Blanch Parry, willing hym to tell hir, that a diamond coming unlooked for did always bring good looke with it; which the queene hearing of, sent sir John Perrot a fair jewel hanged by a white cypresse, signifying withal, that so longe as he wore that for hir sake, she did beleve, with God's helpe, he should have no harme. Which message and jewell sir John Perrot received joyfully, and he returned answer unto the queene, that he would weare that for his sovereigne's sake, and doubted not, with God's favor, to restore hir shipps in saffetie, and either to bring the Spaniards as prisoners, or else to sinck them in the seas. Soe as sir John Perrot passed by in his barge, the queene looked out at a window, shaking her fanne, and put out her hand towards hym, who, making a low obeysance, put the scarffe and jewell about his necke which the queene had sent hym." [u]

---

[r] Acts of the Council, p. 18. [s] Hollinshed. [t] Camden.

In 1583, sir John was appointed viceroy, or lord deputy of Ireland, and in that capacity he rendered to both kingdoms many and eminent services. As soon as he received the sword, he summoned the states of the realm to a parliament, in which several laws were made for the better government of the people.[x] By administering justice impartially, and by shewing equal favor to the Irish and the English, he restored the island by degrees to a happy state of tranquillity and peace; and by fair and peaceable means he reduced the fiercest and most rude inhabitants under the power of the laws. In 1584, he routed a large body of Scots from the western islands, who had landed in the north,[y] and in the following year, still greater success attended his arms against a more serious incursion of that people. Indeed, when called into the field by the sound of war, his activity, vigilance, and valor, were ever crowned with success: he was equally felicitous in cultivating the arts of peace; and even his enemies acknowledged that Ireland, while under his government, was never in a happier state. But by correcting the vitiated system of administration in that country, he had made many enemies there, and at home he had to encounter the hatred and malicious practices of Hatton, who enjoyed the confidence and favor of the queen, and who studied to thwart and oppose him. By complaints, therefore, on one hand, and through base insinuations on the other, aided by the influence of Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, whom he offended by proposing to convert the revenues of St. Patrick's cathedral to the founding and support of a university in the Irish capital, Perrot's ruin was accomplished: he was called home in 1588, partly at his own request; a rigorous inquiry was made into all his words and actions, while in that country; and, after being for some time under the charge of his friend lord Burleigh, his papers were seized, even in his lordship's house, and without his advice.

---

[u] Life of sir John Perrot. [x] Ibid. Camden. [y] Lodge, vol. ii. p. 295.

Shortly afterwards sir John was sent to the Tower,[z] and when every thing had been raked together that could be said against him, he was brought to trial. He was charged with seeking the subversion of the state, and the overthrow of her majesty's dominions, by bringing in foreign forces: it was alleged that he had corresponded with the king of Spain, the duke of Parma, and others in Spain, and with divers traitors beyond the seas, promising them aid: that he had confederated with, and abetted traitors, contrary to his allegiance: that he bore a cruel heart, and malice towards her majesty: that he had committed divers murders to stop the disclosure of his treasons: was guilty of sorcery and witchcrafts; and had conspired the destruction of her majesty's person."[a] Upon each of which charges he was declared guilty: though the only fact that appears to have been satisfactorily proved against him was his having, on several occasions, in anger, spoken disrespectfully and contemptuously of the queen, which he did not deny; but he declared that those expressions proceeded not from want of a just regard for her majesty: they fell from him in anger, when hindered in his good designs in Ireland, and were the results of the well-known heat of his temper; he protested also that he had never intended ill towards his sovereign, and that his heart was unstained by a disloyal thought.

After his trial, on being taken back to the Tower, he said, with oaths and fury to the lieutenant, sir Owen Hopton, "What! will the queene suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries?"[b] These words were carried to her majesty, who, on hearing of his condemnation, swore with her wonted oath, that his accusers were all knaves; and when the warrant for his execution was tendered, and somewhat pressed upon her, she refused to sign it, swearing that he should not die, for he was an honest and faithful man.[c] In allusion to him, she was often heard to praise that rescript of the magnanimous

---

[z] Stow's Chron. p. 764.

[a] Harleian MSS. No. 39.

[b] Naunton's Court of Queen Elizabeth.

[c] Ibid.

Roman: " Should any one have spoken ill of the emperor, if through levity, it should be despised; if through madness, it deserves pity; if from malice, it calls for mercy."

Of the innocence of Perrot's intentions, all but his determined enemies were fully convinced; and we are told that lord Burleigh shed tears at his fate, and that he said, with a sigh, " The more unjust a man's malice is, so much the more keen and barbarous it is of course." [d] After judgment was pronounced upon him, sir John declared that he did not wish to live: " My name and blood," said he, " are now corrupted: they were never before spotted, and woe be to me that am the first of my house and name that ever was attainted or suspected." [e] It was thought that the queen intended to pardon him, and to restore his possessions, but he did not live to receive the expected boon. In September 1592, about six months after his trial, he died suddenly in the Tower,[f] as was supposed, with a broken heart.

Lopez was committed to the Tower, in 1594, for conspiring to take away the queen's life. He was a doctor of medicine, and his skill in that science, added to his reputation as an honest and faithful man, had recommended him to the place of her majesty's physician; but being a Jew, and by a birth a Portuguese, the agents of the King of Spain, who were ever plotting the queen's destruction, turned their eyes upon him, as an eligible instrument to employ for that purpose. By promises of large rewards, Fuentes and Ibara, joint governors of the Netherlands, succeeded in engaging him to administer poison to his mistress, in her medicine: [g] but the earl of Essex, whose means of information were not inferior to those even of Walsingham, got intelligence of the design, probably through Don Antonio Perez; [h] who was then in his lordship's house; and Lopez, with two other persons of the Portuguese nation, connected with him, was seized, and committed to prison. Lopez was at first put under custody of the earl of Essex, and afterwards sent to the Tower; but, as nothing decisive was proved against him at his first examination, the younger Cecil was glad to triumph over Essex, by representing the matter to her majesty as groundless; and her haste to reproach his lordship with rashness in bringing reflections on the character of an innocent man, produced one of those court quarrels, which so frequently occurred between Elizabeth and her principal favorites. The earl, on seeing his diligence thus rewarded through the artifices of his rival and enemy, retired in disgust, and continued to withhold himself from the royal presence, till her majesty sent the lord admiral to bring about a reconciliation.

---

[d] Camden. [e] State Trials, vol. i. [f] Naunton. [g] Camden.

[h] Don Antonio Perez was late secretary to the King of Spain. He fled into England, in consequence of commotions that he raised in Aragon.

In the meantime, however, Lopez and his companions were kept prisoners, and were cast, on the doctor's own confession. He acknowledged that he had been inveigled to use his best and most private endeavours for the King of Spain; — that he had received on that account a rich jewel from Christophoro Moro, his chief favorite and counsellor; — that he had in consequence frequently advertised the Spaniards of what came within his cognizance; — that he had promised, upon an agreement to be paid fifty thousand ducats, to poison the queen: and that Loisie had been sent to him by Fuentez and Ibara, to press him to despatch the matter out of hand.[i] After their trial, they remained under close confinement in the Tower till the seventh of June, when they were taken to the bar of the King's Bench, to receive judgment. They were sentenced to be drawn through the city on hurdles to Tyburn, there to be hanged; to be cut down alive, and to be dismembered, bowelled, beheaded, and quartered; which was accordingly done, and their quarters set over the gates of the city.[k] Lopez declared that he had no ill intentions against her majesty, but abhorred from his heart the bribes of a tyrant: that he had presented to the queen herself the very jewel which the King of Spain had sent him: that his only aim in what he did was to get some of the Spaniards' money: and, at his execution, he is said to have protested to the last that he loved her majesty as he did Jesus Christ!

The punishment which befel these persons did not deter others from enlisting in the same cause. Just afterwards, an Irishman, employed by the malcontents in the low countries, was put to a similar death, for engaging to destroy the queen:[l] and, in 1598, Edward Squire, an under groom in her majesty's stables, was prevailed upon by Walpole, the Jesuit, to undertake a like enterprize; but by a most extraordinary mode. It happened that Squire had entered as a volunteer in Drake's last expedition to the West Indies; and, the vessel in which he was being captured, he was carried into Spain, a prisoner. There he became acquainted with Walpole, through whose means he was induced to change his religion: he became infatuated by his arguments, and at last engaged himself by a solemn vow to take away the queen's life; and the means prescribed were by poison, to be rubbed on the pommel of her saddle! He was accordingly supplied with the materials, promised great glory and reward, and despatched into England. On his return he enlisted under the earl of Essex, in the expedition intended for the Azores, and just before his departure he found an opportunity to apply the ingredient to the queen's saddle, but without effect: on the voyage he also anointed the earl's chair, and there it was equally unsuccessful. Squire returned safely into England, but did not long remain so. Walpole, exasperated at being, as he thought, taken in, was bent on revenge, and at length privately conveyed to the government information of Squire's treason. The unhappy victim was seized, but at first denied every thing: however, on being more closely questioned, and, suspecting that his confessor had betrayed him, he made a full disclosure.[m] He was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at Tyburn.[n]

---

[i] Camden.

[k] Stow's Chronicle, p. 768.

In speaking of the imprisonment of ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX, it would be unnecessary to enter upon any minute account of his eventful life, and equally so to detail the circumstances which led to the consummation of his unhappy fate: the one would be to write the history of the sixteen last years of the reign of Elizabeth; the other, to relate a tale which has oft been better told. For our purpose it must suffice to say, that he appeared early on the stage of life, as a distinguished favorite of the queen. At the age of eighteen he accompanied his father-in-law, the earl of Leicester, into Holland, and his gallant conduct in the battle of Zutphen, which carried off the ever-lamented Sidney, he obtained the distinction of a knight-banneret. Two years afterwards he was made master of the horse: at the age of twenty-one, at the camp of Tilbury, he was honored with the rank of general of the cavalry: subsequently he was invested with the order of the garter, and made a privy councillor; and to these distinctions were shortly added the posts of master of the ordnance, earl marshal, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge. In 1589, with Drake and Norris, he privately joined in the expedition to Portugal; where his bravery obtained him the love of the soldier, the eulogy of the poet, and the admiration of the world. In 1591, he was sent into Normandy, with an army, to the aid of Henry the Fourth; and at Rouen, under whose walls his younger brother fell, he challenged by sound of trumpet, Villars, the governor, to single combat. In the expedition against Cadiz, in 1596, he had command of the land forces; and on that occasion he covered himself with imperishable fame: for a while the winds and waves opposed his ardent spirit: but, at length the lord admiral was prevailed on to attack the fleet, and such were the transports of Essex's joy, that he threw his hat into the sea, and pressed among the foremost in the battle. He afterwards landed the troops, and led them on to assault the city: an entrance forced, he was among the first to support his ensign, and the readiest to extend the hand of mercy and protection to his vanquished foes.

---

[l] Camden.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Stow's Chronicle, p. 787.

In 1597, Essex was appointed to command a second expedition against the Spaniards, in the West Indies; and soon after his return, another field was opened to his military ardor: he sued for, and obtained the government of Ireland, with the charge of reducing the rebels. But here he was found wanting.— Fortune had become tired of bestowing her favors, and the glorious star that had hitherto been his guide, withdrew,—to shine no more. Whilst opposed to the difficulties and dangers of his arduous situation, he was surrounded and watched by spies about his person: at home his enemies were not idle; he was exposed to their bitterest taunts; and the complaints, the censures, and revilings that were daily heaped on him, harassed and perplexed his mind: his answers were unavailing; and, in a fit of rage and desperation, the brave but imprudent Essex made the rash resolve to return unbidden into England; where he hoped, by throwing himself at the feet of his sovereign, to justify his actions, and regain her favor.

To the regret of all his friends, and to the surprise of the court, Essex suddenly appeared, and instantly presented himself before the queen, even before she had left her chamber! At first her affection, and the unexpected sight of her favorite, overcame other feelings, and she received him with some of her wonted kindness; but the scene was soon changed. The same day he had orders to keep to his apartment, and shortly afterwards was put under custody, in the lord keeper's house: he was suspended from all his offices, save that of master of the horse; and during this restraint, which continued for upwards of six months, he experienced a whimsical mixture of the queen's tenderness and severity. She denied him the liberty of writing, even to his countess, though she was in childbed: at one time, when ill, she would not allow his own medical adviser to have access to him: at another she ordered a consultation of eight physicians on his case; and, on being told that they had but little hopes of his life, she shed tears, and sent him some broth, with a message, that he should comfort himself, and that, "if she could with her honor, she would visit him:"[o] she also sent every day to inquire after his health, and granted that his countess and some of his nearest relations might come to him: on his sending her his patents of master of the horse, and master of the ordnance, she returned them to him, with a gracious message to compose his mind. Yet was her resentment again raised by the merest trifles. The malice of Raleigh, and other enemies about the court, procured a warrant for his committal to the Tower: she relented, and it was not put in execution! But she would not hear of his release, "because she was told that some of his friends and followers should say, that he was wrongfully imprisoned."—Such was the struggle of her conflicting passions!

At length, after Essex had been for several months under custody of the lord keeper, he began to evince a serious change of sentiment:[p] by advice of some of his best friends, he removed those evil counsellors, sir Gilly Merrick, his steward, and Cuffe, his secretary; and the queen was so far reconciled by this deportment, and by the submission of his letters, that she permitted him to go home to his own house, under the charge of sir Richard Berkley; giving him, at the same time, to understand, "that all she did, or designed against him, was for his reformation, not his ruin."[q]

---

[o] Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 151.

Her majesty, however, was not unmindful of her own reputation; and she took care to make it known that she had just grounds for the severity with which she treated him: for Essex was still beloved by the people; pamphlets had been written in his defence; and his innocence was the theme of public discourse. He was, therefore, brought to an open hearing and censure, before a committee selected from the privy council;[r] and on this occasion, Elizabeth could suffer a favorite, that still was dear to her, to kneel for hours before a tribunal composed chiefly of his adversaries.

Impressed with a just sense of his condition, his lordship still continued to shew humility: he said that he had discarded all the gaieties of life: he had drowned his ambition in his tears; and he had now only to beg of her majesty, "that she would let her servant depart in peace." Pleased with this conduct, the queen shortly afterwards removed sir Richard Berkley; and the earl was then left with no other restraint than that he should not appear at court, nor approach her majesty's person.[s]

On obtaining this freedom, his lordship determined on retiring to the country; and previous to his leaving London, he charged lord Henry Howard to inform her majesty, "that he kissed her hands, and the rod she had used in correcting him; but could never regain his usual cheerfulness till he was vouchsafed an admission to that presence which had always influenced his happiness, and in which he was sufficiently blessed, as long as he moved within its sphere: he had now resolved to make amends for his error, and to say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field, to eat grass as an ox, and to be wet with the dew of heaven; till it shall please her to restore my understanding to me!" To which the queen replied, "that she heartily wished his actions might accord with his expressions: but," said she, "all is not gold that glitters; and, if the furnace of affliction produce such effects, I shall hereafter have the better opinion of chymistry."[t]

---

[p] Camden. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid.

The queen's doubts were but too well founded. Cuffe regained his pernicious influence over the earl's mind, and he soon relapsed into his wonted discontent: his hopes, moreover, of recovering the queen's favor had become obscured: his application for the renewal of a patent had been refused, with the galling expression, "that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender, that he may be the better managed;" and in return he had incensed the queen by declaring that her mind was as crooked as her person. He saw and envied the influence that his enemies maintained at court, and was again prevailed upon to embark in designs for their removal: he returned to London, and was soon surrounded by his former followers: his gates were thrown open to all comers; Merrick, his steward, kept open house for men of shattered fortunes, and malcontents of every party; and crowds were daily attracted in his courts by the harangues of puritanical preachers. The result of these proceedings is well known. After his rash attempt to stir up the citizens in his cause, and that he and his companions had been compelled to yield themselves at Drury-house, Essex and his principal friend, the earl of Southampton, were conducted by the lord admiral to the archbishop of Canterbury's palace, at Lambeth; the night being dark, and the tide not serving to pass the bridge to the Tower;[u] but on the following morning they were conducted thither, by water; as were the EARL OF RUTLAND, LORDS SANDS, CROMWELL, and MONTEAGLE, SIR CHARLES DANVERS, and SIR HENRY BROMLEY, in other boats; while the rest of the delinquents of inferior rank were committed to the common prisons.[x]

On the 19th of February, ten days after their committal to the Tower, the EARLS OF ESSEX and SOUTHAMPTON were arraigned in Westminster-hall.[y] They were charged with having plotted to take away the queen's crown and life, and consulted how to surprise her at her palace: it was alleged that they had broken out into open rebellion: they had shut up the lords of the council: they had excited the Londoners to insurrection: they had assaulted the queen's subjects in the streets; and had fortified Drury-house against her forces: to all which the noble prisoners pleaded "not guilty."

---

[t] Camden.

[u] Ibid.

[x] Ibid. Lodge, vol. iii. p. 120.

Yelverton, the queen's serjeant at law, opened the case by severe reflections on Essex: he drew a comparison between him and Catiline; and upbraided him with ingratitude towards his sovereign for the many honors and preferments which she had continued to heap upon him, even from an age when neither merit nor service could claim her bounty.

Coke, the attorney-general, followed, and used every art to aggravate the earl's offences: he enumerated the favors which the queen had conferred on him; and added to his charges, that he had corresponded with Blount, Danvers, and Davis, who were known adherents to the Romish worship; and that he had designed calling a parliament, and changing the government of the nation.

With considerable ability and courage, Essex replied, "that rhetoric was the trade of those who valued themselves on the knack of pleading innocent men out of their lives: he begged the peers to form their judgment upon the reality of things, not from the bare pomp of words: he protested his sincere attachment to the protestant religion; and as to Davis, he never looked upon him as popishly affected, when he attended every day upon divine service: he honoured and respected the council as his particular friends: he had shut them up for fear of any ill consequence from the multitude; and that he was driven to act as he did, in defence of his own life, which his enemies had designed to take away: and he declared that he had hitherto, and ever would preserve an inviolable loyalty to his prince, and a firm attachment to the interests of his country."

Popham, the lord chief justice, was examined, touching the conduct pursued towards the members of the privy council who were shut up in Drury-house; and to his evidence Essex answered, "that he had no ill intent towards those honorable persons, but professed the highest value and regard for them. He then argued that the royal orders had not been sufficient to keep his friend, the earl of Southampton, from being publicly insulted, the lord Grey having drawn his sword upon him in the street; and for this reason he had used the assistance of his friends, to repel the attacks of his adversaries, in the same way that they were offered." He declared, however, for all this, that he was a good subject to the queen, and a true friend to the kingdom; but he did not say thus much to preserve a life of which he was heartily weary: it was purely for the sake of his associates, who had integrity and courage enough to do their queen and country good service. He pleaded that evil designs had certainly been entertained against him: he complained, and not without justice, of the practices of Raleigh; of the subornation of priests to accuse him; and of his handwriting having been counterfeited for a similar purpose.[z]

---

[y] State Trials, Harl. MSS. 2160.

The defence of the earl of Southampton was short and modest: "he asked pardon for his crime, which was purely owing to his affection for the earl of Essex; and he protested in his stedfast loyalty to the queen. To the charge that they had holden consultations at Drury-house, about seizing the court and the Tower, he acknowledged that some proposals of that kind were made; but nothing had been resolved on: their going into the city was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: he declared that his sword was not once drawn on that occasion; and that he had heard nothing of a proclamation wherein they were declared rebels: he had hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house; and in conclusion, he desired that the cause might be determined by rules of equity, not by the niceties and quirks of the law.[a]

The trial of these noble prisoners was carried on with disgraceful acrimony: many strong remarks were made by Essex on the conduct of his well-known enemies, lord Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh, who retorted with equal severity: the queen's counsel indulged in the most insolent and cruel invectives; and among them, Francis Bacon was not ashamed to forget the ties of gratitude, and abandon all his former professions, in appearing as the severest advocate against Essex, who had ever been his most generous patron, and his warmest friend! But this is only one of the many acts of baseness that blot that courtier's name.

---

[z] Camden. Harleian MSS. No. 2194. Lansdown MSS. No. 94.

[a] Camden.

When the prosecution had closed, the lords retired, and, after consulting about an hour, returned to their seats: the prisoners were then brought again to the bar, to hear the sentence of guilty, which had been unanimously given against them. The earl of Southampton humbly implored the queen's mercy, and, in the most affecting manner, begged the peers to intercede for him, and to urge in his behalf, what their own consciences must dictate to them; again protesting that he had never harboured a thought that was evil against his prince.[a] Essex, with all the nobleness of his soul, begged with equal ardor for his friend; but, chafed and roused by the severity of his trial, he bore for himself a loftier tone: — he had no boon to ask! He declared that, as for his own life, he did not value it: all his desire was to lay it down with the conscience of a good Christian, and of a loyal subject; whatever might appear in the sense of the law. He was loath, however, to have it represented to the queen that he despised her clemency; though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions for it. "And you, my lords," said he, "I most heartily entreat, that, though you have condemned me at this tribunal, you will acquit me in your opinions, as one that never had any ill intentions against my prince." [b]

The lord high steward then addressed the prisoners, and advised Essex to implore the queen's mercy; he passed upon them the solemn sentence of the law, to which Essex rejoined, in a more serious tone, "If her majesty had pleased, this body of mine might have done her better service; however, I shall be glad if it may prove serviceable to her in any way!" [c] He desired to have the benefit of the holy sacrament before his death, and that Mr. Ashton, a clergyman, might assist him in his spiritual concerns; he also asked pardon of the earl of Worcester, and of the lord chief justice, for detaining them in Drury-house; and of the lords Morley and La Ware, for bringing their sons into danger, by acting in a matter with which they were acquainted.[d]

---

[a] Camden. [b] Ibid. State Trials. Harleian MSS. No. 2194. [c] Ibid.

Relodged in his prison, Essex prostrated himself before God; and the short remainder of his days he spent in solemn preparation to obey the summons to which he was now destined. From his earliest youth he had been impressed with a sense of religion, even bordering on enthusiasm; and the alarms of conscience for the sins of his past life, now gave his spiritual instructors so entire a command over his mind, that he was led to expect no mercy from the Supreme Judge of the universe, unless he discovered all his thoughts, his designs, and accomplices, as the only availing atonement that he could make to his offended majesty! In short, so humbled and penitent was his lordship's mind, that he desired to speak with some of the privy council, and with Cecil in particular.[e] The lord keeper, the lord admiral, the lord treasurer, and Cecil, accordingly visited him in the Tower;[f] and, after he had asked the lord keeper's pardon for detaining him in custody at Drury-house, and Cecil's, for accusing him at his trial, they were all mutually reconciled. He is even said to have told them, that the queen never could be safe as long as he lived! and so desirous was he to disclose every thing, that he committed an act, which forms one of the darkest stains upon his memory: — he was led to betray every friend of his bosom, though their attachment to him was the source of their guilt! He very much blamed some of his accomplices, as aiming at nothing less than the ruin of their country: he particularly desired to speak with Blunt and Cuffe; and to the latter, he said, "Be sure you ask pardon of God and of the queen, and behave yourself so as to procure it. For my part, I have fixed my thoughts upon a better world, and have resolved to deal sincerely before God and man; and I must tell you plainly, that this instance

[d] Camden. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

of disloyalty is purely owing to your advice."[g] On the same occasion he made a particular request that he might suffer privately in the Tower, lest his mind should be discomposed by the noise of the people; and, borne down by the dismal scene presented to his conscience by the person whom he had chosen to guide it, he was not content with his verbal confessions, but repeated them in writing, under his own hand.[h]

The queen's warrant for his execution was all that was now wanting to close the scene upon this great and unfortunate peer; but Elizabeth was agitated and unresolved. On the one hand her knowledge that his impetuous spirit had been goaded on by the aggravations of his rivals; a remembrance of his constant watchfulness over her safety, and his zeal for her service; his present humility and contrition; her sense of his many great and noble qualities; and, above all, that affection, which still lurked unextinguished in her heart, pleaded strong for mercy. But on the other, his ingratitude for her favors; the occasional insolence of his behaviour; the cankering remembrance of his reflections on her person; the greatness of his crime; his refusing to ask for pardon; and, moreover, the high-wrought picture of danger in his life, presented to her by Raleigh and his other enemies, inclined her to severity. At length, after many a struggle between resentment, fear, and love, she signed a warrant for her favourite's death! — She relented, and presently she sent sir Edward Carey to stay its execution. Yet, chiding herself for indecision, she afterwards issued another order for his suffering; and by authority of that, the brave, the beloved, the generous Essex was brought to pay the debt of his offences.

His lordship's petition that he might be put to death in a private manner in the Tower, was readily granted; and, on the 25th of February, being Ash-Wednesday, at about eight o'clock in the morning, he was brought to a scaffold erected in the court-yard, in front of the chapel; near to which sat the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, viscount Howard of Bindon, lord Howard of Walden, lord Darcy of Chiche, and lord Compton.[i] There were also present some of the aldermen of London, and several knights and gentlemen; among whom was sir Walter

---

[g] Camden. [h] Ibid. [i] Cottonian MSS. Titus, c. vii. 68, 69. Stow. Camden.

Raleigh, "with a design," says Camden, "if he may be believed, to answer for himself should Essex object any thing to him at his death; but it was generally thought that he came to feast his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's sufferings." However, he was advised not to press upon him at this awful moment, and he accordingly retired, and saw the melancholy spectacle from the armory.[k]

The earl was conducted from his chamber by the lieutenant of the Tower, attended by three divines with whom he had been in devout communion for a considerable time before. He was dressed in a gown of wrought velvet, a black satin suit, a black felt hat, and a small ruff about his neck.[l] He desired the people to pray for him; and, on ascending the scaffold, he took off his hat, and having made obeisance to the lords, he thus addressed the spectators:[m]

"My lords, and you my Christian brethren, who are to be witnesses of this my just punishment, I confess to God that I am a most wretched sinner, and that my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head: I confess that I have bestowed my youth in wantonness, lust, and uncleanness; that I have been puffed up with pride, vanity, and love of this world's pleasures; and that, notwithstanding divers good motions inspired in me by the spirit of God, the good which I could have done, I have not done; and the evil which I would not do, I have done. For all which I beseech my Saviour, Christ, to be a mediator to the eternal majesty for my pardon; especially for this my last sin; this great, this bloody, this crying, this infectious sin, whereby so many have, for love to me, been drawn to offend God, to offend their sovereign, to offend the world. I beseech God to forgive it us, and me the most wretched of all: I beseech her majesty, the state, and ministers thereof, to forgive it us; and I beseech God to send her majesty a prosperous reign, and long, if it be his will. O Lord, grant her a wise and understanding heart: O Lord, bless her, and the nobles, and the ministers of the church and state; and I beseech you, and the world, to hold a charitable opinion of me for my intention towards her majesty, whose death I protest I never meant, nor violence towards her person. I never was, I thank God, atheist, not believing the word of the scriptures: neither papist, trusting in mine own merits; but hope for salvation from God only, by the mercy and merits of my Saviour, Christ Jesus. This faith was I brought up in, and herein am I now ready to die; beseeching you all to join your souls with me in prayer, that my soul may be lifted up by faith, above all earthly things."[n]

---

[k] Camden. [l] Stow's Chronicle. Cottonian MSS. Titus, b. vii. 68, 69.
[m] Cotton. MSS. ut supra. Camden. Harl. MSS. No. 2160. Stow's Chron., &c.

Having desired forgiveness of all whom he had offended, he put off his gown and ruff, and kneeling before the block, with his eyes stedfastly fixed on heaven, he prayed thus:

" O God, creator of all things, and judge of all men, thou hast let me know thy warrant out of thy word, that Satan is the most busy when our end is nearest, and that Satan being resisted will flee. I humbly beseech thee to assist me in this my last combat; and seeing thou acceptest even of our desires as of our acts, accept, I beseech thee, of my desires to resist him, as of true resistance; and perfect by thy grace what thou seest in my flesh to be frail and weak: give me patience to bear, as becometh me, this just punishment inflicted upon me by so honorable a trial: grant me the inward comfort of thy spirit: let thy spirit seal unto my soul an assurance of thy manifold mercies: lift my soul above all earthly cogitations; and when my life and body shall part, send thy blessed angels, which may receive my soul, and convey it to thy joys in heaven."[o]

After this he said the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, and the first verses of the fifty-first psalm; and he then laid his neck upon the block, saying, " In all submission and obedience do I prostrate myself to receive the punishment I have deserved: have mercy, O God, upon thy penitent servant, for into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." His head was then taken off at the third blow; though the first deprived him of all sense and motion;[p] and thus at the age of only thirty-four years, was cut off from the service of his country, one of the most active statesmen, the bravest general, and the brightest Mæcenas of that accomplished era.

Of the other conspirators, many received the queen's pardon;

---

[n] Cottonian MSS. Titus, c. vii. 68, 69. Stow, p. 793. [o] Ibid.

[p] Cottonian MSS. Stow ut supra, and Camden.

some were fined or imprisoned, and none suffered capitally, except SIR CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, SIR CHARLES DANVERS, SIR GILLEY MERRICK, and HENRY CUFFE. These were tried and found guilty on charges similar to those brought against the earls of Essex and Southampton; and, on the thirteenth of March, the two latter were hanged and quartered at Tyburn.[q] Cuffe "was a man of admirable learning and equal wit, but of an unquiet and turbulent spirit."[r] On ascending the scaffold, he behaved with an equal share of firmness and devotion: he addressed the people at considerable length: "he was come thither to pay his last debt to nature, and to suffer for crimes committed against his God, his prince, and his country; and, as he could not but discern the infinite justice of the Almighty, when he reflected on the multitude of his offences, so he could as little doubt but that the severity of his present punishment would make way for his admission to mercy at that tribunal before which he was about to stand." "We are exposed here," said he, "as sad spectacles and instances of human frailty: the death we are about to undergo carries a frightful aspect, — for even the best of men desire life, — besides that it is full of ignominy and terror. However, it is the portion even of the best of saints, with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ. Not that I would be thought by any one to depend on my own merits, which I absolutely discard; but I place my entire trust and dependence in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully persuaded, that whoever feels a secret consolation within himself, whilst he groans under the infliction of any earthly punishment, is chastised by God with a paternal tenderness, and not in an angry way."[s] After having spoken at some length on the cause for which he was to suffer, and endeavoured to excuse his own conduct, he said that he was heartily sorry for having been an instrument in bringing sir Henry Nevil into danger, and earnestly begged for his pardon: he then applied himself with great fervor to his devotions, and, after making a solemn profession of the creed, and asking pardon of God and of the queen, he was launched into eternity.[t]

SIR GILLEY MERRICK died with great resolution. As if weary of life, he once or twice interrupted Cuffe, and advised him to spare his discourse, which, however rational, was not over seasonable, when he was taking leave of the world. He cleared lord Mountjoy from having any acquaintance with the design, and entreated those noblemen that stood by to intercede with the queen that there might not be any further proceeding against such as had unwarily espoused this hapless cause.[u]

---

[q] Stow's Chron. p. 794. Camden. [r] Camden. [s] Ibid. [t] Ibid.

Danvers and Blunt, being nobly descended, had besought that they might be beheaded, instead of hanged; and on the 18th of March,[x] they were brought to suffer that death on Tower-hill. Danvers was first brought to execution, and he met his fate with a Christian fortitude and composure.[y] In addressing the people, he said, "though in the eye of the law, I am justly condemned, yet in my own conscience, which is only known to Almighty God, of whose power and justice I am not ignorant, and in whose presence I now speak, I am clear of any intent of violence to her majesty's person, or harm to my country, which I have ever held dear." He said that, since his imprisonment, it had pleased God to touch his heart, and to let him know the grievousness of his sins, especially this great offence against God, her majesty, and his country: he had acquired a repentant and sorrowful heart, and he craved the pardon of the Almighty for his sins, and of the queen for this offence: he most heartily thanked the majesty of God for the affiance which he had given him of his salvation in Jesus Christ, by the merits of whose death and passion all his sins were pardoned: he said that he forgave all the world, and begged the forgiveness of all that he had offended: he took off his gown and doublet very cheerfully, "more like a bridegoom, than a prisoner appointed for death;"[z] and after devoutly praying, he laid his neck upon the block.

As soon as the body of Danvers, and all signs of his execution had been removed, Sir Christopher Blunt was brought to the scaffold. Ignorant of the scene that had just transpired, he ascended it with perfect composure, and to this effect addressed the multitude: "Though it may appear more proper to employ the present juncture in craving forgiveness of God for my sins, than upon other things; yet since I am accused of having persuaded the earl of Essex to this great crime, I will declare the truth, as I hope for the salvation of my soul. It is above three years since I observed the earl's mind to be ruffled with discontents, and many motions of ambition. In Ireland, whilst I was ill of my wounds at the castle of Rheban, as likewise at Dublin afterwards, he told me, that he resolved to send over his best troops out of Ireland to Milford-haven in South Wales, to gain them entirely to his interest; and when he had gathered more forces, to march them up to London! I considered well of the matter, and endeavoured to dissuade him from it, as a desperate design, and one that would occasion the effusion of a great deal of blood. I cannot deny but that I advised him to get the court into his power, and so to make the most reasonable conditions for himself; and though it is very true that, in all our debates, we fully intended not to touch her majesty's person; yet had the business succeeded, I cannot say but it might have cost her majesty her life. After the earl was absolutely discharged, he treated me upon the same subject at Essex-house, but fixed upon nothing. After which he sent for me out of the country, not many days before this treasonable enterprise was acted." As to other things, he said that he had already made a particular confession of them to the lord admiral, and to the secretary; and after asking forgiveness of every one, he looked up to heaven, and earnestly prayed for the preservation of the queen: "and thou, O God," continued he "forgive my evil intentions and profligate life. I desire you all to bear me witness that I die a catholic; but such an one as relies solely and fully on the merits of Christ's death and sufferings; and I also desire your prayers for me." [a] He then took leave of lord Grey and lord Compton, who were present; and having said a short prayer to himself, he submitted his neck to the block, "with a resolution worthy of him." [b]

---

[u] Camden. [x] Stow's Chron., p. 794. [y] Camden. [z] Stow's Chron., p. 795.

The Earl of Southampton, whose memory is dear to us as the patron of Shakspeare, was doomed, during the life of Elizabeth, to expiate his crime by a close confinement in the Tower; but it was one of the first acts of her successor's government to restore his liberty. Before James quitted the capital of Scotland the case of the earl of Southampton obtained his attention, and he sent a warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower for the liberation of him, and of sir Henry Nevill; at the same time addressing a letter on the subject to the council.[c]

---

[a] Camden.

[b] Ibid.

Shortly after the accession of King James the First the Tower became the prison of lord Cobham, and George Brook his brother, lord Thomas Grey of Wilton, sir Griffin Markham, Anthony Copley, and two Roman catholic priests;[d] and to these was added that shining meteor of his day, sir Walter Raleigh, who seems to have been unfairly implicated in the same transaction, perhaps through the machinations of that artful courtier, the younger Cecil, and other enemies about the king. They were charged with plotting to deprive his majesty; to re-establish popery, and to raise the lady Arabella Stuart to the throne: but the subject is a mystery of state which has never been satisfactorily explained.

They were committed to the Tower in July 1603, and thence, in November following, conveyed under strong guards, to be arraigned at Winchester; where the term was kept, in consequence of the plague, which was then desolating the capital.

Respecting their trials, we derive an interesting, and, no doubt, an accurate account from two spirited letters of sir Dudley Carleton,[e] afterwards viscount Dorchester. The second day after the arraignment and conviction of Brooke, Markham, Copley, and the priests, SIR WALTER RALEIGH was brought to the bar. The king's serjeant opened the pleadings, and the principal charge laid against Raleigh was his having said that, "it would never be well with England till the king and his cubs were taken away;" but even this was not satisfactorily or lawfully proved: — it was only shewn by a paper purporting to be a written confession of lord Cobham; whom the court basely refused to be confronted with Raleigh on the subject!

Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, followed on the part of the prosecution, and by his conduct on that memorable occasion, he has left a stain upon his name, which all his acknowledged greatness cannot hide: the violence of his passion, and the low and gross invectives and abuse in which he indulged against the prisoner, met with general censure: even Cecil rose to check his violence! He knew that he had to cope with talents that far outshone his own, and he vainly hoped to gain a contemptible advantage over his victim by ruffling his temper, and throwing him off his guard. But the coolness and fortitude of Raleigh were unshaken: he displayed during his trial all that nobleness of soul which innocence ever inspires against persecution; and he carried himself, says an eye-witness,[f] "with such temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgment, that, save that it went with his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent; and so well he shifted all the advantages taken against him that, were not "fama malum gravius quam res," and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted.[g]

---

[c] Cottonian MSS. Titus, b. vii. 444.

[d] William Watson and William Clarke.

[e] Hardwicke's State-papers, vol. i. p. 377.

It would here surpass our bounds to enter into a full account of this celebrated trial.

After the attorney-general had proceeded, called him a damnable atheist, and exhausted his stock of such disgraceful epithets, Raleigh, to the great astonishment of the court, produced a letter written to him by lord Cobham himself, while both were prisoners in the Tower, and desired lord Cecil to read it, as he was acquainted with his hand. It cleared the prisoner in the most ample and solemn manner of the charges of which he was accused; but yet the jury pronounced him guilty!

Lord Cobham was tried next, and, says the authority we have before quoted,[h] "he discredited the place to which he was called: never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known ere he spake, what he would confess or deny. In his first answer, he said he had changed his mind since he came to the bar; for, whereas he came with an intention to have made his confession, without denying any thing, now, seeing many things inserted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, and being unable in one word to make distinction of many parts, he must plead to all not guilty. As to the accusation respecting the lady Arabella, he strongly protested his innocence. His peers, however, found him guilty.

---

[f] Sir Dudley Carleton.

[g] Ibid. in Hardwicke's State-papers.

[h] Sir Dudley Carleton's first letter.

"Grey, quite in another tone, began with assurances and alacrity: spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the lords, and then to the judges, and lastly, to the king's counsel, and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and escapes; but the evidence was too conspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the surprise. Yet the lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard a censure against him. For though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist, who was mute before his face, but spake within very unnobly against him; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain, as it seemed, have dispensed with their consciences to have shewn him favor. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be given against him, these only were his words: "I have nothing to say,"—there he paused: "and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind,— "Non eadem omnibus decora:" the house of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. God send the king a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour." There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials.[i]

The second letter of sir Dudley Carleton[k] gives a full account of the proceedings against these unfortunate persons after their condemnation. The two priests were executed in the most barbarous manner; Brooke also was beheaded, and the lords Grey and Cobham, with Markham, were likewise appointed to die, and it was not till they had arrived at the very spot assigned for their execution, and had addressed the people preparatory to the awful event, that a messenger arrived from the king with a pardon. "On this being known, says sir Dudley," "there was then no need to beg a plaudit of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy: that in this last no man could cry loud enough, "God save the king," and at the holding up of Brooke's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man but the sheriff. You must think, if the spectators were so glad, the actors were not sorry; for even those that went best resolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never so much as to beg his life; and Grey, that since he had his life, without begging, he would deserve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the scaffold.

---

[i] Lord Hardwicke's State-papers, vol. i. p. 377.

[k] Dated at Salisbury, Dec. 11, 1603. See 1st edition of this work, vol. ii. p. 532.

"Raleigh, who had a window opened towards the scaffold, had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next: but the king has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brookesby, and Copley, are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the king without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the lords knew no other but that execution was to go forward till the very hour it should be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble young spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud, insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so different a balance that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, "and therefore I have saved them all." The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the king, went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court."

A few days after this unfeeling scene, the two lords and sir Walter Raleigh were returned to their prisons in the Tower; and here the gallant, the noble-spirited Grey, was doomed to pine away a life that might have done honor and service to his country. He died a prisoner, in 1416. Cobham, whose talents as well as character were too mean to render him an object of jealousy or of dread, was at length allowed to go at liberty. His estates had been confiscated, and according to Camden, being in extreme want of all things, he was sent back to the Tower in 1617. He died in 1619, in the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness. But otherwise was the fate of sir Walter Raleigh. He was doomed to a long captivity, and at last to end his days upon the scaffold.

The life of such a man as Raleigh, though shut up within the walls of a prison, might afford us instruction as well as pleasure; but the notices that have been preserved of him, during the tedious hours of his exclusion from the world, are few and not particular. He had one consolation, however, — in the society of an amiable and affectionate wife, who had obtained leave to accompany him in prison; and he was occasionally relieved by visits of learned friends: he was countenanced and esteemed by the queen and the prince during their lives, and continued his correspondence with them. Much of his time was spent in his favorite pursuit, — the study and practice of chemistry; and he here wrote his "History of the World," and several of his political discourses, which remain as proofs, if proofs were wanting, of his talents.

After being immured in the Tower for upwards of twelve years, Raleigh obtained his release in 1616, by bribery and a change of favourites; and in the following year he had the command of an expedition to Guiana, to search for mines; but that scheme having failed to satisfy the avaricious spirit of his king, and politics being changed with regard to Spain, sir Walter was sacrificed to the malice of an enemy over whom he had triumphed in his country's service; — one of the most cruel and tyrannical actions that ever disgraced the name of the basest and most unprincipled of despots.

A marriage had been proposed between prince Charles and a daughter of the king of Spain, and the eagerness with which James courted that alliance, afforded Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, the means of gaining a despicable advantage over a man who had so frequently chastised the insolence and treachery of Spain. The king was base enough to issue a proclamation, expressing his detestation of the conduct of the Guiana expedition; and no sooner was the unfortunate hero returned into England, than he was seized, and again thrown into the Tower; — not to enjoy the little freedom he had before experienced, but to be consigned to one of the most cold and direful dungeons in that fortress.

On the 24th of October 1618, about two months after his recommittal to the Tower, Raleigh was informed that it was the king's intention that he should be put to death! and, four days afterwards, he was taken from his prison to the bar of the King's Bench, where execution was demanded against him, — not for any new offence, but for the crime of which he had been convicted upwards of fourteen years before; although he had since been charged with a commission from the king, as admiral of his fleet, with power of martial law over his subjects!

After the court had granted execution, a warrant was immediately produced, already sealed and signed, for his death, although the king at the same time was in Hertfordshire! Sir Walter was then delivered to the sheriffs of Middlesex, who conveyed him to the Gate-house at Westminster, and about nine o'clock on the following morning, notwithstanding the solicitations, even of the queen, to save his life, he was conducted to a scaffold, erected in Old Palace Yard. The gallant knight met his fate with great fortitude; as he ascended the platform he saluted the lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance with peculiar cheerfulness, and as soon as silence was obtained, he said, " I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and if I shall shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come. " He then turned towards a window where the lords Arundel and Northampton, and some others appeared, and on his expressing a wish that they should hear what he was about to say, they came to the scaffold. He saluted them, and proceeded thus:

" I thank God heartily that he hath brought me into the light to die, and hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison in the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery and cruel sickness. And I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart both to my king and country."

He then entered into a long justification of himself, and concluded by entreating all the people to join with him in prayer to the great God of heaven, whom he had grievously offended.

He prayed that God would forgive him, and cast away his sins from him, and receive his soul into everlasting life. And so, said he, " I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God."

The scaffold was then cleared, and sir Walter prepared himself for the last melancholy scene of his life. He gave his hat, money, and other things to some attendants who were near him, and on taking leave of lord Arundel, he begged him to entreat of the king that he might not be defamed by any writings after his death. Having taken off his gown and doublet, he requested to see the axe, and this not being immediately complied with, he said to the executioner, " Prithee let me see it, dost thou think I am afraid of it?" On feeling its edge he added, with a smile, to the sheriff, " This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician for all diseases." After he had gone to all parts of the scaffold and desired the people to pray to God to assist and strengthen him in this severe trial, the executioner begged forgiveness, and asked which way he would lay upon the block: " So the heart be right," said he, " it is no matter which way the head lays." Kneeling with his face towards the east, he gave a signal, and with two strokes of the axe Raleigh was severed from all the vicissitudes and troubles of this world, and England, by the act of a cold-hearted, unfeeling tyrant, deprived of a man, who, whether regarded as a statesman or a patriot, as a soldier or a seaman, a scholar, a poet, or a philosopher, must be ranked among the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived.

In his " History of the World," as well as in the great variety of political, scientific, and commercial tracts, which proceeded from sir Walter's pen, we find a vast extent of learning and research; a style equal to the best models of his day, and a penetrating and sound judgment: nor, as a poet, does he rank in a lower sphere: his vein for ditty and amorous ode has been pronounced most lofty, insolent, and passionate.[1] The specimens which have been preserved, shew that he wrote with great ease, and they display, with a lively wit, sometimes a glowing, and sometimes a wild and romantic imagination: he was a great promoter of the arts and sciences, and not less distinguished for the success with which he studied them himself: for his improvements in naval architecture he was entitled to the gratitude of his country: to his ardent spirit of enterprise may be attributed many important results; and, while his firmness was ever conspicuous in difficulty and danger, his bravery and zeal in the service of his prince, have seldom had an equal: indeed he was endowed with every qualification to defend his country in time of war, and to adorn it in that of peace.

Coke, among the disgraceful epithets with which he insulted Raleigh at his trial, gave him that of "damnable atheist;" and others have been forward to imprint the same blot upon his name: but this is unjust: though the knight may be looked upon as a man of an ambitious, impatient, and, perhaps, revengeful turn of mind, it is clear he does not merit the odious character of an atheist. Did not his writings evince a genuine spirit of piety, especially his "History of the World," the manner of his death must satisfactorily shew the injustice of such an imputation. After being ordered for execution, he was attended by Dr. Tounson, dean of Westminster, who informs us, that "Raleigh was the most fearless of death that ever was known; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience."—"He said he was persuaded that no man that knew God and feared him, could die with cheerfulness and courage, except he were assured of the love and favor of God unto him. Other men might make shews outwardly, but they felt no joy within; with much to that effect very Christianly, so that he satisfied me then, as I think he did all spectators at his death. After he had received the communion in the morning, he was very cheerful and merry, and hoped, as he said, to persuade the world that he died an innocent man.—He was very cheerful that morning he died, ate his breakfast heartily, and took tobacco, making no more of his death than if he had been to take a journey; and he left a great impression on the minds of those who beheld him." [m]

---

[1] Puttenham's Art of English Poesy.

Such was the testimony of a divine assistant, and to this we may add the following relation of another eye-witness of his death.[n]

" In all the time he was upon the scaffold, nor before, there appeared not the least alteration in him, either in his voice or countenance; but he seemed as free from all manner of apprehension, as if he had been come thither, rather to be a spectator than a sufferer: nay, the beholders seemed much more sensible than he did; so that he hath purchased here in the opinion of men such honor and reputation as it is thought his greatest enemies are they that are most sorrowful for his death, which they see is like to turn so much to his advantage."

Of the lady Arabella Stuart, who was confined in the Tower on the same occasion, with the prisoners above alluded to, we have already spoken.[o]

The year 1605 is distinguished for that memorable conspiracy with which every one is acquainted, — the gunpowder plot; and all eyes were then turned on the Tower, as the prison of the many desperate characters concerned in it. They were lodged in the most secure dungeons in that fortress, and their names are still recorded on a tablet in the room, where the council, sometimes attended by the king himself, met on several occasions to examine them.[p]

The conspirators were arraigned on the 27th of January 1606.[q] Thomas Winter, late of Hoodington, in the county of Warwick gentleman, Guy Fawkes, and Robert Keyes of London, gentlemen, and Thomas Bates of the same place, yeoman, were indicted for plotting to blow up the parliament-house with gunpowder; for taking an oath and the sacrament for secrecy, and for hiring a house and bringing materials for the purpose.—Robert Winter esquire, elder brother of the said Thomas Winter; John Grant, late of Northbrooke, in the county of Warwick, esquire, and Ambrose Rookwood, late of Stanningfield, in the county of Suffolk, esquire, were indicted for being acquainted with the treason afterwards; giving their full consents thereto, and taking oath and the sacrament for secrecy; — and sir Everard Digby, late of Gothurst in the county of Buckingham, knight, was charged with privity to the said treason; yielding assent, and taking his corporal oath for secrecy; and on these accusations they were all found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

---

[m] See Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 421.

[n] In a letter from Thomas Lorkin to sir Thomas Puckering.—*See Harleian MSS.*

[o] See p. 90.

[p] See pp. 126—130.

[q] Stow's Chron. by Howes, p. 881.

On the Thursday after their trials, Digby, the elder Winter, Grant, and Bates, were drawn on hurdles, and suffered according to their sentence, at the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard, where all but Grant died very penitent. "Sir Everard Digby asked forgiveness of God, the king, the queen, the prince, and all the parliament, and protested, that if he had known it at first to have been so foul a treason, he would not have concealed it to have gained a world, requiring the people to witness that he died penitent and sorrowful for this vile treason, and confident to be saved in the merits of his Saviour, Jesus Christ.[r]

On the following morning, the other conspirators, Thomas Winter, Rookewood, Keys, and Fawkes, were brought to a similar fate in the Old Palace Yard, at Westminster, close to the scene of their intended treason. Fawkes, though so firm and resolute after his being first taken to prison, died more penitent than the rest, and besought all catholics never to attempt any such bloody act, being a course which God did never favor nor prosper. Each of these culprits desired it to be known that they died in a steady adherence to the Roman catholic religion.[s] With the exception of Bates, who had obtained some favor by his confessions, all were cut down before they were dead, and their bowels burnt before their eyes; they were then beheaded and quartered:

[r] Stow's Chron. by Howes, p. 881.

[s] Ibid.

their heads were placed on London bridge, and their quarters over the gates of the city.

Besides these, as implicated in the same conspiracy, HENRY EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, the lords Mordant and Stourton, and Garnet, Oldcorn, and Gerrard, — three noted fathers of the order of Jesuits, as well as some other persons of inferior note, were likewise confined in the Tower. The earl was for many years a tenant of these prisons, and by a sentence of the star-chamber was subjected to a fine of thirty thousand pounds.[t] LORD MORDANT, by the same authority, was adjudged to pay ten thousand marks, and LORD STOURTON, six thousand; and they were also remanded to the Tower, to remain during his majesty's pleasure.[u]

The story of FATHER GARNET is one of peculiar interest. He is said to have been a native of Nottinghamshire, and born of honorable parentage in 1550. "When a youth he went into Italy with Ægidius Gallopi, and having been admitted into the college of Jesuits at Rome, he passed through the elementary studies of a religious life, under Fabius de Fabiis, a man not less remarkable for the nobility of his birth than for his religious austerity. Afterwards, turning his mind to the study of sacred and profane learning, under the instruction of Clavius, Bellarmine, and other celebrated men, he soon arrived at that degree of knowledge, that he gave public lectures, first upon Hebrew literature, and afterwards upon metaphysics. He was also chosen president of the mathematical schools, and, in consequence of the illness of Clavius, the professor, he was appointed to fill his station in the college; but he had been before marked out, at his own request, for the English vineyard, and on the recovery of that learned man, Garnet resigned the professorship, and bent his course to England, in 1586. When he had spent two years in administering to the welfare of his neighbours by private exercise of his duty, he was appointed, on the death of Father Weston, to the office of superior of the Jesuits on the English mission, which he performed till his death, in a manner that gained him the love of all his brethren, and the general respect of mankind.

---

[t] Camden

[u] Stow, p. 884.

On the discovery of the gunpowder plot, Garnet had put himself under the protection of Mr. Abbington, whose house at Henlip, in Worcestershire,[x] was constructed with various secret hiding places, which required the greatest labour and perseverance to discover. Thither he had been traced; and, after a diligent search for many days, he and Oldcorn, with their two servants, were found in a state of great want and misery. After Garnet had undergone several examinations by the council in the Tower, he was brought to trial; and, though he had made a long and able defence, he was clearly found guilty of treason, inasmuch as he had been made privy to the plot by the confession of Catesby, and had concealed this knowledge, to the evident danger of the state.

On the 3d of May 1606, this celebrated man was dragged from the Tower on a hurdle to the front of St. Paul's, where he was hanged and quartered. He met his fate with great fortitude and resignation, amid a vast concourse of people.

Father Gerard was committed to the Tower almost immediately after his apprehension. He was there placed in a dungeon: various instruments of torture were shewn to him; and he was threatened with the severest applications of them, unless he made the discoveries that were required of him. This did not avail; and shortly afterwards his hands were screwed into two iron rings, and by these he was fastened to a column at a height that his feet did not reach the ground. In this excruciating position he was kept for an hour; a block was then put under his feet, and for five hours more he remained in that state. He was then removed, but on the morrow he again underwent the same species of punishment. The trial now overcame him, and he fainted, but was restored by pouring vinegar down his throat; and the torture was continued! On the third day he was ordered to it again, but the lieutenant of the Tower interfered.[y] He was then permitted to remain quiet, and at the end of twenty days he regained the use of his limbs. He subsequently escaped out of the Tower, and, after being secreted for some time, crossed the seas, and returned to Rome.

---

[x] See 1st Edit. of this work, p. 544. Note.

[y] Butler's Mem. of the English Catholics.

Father Oldcorn was racked five times, and on one of those occasions, with great severity for several hours. His offence was, that, after the discovery of the plot, and before the proclamation for apprehending the offenders was issued, he had received Father Garnet into his house, and did not inform the government. There was no evidence that he was concerned in the plot, or acquainted with any circumstance connected with it;[z] but he was, nevertheless, tried for misprision of treason, and found guilty. He was hanged at Worcester, cut down while alive, and bowelled and quartered.

In 1614, after abruptly dissolving the parliament, King James committed sir Walter Chute, John Hoskins, Wentworth, and Christopher Nevil, second son of lord Abergavenny, to the Tower;[a] — a rash and arbitrary act, which may be regarded as the commencement of those dissentions between the king and his parliament, which proved a source of so much trouble to the remaining years of the reign of that weak and unpopular monarch, and which finally brought his unhappy son to the block.

Other prisoners of the greatest distinction who were confined in the Tower during the reign of James the First, were sir Thomas Overbury, and the persons connected with his murder; lord Clifton, sir Thomas Lake, the earl and countess of Suffolk, the earl of Arundel, lord chancellor Bacon, sir Edward Coke, the lord chief justice; and the earls of Oxford and Bristol, besides several members of the house of commons.

The imprisonment and fate of Sir Thomas Overbury we may trace to Car, viscount Rochester, afterwards earl of Somerset, and to the countess of Essex; and, when we view all the circumstances connected with it, it presents itself as one of the vilest transactions that ever disgraced the name of a civilized people.

Lord Rochester was a man whose attainments, as well as capacity, were of the meanest class; but his handsome person was a sufficient recommendation to such a monarch as James the First to raise him to unbounded favor; and on the death of Cecil, earl of Salisbury, he was chosen to fill the station of a minister of state. At that time, Overbury was well known at court as aspiring to political advancement, and his pretensions were supported by no ordinary share of talents and accomplishments. The countenance he had experienced from Cecil,[b] had aided not a little to bring him into public notice, and Rochester having made choice of him for his secretary, Overbury even surpassed the expectations that he had raised: — he supplied the want of talent in his patron; and, to use the words of Bacon on the subject, the royal favorite adopted him as "an oracle of direction." Unfortunately, however for Overbury, he was not only the support of Rochester's character in the execution of his public duties, but became his bosom friend, and the confidant of his amours; a circumstance which produced his miserable fate.

---

[z] Butler's Memoirs of the English Catholics.

[a] Reliquia Wotton. Camden's Annals of James I., &c.

The Countess of Essex, then a worthless star of attraction in the court, had fixed her eyes on the elegant person of Rochester, and was not only using her own arts, but had recourse to the imaginary powers of magicians to secure her object. Overbury was acquainted with her intrigues, and, perhaps, interposed no check to his lordship's pleasure, till it appears that he seriously entertained thoughts of making her his wife, and that she was suing for a divorce from the earl of Essex for that purpose. His regard for his friend's character, as well, perhaps, as his own interest, then made him use every means to dissuade his patron from a measure which must be fraught with so much injury to his reputation. This, of course, called forth the vengeance of an indignant mistress, and she found no difficulty in prevailing over her infatuated lover to effectually remove a person who was dangerous to her wishes. By Rochester's perfidious means, Overbury was brought into displeasure with the king, and by that arbitrary and unjust despot he was sent, without a hearing in his defence, to languish, and finally to be brought to the most horrible of deaths in the Tower, where he was excluded from all communication with the world, even with his nearest relations; and sir William Wade, the lieutenant, was removed to make way for sir Gervase Elways, a man more adapted to their purpose. In vain did the helpless prisoner write and reproach the despicable wretch who had caused his ruin: in vain did he remind him of his services, deplore his sufferings, and call upon him for release: in vain did he protest that, if he were suffered thus to die, his blood would be required at his lordship's hands: and, in vain did he threaten to leave behind him such an exposition, that his lordship's shame should never die, but that he should remain the most odious amongst men.[c] He received no answer but such as hypocrisy and dissimulation did suggest: he knew that his betrayer was still bent on marriage with that scandal to the worst of her sex, the countess of Essex, and he gave himself up for lost.[d]

---

[b] Truth brought to Light, or the First XIV years of King James, c. xxviij. p. 54.

The injuries he had received were too great, and the information he possessed was of too deep a dye, to admit his living to tell the tale, and agents were soon found to take away his life by poison. It was mixed in every species of food he took, and the earl of Northampton, sir Thomas Monson, and Elways, were participators in this barbarous deed! His death was finally effected by administering corrosive sublimate; and his body, all disfigured with ulcers and sores, was wrapped in a sheet and hurried, without ceremony, to the grave, on the very day he died, unseen and unattended by a relation or friend, no one daring to inquire into the manner of his death!

Sir Thomas was released from his sufferings at six o'clock in the morning, on the 15th of September 1613, and no sooner was his death known, than that hoary-headed sinner, the earl of Northampton, gave the following instructions to Elways, hoping to hide their united baseness by a pretended shew of respect to the memory of their victim: —

"Worthy Mr. lieutenant. — My lo: of Rochester desiringe to doo the last honor to his deceased frende, requires me to desire you to deliver the body of sir Tho. Overbury to any frende of his that desires it, to doo him honor at his funerall. Herein my lorde declares the constancy of his affection to the deceased, and the meaninge that he had, in my knowledge, to have given his strongest straine at this time of the kinge's being at Tibbalds, in his delivery.

---

[c] Cottonian MSS. Titus, b. vii. 484.

[d] Truth brought to Light, p. 52. Wilson's Hist. of James I.

"I feare no impeachment to this honorable desire of my lordes, but the unsweetnesse of the body, because it was returned that he had some isseues, and in that case the keeping of him above must needes give more offence than it can doo honor.

"My feare also is that the body is already buried upon that cause whereof I write, which being so, it is too late to set our solemnitys.

"Thus with my kindest commendations, I conclude and reste y^{r} affectionate and assured frende. J. Northampton."

"P. S. You see my lorde's earnest desire, with my concurringe care, that all respect be had to him, that may be for the credit of his memory; but yet I wishe withall that you do very discreetely custome yourselfe whether this grace hath been afforded formerly to close-prisoners, and whether you may graunt my requests in this case, who speak out of the sense of my lorde's affection in his frende, though I be a counsellor, without offence or prejudice. For I wold be loth to draw either you or myself into censure, nowe I have well thought of the matter, though it be a worke of charity." [e]

But, on the same morning, the lieutenant had other instructions, probably from the hand of Northampton, or from that of Somerset himself; to which the writer did not venture to put his name: it is addressed, "To my very lovinge and assured frind, sir Gervase Helwyse, lieutenant of the Tower."

"Worthy Mr. lieutenant, let me entreat you to call Cedert and 3 or 4 of his frinds, if so many come to view the body, if they have not already done it, and so soone as it is viewed, without staying the coming of a messenger from the court, in any case see it interred in the body of the chappell within the Tower, instantly.

"If they have viewed, then bury it by and by; for it is tyme, consideringe the names of that damned crewe, that only desire meanes to move it, and raise slanders. Let no man's instances move you to make stay in any case, and bring me these letters when I next see you.

"Faile not a jote herin as you love your frendes, nor, after Cedert and his friends have viewed, stay one minute, but let the prest be ready, and if Cedert be not there, send for him speedily, pretendinge that the body will not tarry. Y^rs ever. In post hast at 12."

---

[e] Cottonian MSS. Titus, b. vii. 479.

Although this horrible affair seems to have excited strong suspicions in the minds of many, besides Overbury's family, at the time; and though circumstances afterwards transpired to confirm them, no one ventured to raise a voice on the subject, nor was it till nearly two years afterwards, when Somerset began to be eclipsed by the rise of Villiers, that the murderers were brought to justice.

Weston, who attended upon Overbury in the Tower, and who administered the poison in his food, was the first that was taken into custody. He was then stubborn, and would own nothing, but at last made a full discovery; and thereupon, Mrs. Turner, the infamous agent of lady Essex, sir Gervase Elways, sir Thomas Monson, and Franklin, were apprehended and committed to prison, as were Essex and his lady shortly afterwards.

At the trial of Weston, in October 1615, it was clearlv shewn that he was placed in the Tower by Monson, at the instance of the countess of Somerset, to attend on the unfortunate Overbury, and that he had from time to time administered poisons to him, which were sent by the countess, or supplied by Turner. He was found guilty, and executed at Tyburn; where with his last breath he confirmed the truth of his confessions.

Anne Turner was arraigned in November, and the many horrible facts that were proved on that occasion, as well as at the trial of Weston, display her character, and that of the countess, to be base beyond the power of words to describe. In the early stages of their infamous dealings they had employed the arts of Forman, a reputed magician, to procure the death of the earl of Essex, by force of enchantment, and to gain to the countess the love of the earl of Somerset, then viscount Rochester, and also that of sir Arthur Mainwaring to Turner, the prisoner; and various disgusting images which they had used in these arts were produced in court, as well as letters of the very lowest kind which the countess had written to Forman, and to the prisoner, on these subjects. The following letter[f] gives a curious account of her execution, and of the trial and death of Elways, who was the next that was brought to justice.

"My deare friend.—You must not finde it strange that my l^res^ come so slowly after yo^w^; myne owne private occasions, but the desire to give yo^u^ a summarie of twoe or three acts of this tragedie at one view, have been the meanes to make me thus tardife.

"Since I sawe yo^w^, I sawe M^rs^. Turnor dye: if detestations of painted-pride, lust, malice, powdered haire, yellow bands, and the rest of the wardrobe of court-vanities; if deepe sighs, teares, confessions, ejaculations of the soule, admonitions of all sortes of people to make God and an unspotted conscience alwayes their freends; if the possession of faith and hope to be washed by the same Savio^r^, and by the like merrits that Mary Magdalen was, be signes and demonstrations of a blest penitent, then I will tell yo^u^ that this poore broken woman went à cruce ad gloriam, and now enjoyes the presence of hirs and our Redeemer. Hir body being taken downe by hir brother, (one Norton, servant to the prince,) was in a coache conveyed to S^t^. Martins of the Field, where, in the evening of the same day, she had an honest and decent buryall. Since her death, I was present at the tryall of the lieutenant, who entered into his answere and defence w^th^ so great art to move affections, and layd his ground worke w^th^ so much shew of soundnesse and confidence, by bynding himselfe w^th^ a protestac'on to God, that he would not in the course of his defence speake a lye to save his life, that all men that had brought hither indifferent eares, both wished him innocent, and expected the conclusion should leave him as they wished. But an examination of Francklin's being produced, wherein he confessed, that being at the countesse of Essex chamber w^th^ hir and Turnor, about the preparing of divers poisons, and a l^re^ from the lieutenant being brought to hir at that instant, w^ch^ shee could not well reade, he was co'manded to reade the same unto hir, w^ch^ he did, and thereof he well remembered one chiefe passage, w^ch^ was, that 'this scab is like the fox, the more he is cursed, the more he thrives.'

---

[f] Cottonian MSS. Titus, b. vii. 477.

This passage being urged, he was shaken as wth a thunderbolt, having nothing to reply further either in denyall or interpretation; whereupon there followed the sentence of his death, w^{ch} he underwent the 20th of this present at Tower Hill, being the place whereon he had obtayned by his suite to my lo. chiefe justice and the rest of the com^{rs}, to suffer, to the end he might avoyd the ignominy of the common gibbett.

" Being come to the place, and having ascended the ladder, he began a well ordered speech, acknowledging the justness and roundnesse that had binn used towards him in the proceedings, and the gracious favour he had received to be allowed that place to finish his life upon; where, viewing the stage where he acted his sinne, he might more deeply imprint the occasions to beget repentance. He added, that worldly respects had been begettors of this sinne in him, and that he had notes and instructions from tyme to tyme from the E. of North'ton and s^{r} Tho. Mounson, for the usage of his prisoner; of whome, and of all other persons and circumstances belonging to that subject, he had the Sonday before given a full and true confession to my lo. cheife justice; that he had taken the seales of the precious body and bloud of Jesus Christ upon it, as a signe of the truth of his confession, and would now wth his owne bloud witnesse that he had delivered all the truth that was wthin his knowledge.

" He passed from hence to recite the infinite mercyes of God, that had not taken him away by any suddayne judgem^{t}. He professed his true and unfayned sorrow for his heinous sin, wth assured hope that he was bound upp in the bundle of the living, and that the blessed angells were now about him to carry his soule, wthin few mynutes, into those eternall mansions, where he should see his Saviour face to face. Then he made a most fervent and devoute prayer. After he exhorted all that saw him to take heed of looseness of life, and hypocresie, telling them that his youth had been ryotous and wastefull, repeating twoe judgem^{ts} wherein he sawe God had found him in this very business, the one for having wished, upon a tyme, when he had lost money at gaming, that God would give him grace to forbeare it, and that if he ever played againe, hanging might be his end; w^{ch}, said he, is now come upon me; for, allured by company, it was not long after that I brake this vowe and wishe. The next was his excessive pride in the faculty of his pen, wherein North'ton and others of hable judgem^{ts} had given him much co'mendacions, as having more hablenesse then other men; and nowe he found that his owne handwriting prooved a snare to take away his life; for he said he thought in his conscience if it had not been for that l^{re} menc'oned in Francklyn's confession, he had not now lost his life, protesting that he could not yet bring to mynd why he writt any such l^{re} to the countesse. He told the people he knew what infamy such a kinde of death had, w^{ch} he was then presently to undergo: but the maner of it presented itself to his consideration as a phisicall potion came to the hand of a patient, who doth swallow it downe, not fastning upon the culler or bitternes, but upon the end to w^{ch} it delivers him; and so calling on the name of God, with more than manly couradge, with the touch of the executioner he went down from the ladder.

"The next that follows upon the stage, is Francklyn, who was yeasterday arraigned at Westm^{r}, and sentenced to dy at Tiborne. On Thursday next s^{r} Tho. Mounson comes to the bar: the bill of indictment was found by the grand inquest to be billa vera, on Thursday last.

"It is generally said that the L. of Somersett shall come to his tryall on the 5th of December. He still seems not to be shaken with these stormes, making great protestations to the lieutenant present what he will do, when he shall resume his wonted station and brightnesse. If this constancy and carelesnes be of innocency, I should admire him as a man that hath his mynd of an admirable building, but if it proceede from insensiblenesse, I will pity him as more wretched than those that have been found nocent. Nihil miserius est homine non seipsum miserante.

"'I have sent your 2 letters of the countesse, urged at Turnor's arraignment. Yo^{u} will see by them how abusively hir lust wronged those great judgem^{ts} that spake for hir separation from that noble Essex, upon whom shee practized magiam maleficam, to restrayne him ne potens esset ad coeundum.'—'S^{r} Will. Monson hath been lately sent for to appeare here, but cannot be found. S^{r} Robert Cotton, the antiquary, hath withdrawen himself, et in angulis latet. Jewells of the L. of Somerset to the valew of 60,000*l.* were lately surprized, that had been co'mitted to Cotton's trust.'

" The E. of North'ton's name was much used at the arraignment of the lieutenant. His l^{res} to Somerset were read, touching the marriadge of his l'p wth that virtuous lady, his kinswoman. It would turne chast bloud into water to heare the unchast and uncleane phrases that were contayned in them : but olebat Gorgonius hircum. Vale ex animo, et ama tuissimum. J. CASTLE."

Over the rest of the proceedings relative to Overbury's murder, there is a mystery which is difficult to unfold. Sir Thomas Monson was also arraigned.[g] He was indicted as an accessory to the poisoning of Overbury; but, in the midst of his trial, owing, as was supposed, to some remarkable expressions made use of by the chief justice, Coke, the proceedings were suddenly stopped by command of the king, and the prisoner conducted from the bar by some yeomen of the guard, and re-lodged in the Tower; whence he was afterwards discharged, without farther punishment.[h] How the chief justice's speech touched his majesty is uncertain, but it incurred his violent and lasting displeasure, and it was rumoured that, in the heat of his passion, James went to the council-table, and kneeling down there, " desired God to lay a curse upon him and his posterity for ever, if he were consenting to Overbury's death ! "[i]

The trials of the earl and countess of Somerset were deferred till nearly the middle of the following year, but in the interim they underwent examinations in the Tower,[k] and hopes of mercy were held out to them in case of their making candid confessions.[l] The countess was arraigned in May 1616, and, after some equivocations, she owned the fact, begging the intercession of the peers for mercy. The earl was tried on the following day: he stood firm upon his innocency, but all the circumstances of the case, — his quarrel with Overbury, — his dread of his discovering " secrets that would destroy his reputation " and fortune, — his perfidious dealing to get him into prison, —his procuring the removal of the lieutenant of the Tower, and substituting Elways in his room,—his getting Weston appointed to be his keeper,—his artful dissimulation in having him detained there, and, above all, his correspondence with Northampton and others, clearly shewed that he was a principal actor in this barbarous scene, and his peers had no hesitation in finding him guilty.

---

[g] Truth brought to Light, p. 160.

[h] See 1st. Edit. p. 558. Note.

[i] Life and Reign of James I.

[k] Cabala, p. 30. 33. Truth brought to Light, p. 69.

[l] Cabala, p. 34, 35.

After this, it was the natural expectation of the world that the sentence of the law, which had been so deservedly executed on the instruments, would with equal justice have been awarded to the principals in this base transaction. On the first discovery of the murder, James had called down the curse of God upon himself and his posterity, if he shewed respect to persons, or spared any that might be found guilty; [m] but otherwise was his conduct. Before their trials, he had been at infinite pains to have the earl conduct himself meekly and discreetly before his peers; [n] he had given directions that the counsel for the prosecution should refrain from bitterness and insulting; they were commanded to bear in mind that their part was to make him delinquent to his judges, but not odious to the people; [o] and when we remember his agitation and dread during the earl's trial, coupled with ulterior circumstances, we have strong reasons to conclude that, for some dark and unfathomable cause, James dared not to visit these despicable wretches with their deserved punishment.[p]

After their sentence, both of these great delinquents were replaced in the Tower, not to be brought forth to appease the call of justice by their deaths, but to remain till the minds of the people were sufficiently tranquillized to admit of their liberation! The lady, at her trial, had received hopes of mercy, not only from the attorney-general, but from the lord-steward, as the reward of her penitence and confession. The former had "commended her for her natural endowments, and the nobility of her birth, which was equal," he said, "to the greatest of the lordlike line," but most of all for her penitent confession, "with many sentences in praise of repentance, as the corner-stone of grace;"[q] and the latter, when passing sentence upon her, indulged in the same strain, and promised to be an intercessor for her with the king, and hoped that the other lords would do likewise.

---

[m] Weldon's Court of James I., p. 93.

[n] Cabala, pp. 55, 56.

[o] Ibid. pp. 34, 35.

[p] Mallett's Life of Bacon, pp. 65—72.

[q] Cottonian MSS.

It seems clear that, though the king could not do otherwise than bring them to trial, he had determined to screen them from the course of justice,[r] and this, most likely, for fear of the disclosure of some hidden secret, which most vitally touched his own character. The countess of Somerset had pardon granted her, "because the processe and judgment against her were not as of a principal, but as an accessory before the fact;"[s] and though the earl was kept in the Tower for some years afterwards, James vouchsafed to him such favor that his arms were not allowed to be removed out of the chapel at Windsor, ordering "that felony should not be reckoned amongst the disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the order of St. George, which was without precedent!"[t]

The earl was released from the Tower in January 1622, and in October 1624, a remission was granted him under the great seal: he was suffered to enjoy the greatest part of his estate, and he even ventured to expostulate on his hard usage, in not being restored to the whole. In a very mysterious letter written by him to the king on this subject, he says, "I have presumed to this end to awaken your majesty's own conceit upon this subject, which can gather to itself better and more able defences in my behalf upon this view; for though the acts of your mercy, which are not communicable, nor the causes of them, as being derived from those secret motives which are only sensible and privy to your own heart, and admits of no secret or discovery to any general satisfaction; yet my cause needs not hide itself, but attend the dispute with any that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy shape." He afterwards tells the king that, "the crime whereupon he was judged might have been none, if his majesty's hand had not touched upon it; and that he fell rather for want of well defending, than by the violence or force of any proofs; for," says he, "I so far forsook myself and my cause, that it may be a question whether I was more condemned for that, or for the matter itself." He adds, "I will say no farther, neither in that which your majesty doubted my aptness to fall into; for my cause nor my confidence is not in that distress as for to use that mean of intercession, but to remember your majesty that I am the workmanship of your hands."[u] — Somerset lived to an old age in a very obscure retreat, where he was sometimes visited by King James, but never countenanced by his son. The countess died before him, the most deplorable and loathsome of beings.[x]

---

[r] See Cabala, pp. 34, 35.

[s] See the pardon, in Truth brought to Light, p. 177.

[t] Camden.

Respecting the imprisonment of the other persons who were confined in the Tower, during the reign of King James the First, there is but little to claim our interest.

GERVASE LORD CLIFTON was committed December 13, 1617,[y] for threatening the death of the lord keeper; and in the latter part of the following year he put a period to his existence.[z]

SIR THOMAS LAKE was one of the secretaries of state. He, his wife, and their daughter lady Roos, were committed to the Tower in February 1619,[a] for having cast imputations on the character of the countess of Exeter, accusing her of witchcraft, and of incest with lord Roos. The matter was tried in the star-chamber, in the presence of the king, and sentence given against sir Thomas, who was deprived of his offices, and fined.[b] He subsequently begged pardon of the countess, and was set at liberty; he also besought the lords to intercede with the king for his favor,[c] and a short time afterwards kissed the king's hand; but his lady obstinately refused to submit, and was for a long time confined in the Tower.[d]

The EARL AND COUNTESS OF SUFFOLK were imprisoned in the Tower in 1619. The earl had been lord treasurer, and it was found that, in the exercise of his office, he and his lady had been guilty of bribery and corruption. By sentence of the star-chamber, they were ordered to pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure;[e] but, by mediation of the duke of Buckingham, were soon afterwards released from prison,[f] restored to favor, and had part of their fine remitted.

---

[u] This letter is printed in the Cabala.

[x] Wilson, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 699.

[y] Camden.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Ibid. Wilson's Life of James I.

[f] Cabala, pp. 334, 335.

On the 21st of February 1621, after a warm debate in parliament respecting grievances, the commons sent sir Francis Mitchel to the Tower, with great disgrace, for exactions upon the public innkeepers and sellers of beer and ale. On the 5th of May he was brought to trial at the bar, and sentenced to be degraded from the honor of knighthood, but without prejudice to his wife and children; that he should have no office; should be fined a thousand pounds, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

The EARL OF ARUNDEL, whose imprisonment occurred in the same year, was committed by the lords, for a disorderly proceeding in their house, in a debate between him and lord Spencer. The noble lord, who, like the Roman dictator, took delight in a life of retirement, rather than in the pomp and dissipations of the court, happened to allude to some past transactions, in which both their ancestors had been concerned; and the circumstance not suiting the earl's ears, he sharply answered, "My lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep." "When my ancestors, as you say," replied lord Spencer, "were keeping sheep, yours, my lord, were plotting treason." This retort led to still greater violence, and each was supported by his party. They were put in charge of officers of the house, and their offence was made a subject of discussion. The court party endeavoured to excuse the earl, but this heat and rashness having begun with him, his conduct could not be justified, and he was commanded by the house to give lord Spencer such satisfaction as they prescribed; and, not condescending to obey, their lordships sent him to the Tower till he did so.[g]

It was the same year also that produced the imprisonment of those bright luminaries of the age, FRANCIS BACON VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS, the chancellor, and SIR EDWARD COKE, the late lord chief justice:[h] the former was sent thither to a short confinement, on the well-known occasion of his fall from greatness; and the latter, who had never fully recovered the king's favor, which he lost by some expressions at the trial of sir Thomas Monson, was committed, with other members of the house of commons, for the memorable stand which they made in defence of the rights and privileges of that assembly, against the arbitrary exercise of the king's prerogative.

---

[g] Lords' Journals. Wilson's life of James I.

[h] His son, Clement Coke, was also confined in the Tower in the same year, for insolently affronting Morison; as was Robert Philips and other Members of Parliament, for opposing the prince's marriage, in the year following.—*Camden.*

The EARL OF OXFORD was imprisoned in 1622, for the bold declarations which he made against the contemplated alliance with Spain, though he was joined in them by the general feeling of the nation: and the EARL OF BRISTOL, who had been ambassador at the court of Madrid, was confined in 1624, for circumstances connected with the same treaty of marriage; and articles of impeachment were exhibited against him of high treason.

During the unhappy reign of King Charles the First, the Tower was frequently the prison of some of that parliamentary faction which eventually overturned the government of the church and state, and immerged the country in all the horrors attendant on civil discord.

In 1626, SIR DUDLEY DIGGS and SIR JOHN ELLIOT were committed for the conspicuous part which they took in the impeachment of the duke Buckingham: but the house of commons having taken up the subject, and, by vote, justified the conduct of its members, they were released.[i]

In the same year, also, the Tower was the prison of the EARL OF ARUNDEL, on account of his son's marriage with the sister of the duke of Lenox; but this rigid exercise of the royal authority produced great discontent among the peers: they voted unanimously, that, "no lord ought to be committed during the sessions of parliament but by judgment of their own body, except for treason, felony, or for breach of the peace;" and in pursuance thereof they voted "a remonstrance to the king, declaring their right, and praying for the earl's release." Of this petition, however, his majesty took no notice, and the peers, irritated by the neglect, drew up a second memorial, calling for a present answer to their former address, in a tone which increased the widening breach between them and their king. Charles expressed himself indignant at the demand of a "present answer," and a second petition was drawn up, omitting the word "present;" which in some degree allayed his majesty's anger, and he sent for the lords to Whitehall, where, in a courteous manner, he shewed them the difference of the case of members of the house of commons and that of the earl of Arundel; adding, that "he had just cause for detaining his lordship in prison, with which he would acquaint them as soon as he possibly might.[k]"

---

[i] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 6.

These evasions, however, were but ill calculated to meet the turbulent spirit of the times, and the peers presented a new petition, pressing "that his majesty would be pleased to release the earl, or to declare the reasons for detaining him in prison, protesting that it was contrary to their privileges:"[l] but the only reply his majesty condescended to give them was, that they should have satisfaction before the end of the session.[m] The house adjourned for a week; on its re-assembling, Charles signified to the lords, "that he would, within a fortnight, either release the earl of Arundel, or shew the cause;" and accordingly his lordship was liberated, without any ground being shewn for his long detention in prison.[n]

Although the commons were turbulent and discontented; and notwithstanding that they resisted with so much boldness every act that bore a semblance to an arbitrary exercise of the king's prerogative, a strong spirit of loyalty still manifested itself in their proceedings. Mr. Moore, one of their members, and a violent opposer of the crown, having ventured, about this time, to use expressions reflecting in an unbecoming manner on the king, he was arrested by order of the house, and immediately committed to the Tower.[o]

In 1628, the Tower was the prison of a man, whose name has obtained a space in history by a desperate act, to which our own age has unfortunately furnished a parallel, though far longer and more deeply to be lamented, — JOHN FELTON, the assassin of the duke of Buckingham.[p]

In 1628, several members of the house of commons, among whom were HOLLIS, SELDEN, HOBART, ELLIOT, and VALENTINE, were committed to the Tower as close prisoners for their violent conduct in parliament on the question of tonnage and poundage. Their papers were seized; they were treated with severity at once injurious to their health and fortunes, and there sir John Elliot died.[q]

---

[k] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 7.

[l] Ibid. Diar. Procerum. A°. 1626.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Whitelock, ut supra.

[o] Whitelock, p. 7.

[p] See 1st Edit. pp. 565 – 568.

In the next year Mr. LONG was committed by the star-chamber, for that, "contrary to his oath when he was made a sheriff, which required him to keep within his county, he came to parliament, and served as a member there, and in time of parliament resided out of his county." He was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks to the king, to be imprisoned in the Tower, and to make submission.[r]

In 1631, the Tower was the prison of MERVIN LORD AUDLEY and earl of Castlehaven. He was committed for aiding one of his servants in committing a rape on the countess, his wife, and other most horrible crimes. He was found guilty, and, on the 14th of May, was beheaded on Tower-hill.[s]

The persons of greatest distinction confined in the Tower during the remaining period of King Charles the First, were lord Loudon, the earl of Strafford, Laud archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Pembroke, and lord Mowbray, Palmer, and the twelve bishops, besides some others, committed by the houses of lords and commons, whose stories are less interesting.

LORD LOUDON, who was afterwards lord chancellor of Scotland, was a man highly distinguished in his subsequent political career in life: he came into England under the security of a safe conduct, in 1639, as one of the commissioners from the Scots covenanters; and, being admitted to the king's presence, his lordship advocated with great ability the cause of his countrymen: he declared the independence of the crown of Scotland, and justified the transactions of the parliament: he argued that they were agreeable to the articles of the pacification, to the laws, and to the customs of the kingdom; and desired a ratification of their proceedings.[t] But this tone was soon checked by the production of a letter written to the King of France, and signed by the lords Rothes, Montrose, Mar, Loudon, and Forrester; in which they addressed his majesty as the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, most humbly beseeching him to give faith and credence to Mr. Colvil, whom they had sent to represent the candour and openness of their proceedings, and to obtain his assistance.[u]

---

[q] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 2.

[r] Whitelock, p. 14.

[s] Whitelock, p. 16.

[t] Crawford's Lives, p. 201.

This letter, which was intercepted, and had come into the king's hands, was found to be written by lord Loudon himself; and, notwithstanding his character as a deputy, he and Colvil were committed to the Tower,[x] where his lordship was examined on the subject, by lord Cottington, secretary Windebank, and the attorney-general;[y] but he refused to give any other answer, than that it was written before the pacification at Berwick, to be in readiness, and that upon that agreement it was suppressed.[z]

His imprisonment was highly resented by the Scottish lords, as it was a breach of the law of nations to meddle with any public messenger; but Charles thought that no consideration could warrant his subjects in committing treason, and there were some about his majesty who advised him to proceed capitally against his lordship:[a] indeed, it should seem that his escape with his life was a very narrow one: for we are told that, "while he lay prisoner in the Tower, King Charles, in his passionate resentments against him, sent a warrant to sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute the prisoner for high treason the next morning. The lieutenant acquainted the earl of Loudon with the warrant he had received, and desired his opinion how to avoid the execution of it. The earl of Loudon, after a grievous complaint that he had been very unjustly committed to that prison, and was to have his life barbarously taken away, earnestly desired Balfour to go to the marquis of Hamilton, and beg his advice and good offices in it. He went accordingly to court that evening, to find out the marquis, but could not light upon him till his majesty was gone to bed. The marquis and the lieutenant came back to the chamber door, and were much surprised to find that the king was in bed. After some waiting and fretting, some one told sir William Balfour that, as lieutenant of the Tower, he had privilege to knock at the king's chamber door at any hour of the night, and so have admission to his majesty. Upon which encouragement he did knock, till he was heard by the groom of the bed-chamber, who asked, Who was there? Balfour answered, 'The lieutenant of the Tower, upon business with the king.' The king bade him let him in. He came, and fell on his knees at the bed-side, and begged to know whether the warrant for the execution of Loudon was legally obtained from his majesty, and whether he could legally proceed in the execution of it? using some arguments and entreaties for the recalling, at least the suspending of it. 'No,' says the king, 'the warrant is mine, and you shall obey it.' Upon which the marquis of Hamilton, who had stood at the door, stepped up, and fell likewise on his knees before the king, and begged that he would not insist upon such an extraordinary resolution. The king seemed very peremptory in it; till the marquis, in a way of taking leave, said to this effect: 'Well, then, if your majesty be so determined, I'll go, and get ready to ride post for Scotland to-morrow morning; for I am sure, before night, the whole city will be in an uproar, and they'll come and pull your majesty out of your palace. I'll get as far as I can, and declare to my countrymen that I had no hand in it.' The king was struck at this, and bid the marquis call the lieutenant again; who, coming back to the bed-side, the king said, give me the warrant; and taking it, tore it in pieces."[b] After some time his lordship was released, and returned into Scotland.

---

[u] Crawford's Lives, p. 201.

[x] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 103.

[y] Whitelock, p. 33.

[z] Ibid. Crawford's Lives, p. 201.

[a] Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 161.

That great and noble character, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, whose name stands so conspicuous in the annals of our country, as a commoner and as a peer, in the cabinet and in the field, during a large portion of the reign of Charles the First, was imprisoned in the Tower, and ended his days on the adjoining hill, in 1641.

Envied in his elevation, and dreaded for his weight and talents, his fate was determined by that revolutionary faction which had then unhappily gained an ascendancy in the nation, and which shortly overturned the whole fabric of the constitution, and led their sovereign to the block.

---

[b] See Append. to Enquiry into Glamorgan's Transactions, p. 15. Crawford's Lives, p. 201. Ludlow no Liar, p. 40. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 140, &c.

Soon after the assembling of a parliament, in November 1640, his implacable enemy, Mr. Pym, appeared at the bar of the upper house, and in behalf of the commons, impeached the earl of Strafford of high treason;[c] and the peers thereupon committed his lordship to the custody of the Black Rod, till the particular articles of his charge were exhibited against him: a select committee, consisting, for the most part, of the principal revolutionary leaders in the house of commons, was appointed to prepare and draw up the articles of his accusation, and to manage the evidence against him at his trial; and each of its members was laid under an engagement of secrecy, in regard of the nature and greatness of the business.[d] On the 30th of January 1641, Mr. Pym presented to the lords twenty-eight articles of accusation against the earl, and after some disputes between the two houses, as to the forms of proceeding, he was brought to trial in Westminster-hall, where great preparations had been made for this solemn occasion. His lordship appeared in a black suit, wearing the order of St. George: his countenance manly dark; his person proper, but somewhat stooping, by reason of a bodily suffering;[e] his manner exceedingly graceful, and in his speech a clearness and strength of reasoning that must have acquitted him in any court where innocence could have had the protection of justice.

This celebrated trial lasted seventeen days, and it is acknowledged, even by one of his prosecutors,[f] that, "never any man acted his part on such a theatre, with greater reason, constancy, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did;" and such was the power of his eloquence, that he moved the hearts of all his auditors, and many who hated him as a minister, as sincerely pitied him as a man.

In conclusion, he took a summary view of his long and able defence: "It is hard," said he, "to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shewn: where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede the promulgation of a law, and to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extremely hard: what man can be safe if this be admitted? My lords, it is severe in another respect, that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence: no admonition, by which we should avoid it. If a boat split upon an anchor, which hath no buoy floating to warn the passenger, he that owneth the anchor should make satisfaction: but if a mark be set there, every man then passeth at his own peril. Now, my lords, where is the beacon: where the token upon this crime to declare it to be treason? My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage, as never to expose yourselves to such moot points: such constructive interpretations of laws. If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject matter be somewhat else than the lives, the honors, and the liberties of the peers of England. It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts; and betake ourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, which telleth us what is, and what is not treason, without being more ambitious than were our forefathers, to be learned in the art of killing.

---

[c] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 139. Whitelock, p. 38.

[d] Whitelock, p. 39.

[e] Ibid. p. 42.

[f] Ibid. p. 44.

"May your lordships please not to add this to my misfortunes: let not a precedent be derived from me so disadvantageous, as this will be in its consequences, to the whole kingdom: do not through me wound yourselves and the interests of the commonwealth. Do not, my lords, put such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honor, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public: if you weigh them by grains and scruples, the affairs of the kingdom must lay waste; for no man will meddle with them who hath ought to lose.

"My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges which a saint in heaven hath left me. What I forfeit for myself, is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity: something I should have added, but I am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, whether that judgment be for life or death."

Perhaps no measures ever reflected deeper disgrace than those pursued against this unfortunate peer did on his persecutors: they endeavoured to intimidate his counsel to betray or desert his cause; every means were adopted to deprive him of such evidence as was best calculated to disprove his guilt; and equally vigilant were they in straining every point, to give to common errors the air and dye of treason. But in this they failed. Fearing that the judgment of the lords would not accord with their wishes, they adopted another, and still more arbitrary course, by proceeding against him by bill of attainder, voting him guilty of high treason, without allowing a defence or answer. The motion for ingrossing the bill was attended with a sharp debate. Lord Digby, who, with great honor and spirit, had protected the earl at his trial, now stood forward as the strenuous opposer of a measure still more arbitrary and unjust,[g] and there were eight and fifty other members who possessed sufficient uprightness and independence to raise their voices in the same cause: but the bill passed the commons' house on the 21st of April, and the same day it was sent to the lords.[h]

While the bill lay in the upper house, the king manifested great and laudable anxiety for the earl's safety:[i] he called both the houses together, and earnestly desired them not to proceed severely against his minister, whom he would answer for, as to most of the main particulars of the charge against him; declaring that, in conscience, he could not condemn the earl of high treason, and that neither fear, nor any other respect, should make him go contrary to the dictates of his reason.[k] But all in vain! the parliament was rather enraged by this untimely interference:[l] popular fury was raised by violent harangues from the pulpit; and, encouraged by the revolutionary leaders, thousands of the lower orders assembled about the house of peers, crying out for, what they termed, "justice." They posted up the names of those members who had voted against the bill in the lower house; they insulted such of the peers as they took to be unfavorable to their wishes, and many, from fear of these tumults, absented themselves from their seats, and this tyrannical measure passed.[m]

---

[g] Whitelock, p. 45.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Clarendon. Whitelock.
[k] Clarendon. Whitelock.
[l] Clarendon.

Nothing was now wanting, save the king's assent, to satiate their thirst for blood. But this he refused to give; and the rabble, which had before surrounded the house of lords, now besieged the palace, reiterating their cries for justice: every hour seemed to increase the strength and violence of the mob, and the privy council was called, to advise his majesty as to means of suppressing tumults, which had now begun to threaten destruction to the state: "but," says lord Clarendon, "instead of considering how to rescue their master's honor and his conscience from this violence and constraint, they pressed the king to pass the bill of attainder, as the only means of preserving himself and his posterity; adding, that he ought to be more tender of the safety of the kingdom, than of any one person, however innocent."[n] The injustice, however, of such a measure was too deeply imprinted on the king's mind to allow him to yield to such a proposition, replying, that it was at direct variance with his conscience, and that, being so, he was sure they would not persuade him to it, though themselves were never so well satisfied:[o] but the archbishop of York rejoined, that "there was a private and a public conscience: that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do, that which was against his private conscience as a man: and that the question was not, whether he should save the earl of Strafford, but, whether he should perish with him! adding, that the conscience of a king to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of a father to preserve his children, all which were now in danger, weighed down abundantly all the considerations that the conscience of a master, or of a friend, could suggest to him, for the preservation of a friend or servant!"[p]

---

[m] Clarendon. [n] Ibid. vol. i. p. 202. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid.

Thus was the unhappy king basely deserted, and left without a single supporter, in his laudable opposition to the sacrifice of his minister. But in this trying situation he was consoled and relieved by the magnanimous spirit of the noble prisoner himself! The earl of Strafford, sensible of the still-increasing dangers by which his majesty was surrounded, addressed to him, from his prison, the following pathetic letter,[q] offering his own death to be the mean of restoring peace between him and his people:

"May it please yo^{r} sacred ma^{ty}.

"It hath been my greatest griefe in all these troubles, to be taken as a person w^{ch} should indevour to represent and sett things amiss betwixt yo^{r} ma^{ty} and your people, and to give counsell tending to the disquiet of the 3 kingdoms.

"Most true it is, that this, my private condition considered, had byn a great madness; since, through yo^{r} gracious favours, I was soe provided as not to expect in any kind to mend my fortunes, or please my mind, more than by resting where yo^{r} bounteous hands had placed me. Nay, it is most mightely mistaken; for, unto yo^{r} ma^{ty} it is well knowne, my poor and humble advises concluded still in this, that yo^{r} ma^{ty} and yo^{r} people could never be happy 'till there were a right understanding procured betwixt you and them. No other meanes to effect and settle this happines, but the councell and assent of yo^{r} parliament, or to prevent the growing evills upon this estate, but by intirely putting yourselfe in the last resorts, upon the loialty and good affections of yo^{r} English subjects.

"Yet, such is my misfortune, this truth finds little credite: the contrary, it seems, is generally believed, and myselfe reputed as something of separation betwixt you and the people: under a heavier sentence than w^{ch}, I am perswaded no gentleman can suffer.

"Now I understand the minds of men are more incensed against me, notwithstanding yo^{r} ma^{ty} hath declared y^{t}, in yo^{r} princely opinion, I am not guilty of treason, nor are you satisfied in yo^{r} conscience to pass the bill. This brings me into a very great streight. Heere is before me y^{e} ruine of my children and family, hitherto untouched in all the branches of it, w^{t} any foule crimes:

[q] Harleian MSS. No. 416 —Dated, "Tower, this 4th of May, 1641."

heere are before me the many ills w^{ch} may befall your sacred person and the whole kingdom, should y^{r}selfe and parliament part less satisfied one wth the other, then is necessarie for y^{e} preservation of both king and people: heere are before me the things most valued, most feared by mortall man,—life or death.

"To say, sir, that there hath not been a strife in me, weare to make me lesse man, then, God knowes, my infirmities give me; and to call a destruction upon myselfe and my young children, where y^{e} intentions of my hart, at least, have been innocent of this great offence, may be believed, would find no easy consent from flesh and blood: but out of much sadness I am come to a resolution of that w^{ch} I take to be best becomming me,—to look upon that w^{ch} is most principal in itselfe, w^{ch} doubtless is the prosperity of yo^{r} sacred person and the commonwealth, infinitely before any man's private interest:

"And, therefore, in few words, as I put myselfe wholy upon the honor and justice of my peers, so cheerfully as to beseech yo^{r} ma^{ty} might please to have spared that declaration of yours on Saturday last, and entirely to have left me to their lo^{ps}, so now to set your ma$^{tie's}$ conscience at liberty, I do most humbly beseech your ma^{ty}, in prevention of mischiefes, w^{ch} may happen by your refusall, to pass this bill, and by this meanes remove, (praised be God, I cannot say this accursed,) but I confess, this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards y^{t} blessed agreement, w^{ch} God, I trust, shall ever establish betwixt you and your subjects.

"Sir, my consent shall acquitt you herein more to God then all the world can doe besydes. To a willing man there is no injury done: and as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world wth a calmeness and meekeness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soule, so, sir, to you I can give the life of this world, wth all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the first acknowledgement of your exceeding favours: and only ask y^{t}, in your goodness, y^{u} would vouchsafe to cast your gratious regard upon my poore sonne and his three sisters, less or more, and no otherwise then, as their present unfortunate father may hereafter appear more or less worthy of this death. God long preserve your ma^{ty}.

"Your ma$^{tye's}$ most faithfull, and most humble subject and servant.

"STRAFFORD."

The delivery of this letter being quickly known, new arguments were applied, "that this free consent clearly absolved the king from any scruple that could remain with him;" and so, seeing no hopes of appeasing his enemies, and after he had vainly endeavoured to concert means for his escape out of the Tower,[r] Charles was constrained to sign a commission to certain lords to pass the bill; which they did, and his majesty sent secretary Carleton to the earl to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, especially his own consent. He received the message with some astonishment, not thinking that the king would have yielded; and, on being assured by the secretary that the bill had passed, he rose from his chair, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, and laying his hands on his heart, he is said to have exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation.[s]"

The censure which the loyal party passed upon the king, for thus sacrificing this most faithful servant, was only equalled by his own remorse; and the next day, he sent by the prince to the lords, a letter written entirely with his own hands, "that they would confer with the house of commons to spare the earl's life, and that it would be a high contentment to him:"[t] but his request was disregarded; and we are thus brought to the closing scene of this distinguished person.

On the 12th of May 1641, the earl of Strafford was led from his prison to meet his fate on the adjoining hill, and such was the popular fury against him, that, when summoned to the place of execution, the lieutenant begged he would go in a carriage, lest he should be torn to pieces by the people; but he replied, "No, Mr. Lieutenant, I dare look death in the face, and, I trust, the people!" It was observed that he walked more like a general at the head of an army, than a victim to the scaffold; and, as he passed the window of archbishop Laud, who was also a prisoner in the Tower, he looked up, and, bowing, said, "My lord! your prayers and your blessings. — Farewell, my lord, God protect your innocency."

On the scaffold, with a composed and undaunted courage, he told the people, that "he was come thither to satisfy them with his head; but that he much feared, the reformation which was begun in blood, would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom as they expected, and as he wished; and, after great expressions of his firm attachment to the protestant religion, established by law in the church of England, his loyalty to the king, and his affection to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, with marvellous tranquillity of mind he delivered his head to the block, where it was severed from his body at a blow; many of the standers by, who had not been over charitable to him in his life, being much affected with the courage and Christianity of his death." [a]

---

[r] Whitelock, p. 46.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Ibid.

Thus fell a victim to popular frenzy, that noble statesman and soldier, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford; and the time was but short ere his fellow-sufferer, Laud, was doomed to a similar end.

The storm which had long been gathering over the church as well as state, first discharged its fury on the head of this venerable and upright prelate. Holles, one of the violent leaders in the house of commons, had laid a general accusation of high treason against him at the bar of the upper house, on the 18th of December 1640, and he was then sequestered and committed to the usher of the black rod: in February following, the charges against him, consisting of fourteen general articles, were presented to the lords; and, notwithstanding the eloquence and force of argument with which he refuted them, he was carried to the Tower, amid the curses and revilings of that headlong faction which was hastening the ruin of their country.

Suffering under all the hardships and insults which his enemies could heap upon him, the archbishop remained in the Tower till the year 1643, before he was brought to trial: all his property was sequestered,[x] and he was obliged to petition for maintenance:[y] he was left without the means of providing for his defence; and all his papers which he had prepared against his trial, were seized.[z] His implacable enemy, the famous William Prynne, was appointed to collect and arrange the evidence against the archbishop in support of the charges under

---

[u] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 203. Rushworth, p. 267.

[x] Troubles and Tryal of Archbp. Laud.

[y] Ibid. p. 203.

[z] Ibid. p. 205.

which he lay; and to him was also committed the searching of his chamber in the Tower,[a] a small compensation for the loss of his own ears, which he attributed to the archbishop's means.[b]

After several delays, the archbishop's trial commenced on the 12th of March. The various articles of his impeachment charged him generally with treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, for endeavouring to subvert the laws, and to alter the established religion of the country. Sergeant Wilde, who opened the proceedings, laboured to shew that the prisoner had endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation with Rome: that he maintained popish and Arminian opinions: that he suffered transubstantiation, justification by merits, and purgatory, to be preached all over the kingdom: that he induced superstitious ceremonies, as consecrations of churches and chalices, and pictures of Christ in glass windows: that he gave liberty to the profanation of the Lord's day: that he held intelligence with cardinals and priests, and endeavoured to ascend to papal dignity! and as to the subversion of the laws, he argued that he had preached at court to set the king's prerogative above the law, and had caused books to be printed to the same effect: he charged him with the benevolence, the loan, the ship-money, and the illegal pulling down of buildings and inclosures; adding, that, " as anti-christ sets himself above all that is called God, so this archbishop hath laboured to set the king above all that is called law." In conclusion: " He is like Naaman, the Syrian: a great person, I confess, but a leper."

On the closing of this harangue, the archbishop told their lordships that he was much troubled to see himself in such an honorable assembly made so vile: " but," said he, " it behoveth me to collect myself, and I humbly desire of your lordships two things: the one, that your lordships will expect proof before you give up your belief to these loud and loose assertions. When a crime is objected, especially so high a crime as this charged upon me, it is necessary that proof be manifest; which yet against me is none at all: and the other is, that your lordships will give me leave not to answer this gentleman's particulars, —

---

[a] Prynne's Breviat of the Life of Archbp. Laud, vol. i. p 28.

[b] See the account of Prynne's life, pp. 245—251.

for that I shall defer till I hear his proofs; but to speak some few things concerning myself and this grievous impeachment brought against me."

He then addressed a long and admirable speech to his peers: he assured them that it was a torment to him to plead, and for no less than life, at that great bar; but, said he, "No sentence, that can justly pass upon me, and other I will never fear from your lordships, can go so near me as causam dixisse, to have pleaded for myself, upon this occasion, and in this place: for, as for the sentence, I thank God for it I am at St. Paul's word: 'If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die:' for, I bless God, I have so spent my time, as that I am neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die. Nor can the world be more weary of me than I am of it; for, seeing the malignity which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried my life in my hands these divers years past. But yet, my lords, if none of these things, whereof these men accuse me, merit death by law, though I may not in this case, and from this bar, appeal unto Cæsar, yet to your lordship's justice and integrity I both may and do appeal; not doubting, but that God of his goodness will preserve my innocency; and, as Job, in the midst of his affliction, said to his mistaken friends, so shall I to my accusers: 'God forbid I should justify you: till I die I will not remove my integrity from me: I will hold it fast, and not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me, as long as I live.'" [c]

With great firmness and eloquence he went on, and satisfactorily shewed to their lordships, and to the world, that he was a strict observer of the laws, and a true professor of the religion established by those laws in the church of England; and, after answering all the charges produced against him, he said, in conclusion, "And now, my lords, I do, in all humility, lay myself low at God's mercy-seat, to do with me as he pleases; and, under God, I shall rely upon your lordships' justice, honor, and clemency, of which I cannot doubt; and, without being farther tedious to your lordships, who have with very honourable patience heard me through this long and tedious trial, I shall conclude with that which St. Augustine said to Romanianus, a man that had tried both fortunes as well as I: 'If the providence of God reaches down to us (as most certainly it doth), Sic tecum agi oportet sicut agitur.' And under that providence, which will, I doubt not, work the best to my soul that loves God, I repose myself." [f]

---

[c] Rushworth's Hist. Col. p. 830. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 516. Tryal and Troubles of Archbishop Laud, p. 223. Prynne, p. 53.

After a trial which lasted twenty days, and when all the articles, and utmost proof of them, by the most prejudiced parties, were not likely to prevail with the lords to find him guilty, the commons, by a like arbitrary stretch of authority to that which they had exercised towards the earl of Strafford, passed an ordinance, or bill, through their house, attainting him of high treason. This being sent to the lords, they referred to the judges, who were unanimously of opinion, "that nothing charged against him was treason by any known and established law of the land:" yet, notwithstanding that the peers, in a conference with the lower house, declared, "that they had weighed all things that were charged against him, but could not by any one of them, or all, find him guilty of treason," the ordinance was finally passed, on the fourth of January, and, by its authority, this unfortunate prelate was brought to the scaffold, at Tower-hill, on the tenth of the same month.[g]

On these measures of parliament being signified to him by the lieutenant of the Tower, "he neither entertained the news with a stoical apathy, nor wailed his fate with weak and womanish lamentations; but heard it with so even and so smooth a temper as shewed he neither was ashamed to live, nor afraid to die." [h] He sent a petition to the lords, claiming the benefit of a pardon granted to him by the king, under the great seal, before his trial; but it was rejected by both houses,[i] and the only act of mercy which they shewed him was to grant his petition that he might die by the axe, instead of being hanged, beheaded, and quartered, — the horrible sentence which they had passed on him.[k]

With difficulty he had obtained leave for one of his chaplains, doctor Stern, to be with him, to assist him in the work of his preparation, and the time which now remained till his execution he spent in prayers and devotions. "On the evening before his passover, the night preceding the dismal combat between him and death, after he had refreshed his spirits with a moderate supper, he betook himself to rest, and slept very soundly till the time at which his servants were appointed to attend his rising. He then applied himself to his private prayers, till the officers came to conduct him to the scaffold, which he ascended with courage and cheerfulness of countenance, as if it were rather to behold a triumph than to be made a sacrifice; and that he came there, not to die, but to be translated. Though some of the people, as if loth to let him go to the grave in peace, reviled him as he passed along, it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience: he had profited so well in the school of Christ, that when he was reviled he reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not, but committed his cause to Him that judgeth righteously." He addressed a long speech, which he read to the people, concluding, "I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven, first of God, and then of man, whether I have offended them, or they think I have: Lord, forgive them: and now I desire you to join with me in prayer." He then kneeled down, and after addressing a fervent prayer to that omnipotent and merciful Judge before whom he was about to appear,[l] he prepared himself for his last suffering, and never did man put off mortality with better courage, nor look upon his persecutors with greater charity.[m] After many fervent expressions of his trust in Almighty God, he laid his neck on the block, saying, aloud, "Lord, receive my soul;" which was the signal to the executioner, who very dexterously performed his office, passing him instantaneously from his troubles in this world to his prepared happiness in eternity. He underwent his sentence, says lord Clarendon, with all christian fortitude and magnanimity, to the admiration of the beholders, and to the confusion of his enemies; and thus terminated the life of this eminent prelate, a man of so great endowments, that his learning, piety, and virtue have been attained but by very few, and though he had infirmities, they were such as were common to all, even to the best of men.[n]

---

[f] Troubles and Tryal of Archbp. Laud, vol. i. p. 421.

[g] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 834. Heylin's Life of Archbp. Laud, p. 527.

[h] Heylin, ut supra.

[i] Whitelock, p. 122.

[k] Ibid.

---

[l] See 1st Edit. of this work, vol ii. p. 586

[m] Heylin's Life of Archbp. Laud.

The imprisonment of the EARL OF PEMBROKE, and of LORD MOWBRAY, eldest son of the earl of Arundel, occurred about the time that the bill of attainder passed against the earl of Strafford. They were committed by the lords, in consequence of a quarrel in the house, which led from disdainful words to an offer, or attempt, at blows. They were at first put under restraint, and on the following day sent to the Tower; where the earl was deprived of his staff of office, as lord chamberlain of the king's household.[o]

It was also in the frenzy of the same period, that the Tower became the prison of Mr. PALMER. He was a member of parliament, and committed for a cause which reflects no ordinary credit on his name — his conduct in protesting against that violent remonstrance, which, after one of the longest and most passionate debates ever known within the walls of the house of commons, was voted to the king, in 1641. Mr. Palmer, who was a man of high reputation and much esteemed in the house, was defended with great ability and courage by his friend Mr. Hyde; but the faction, which was then beginning to predominate over the better sense of the nation, prevailed. After a debate of two hours, he rose and desired that, to save the house further trouble, he might answer and withdraw, which he did; and, after a further debate of great length, it was ordered that he should be committed to the Tower;[p] but after a few days imprisonment he was enlarged, and returned to his seat.[q]

The circumstances connected with the imprisonment of the twelve bishops are too well known to need a particular relation of them here. The popular clamour against the then existing government of the church had risen to a height that rendered it unsafe for the prelates, as well as some of the temporal peers, to attend their duties in parliament. The revolutionary party in the house of commons too well knew that the surest way to the overturning the government of the state was to pull down the barrier of religion; and their clamours against the church resounded with still greater violence amid that rabble multitude which constantly assembled without their walls.

---

[n] Heylin's Life of Archbp. Laud.

[o] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 206.

[p] Ibid. p. 249.

[q] Whitelock, p. 51.

In this state of things the archbishop of York, whom the mob had treated with great insolence, called the bishops together at his house at Westminster, and, transported with rage, he proposed to them, "that they should unanimously, and presently, prepare a protestation to send to the house, against the force that was used upon them; and against all the acts, which were, or should be done, during the time that they should be kept from their duties in the parliament!" [r] This advice was too inconsiderately followed; the protestation, hastily drawn up by the archbishop, and signed by himself and eleven bishops then present,[s] was immediately carried to the king; by whose direction it was, with as little consideration, presented by the lord keeper to the house of peers. The lords, with similar indiscretion, hastily desired a conference with the lower house, which instantly made use of the advantages that these rash steps presented. They returned to their seats, and, having voted the bishops guilty of high-treason,[t] sent Mr. Glynne to make the charge at the bar of the lords, and to desire that they might forthwith be sequestered from Parliament, and put under safe custody: whereupon the bishops of Durham and Lichfield were given in charge to the usher of the black rod, and the rest committed to the Tower, on the 30th of December, 1641.[u] Shortly afterwards, they were taken to the lords' bar, to make their several answers, and the peers released them on bail; but by the commons they were immediately recommitted, and remained prisoners for several months, till the bill had finally passed by which the bishops were thenceforward to be excluded from seats and votes in parliament.[x]

Nor was this the only act of tyranny of which the two houses of parliament were guilty at the very outset of their revolutionary career. SIR RALPH HOPTON was sent to the Tower for opposing that insolent declaration, which the parliament voted to their king;[y] MR. TRELAUNEY, another member of parliament, a man of great reputation, was expelled the house and imprisoned, for speaking against the parliament having a guard:[z] SIR THOMAS BEDINGFIELD and SIR THOMAS GARDNER were committed to the same fortress by the lords, for refusing to be of counsel for the attorney-general, although the lower house had declared, "that whoever presumed to be of counsel with a person accused by the commons of England, should be taught better to know his duty, and should have cause to repent it;"[a] and thither also, as an act of greater injustice, they committed the EARL OF BRISTOL and JUDGE MALLET, merely for having seen the famous Kentish petition! These latter, however, were soon released; though, shortly afterwards, the judge was again sent to the Tower, to a much longer imprisonment, for having maintained the dignity of his station, and acted as an upright and undaunted minister of justice. While sitting at Maidstone, at the summer assizes 1642, some members of parliament, as a committee, came to the bench, and required him to cause votes, orders, and declarations of parliament, in support of the ordinance of the militia, and against the commission of array, to be openly read in court. He told them, "that he sat there by virtue of the king's commissions, and there being no mention in either of his commissions of the papers they produced, or the publishing any thing of that nature, he could not, nor would he do it."[b]

---

[r] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 275. [s] Rushworth, p. 468. [t] Clarendon, p. 256.

[u] Troubles and Tryal of Archbp. Laud, p. 184. [x] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 278.

[y] Ibid. p. 349.

In this proper and spirited conduct the judge was supported by the grand jury, and by the principal gentlemen of the county; whereupon the committee, in great anger, returned to the house, and exclaimed against him, "as the fomenter and protector of a malignant faction against the parliament;" and upon this charge an officer, attended by a troop of horse, was sent with a warrant to Kingston, where the judge was then holding the assizes for Surrey, and, to the great dishonor of the public justice of the kingdom, he was violently taken from the bench, and carried a prisoner to Westminster; and thence by the two houses of parliament, he was committed to the Tower; where, without being charged with any particular crime, he remained for upwards of two years, till exchanged for some other, whose liberty the parliament desired.[c]

[z] Clarend., vol. i. p. 349. [a] Ibid. p.379. [b] Clarend., ut supra, p. 543. [c] Ibid. p. 543.

With equal tyranny and injustice they dealt with SIR RICHARD GURNEY, the loyal and highly respected lord mayor of London, who was also committed to the Tower. According to the known duty of his office, he had caused his majesty's proclamation against the militia to be published in the city; for which the lords, in the presence of the lower house, adjudged him "to be put out of his office of lord mayor of London; to be utterly incapable of bearing any office in the city or the kingdom, and of all honor and dignity; and to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the two houses of parliament." [d]

Among the many persons of rank and quality whom the parliamentary faction committed to the Tower in 1642,[e] was the LORD MONTAGUE OF BOUGHTON. Though fourscore years of age, and a man of unblemished reputation, he was placed there under close confinement, for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient conduct towards the king; and, though the rigour of his imprisonment was somewhat abated, he never regained his liberty.[f] Like many others, at this unhappy period, he went from his prison to the grave, lamenting the miseries of his country.

In the same year, also, they committed the EARL OF BERKSHIRE, and three or four of the principal gentlemen of the county of Oxford, for their attachment to the party of their king. They had assembled at Watlington, to put in execution his majesty's commission of array; but hearing that some parliamentary troops were approaching, they retired to the house of sir Robert Dormer, where they were besieged, and after some resistance, compelled to yield.[g]

In 1643, the Tower was the prison of Mr. JUSTICE BERKLEY, who was committed by the lords on charges of high treason, and fined ten thousand pounds; Mr. MONTAGUE, SIR WILLIAM MORTON, and DANIEL O'NEALE. Mr. Montague, who was a man adorned with many excellent parts, had come over with the count of Harcourt, the French Ambassador, in hopes of reaching the king at Oxford; but, on their journey towards London, he was apprehended, and by the two houses was committed to the Tower.[h]

---

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 543.

[e] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 16.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Whitelock, p. 62.

[h] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 309.

Sir William Morton, a man of high character, and distinguished as well for loyalty as valor, was made prisoner on the surrender of Sudeley Castle, of which he was governor, under its owner, lord Chandos. He had been bred to the law; but in the beginning of the war, like many other gallant men of that profession, he threw aside his gown, and served as lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of horse, raised by lord Chandos in the service of his prince.[i] After many years imprisonment, sustained with unshaken firmness, he lived to receive the reward of his loyalty and merit. King Charles, after his restoration, raised him to the bench, where he sat for many years, with a high reputation for gravity and learning.[k]

O'Neale was a man of another fortune: he was a subtle and accomplished courtier, and his fame as a soldier was established on a basis of no common kind; notorious for his courage, and experienced in the most active armies of his time, he had commands during the troubles in Scotland, and, at the commencement of the differences between the king and that imperious faction which brought so many evils on their country, he frankly espoused the cause of his sovereign, and was busy in the affairs of the court. By the parliament he was committed to the Tower, on charges of high treason; but his dexterity and address, in escaping out of that fortress in a lady's attire, saved his life. He got safe into the Low Countries, and, returning thence to England, he served as a lieutenant-colonel of horse under prince Rupert, and afterwards became a celebrated adept in court intrigue.[l]

The first persons who became sacrifices to the party spirit of the times, were Sir John Hotham, his son Captain Hotham, and Sir Alexander Carew, who were all imprisoned in the Tower, and beheaded by order of the parliament, in 1644.

The punishment of sir John Hotham and his son, was in consequence of a design to deliver up the town of Hull to the king. In the late expedition against the Scots, this place had been made a great magazine of warlike stores, which, upon the disbanding of the army, had been left there, — a circumstance which gave to that town a high degree of importance; especially when the horrors of a civil war seemed to overhang the country.

---

[i] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 379. [k] Ibid. [l] See Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 469—475.

On the king's retiring from London towards the north, the parliament despatched sir John Hotham, one of their members, to take charge of Hull in their name; but, as the garrison consisted of only one company of the trained-bands, the king, on taking up his residence at York, resolved on going thither in person, and securing the possession of that important place. In this he was encouraged by the loyalty of the county, and, having sent his son, the duke of York, accompanied by the prince elector, and some other persons of honor, to Hull, the evening before, as a mere party of pleasure, he took horse early in the morning of the 23d of April, attended with two or three hundred of his servants, and gentry of the country, and when he came within a mile of the town, he sent to sir John Hotham that he would dine with him on that day; but on his arrival, his majesty found the gates shut, the bridges drawn up, the walls manned, and all things ready, as for the reception of an enemy. Sir John Hotham appeared on the walls, and in much agitation told the king, "that he durst not open the gates, being trusted by the parliament:" his majesty offered to enter with only twenty horse; but this he also refused, as he likewise did to come to confer with the king, although upon his majesty's princely word of safety, and liberty to return.[m] The king reminded him of his allegiance, and told him that it was not possible he could submit to such an indignity; that this act of disobedience would probably bring many miseries upon, and much loss of blood to the kingdom; all which might be prevented if he performed the duty of a subject. Sir John, with much distraction in his looks, talked confusedly of "the trust he had from the parliament;" and then fell upon his knees, "wishing that God would bring confusion on him and his, if he were not a loyal and faithful subject; but, in conclusion, plainly denied to suffer his majesty to come into the town;"[n] and thereupon the king caused him to be proclaimed a traitor.[o]

Sir John Hotham continued faithful to the parliamentary interest till the year 1643: when he, like many other sensible and well-intentioned men, seeing the evils which civil war was daily bringing upon their country, began to repent, and to desire a reconciliation with his prince, — sentiments in which he was shortly confirmed by an extraordinary interview with lord Digby, one of the best and bravest of Charles's friends.

---

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 397.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Whitelock.

At the opening of this scene of troubles, when the unhappy monarch and his queen were first driven from the capital, lord Digby also found it prudent to secure his safety by leaving the kingdom. He retired into Holland, and was soon convinced of the justness of his apprehensions, on learning that the commons had accused him of high treason. From that time he remained abroad, till a faint ray of hope seemed to beam on the king's prospects, while he kept his court at York. Lord Digby then sailed over with some communications from the queen, and, arriving very privately at York, he remained there a few days in disguise, speaking with the king in so secret a manner, in the night, that no notice was taken of his being there. Finding, however, that the affairs of his royal master were not yet ripe for action, he committed himself again to the bark that brought him over, intending to return to the queen, to hasten a provision of arms and ammunition; and with him were Ashburnham, Wilmot, Pollard, and Berkley, who also thought it best to remove from the court till the king was prepared to use their services. Before they had been many hours at sea, they met the Providence, a ship that had been anxiously looked for, with ammunition; and, knowing her, it was agreed that the three latter should now return to the king at York, and that lord Digby and colonel Ashburnham should pursue their voyage for Holland. These proceedings caused delay. Some ships in the parliamentary service, which had been despatched in chase of the Providence, came up with them; and, though the larger vessel escaped by running on shore, the bark was taken and carried into Hull, — an event which seemed to place the fates of both beyond the reach of hope.

Digby and Ashburnham were equally odious to the parliament, and the latter being familiarly known to sir John Hotham, the governor, he could not conceal himself; but lord Digby, who was so well disguised that his nearest friends would not easily have known him, pretended to be a Frenchman, and so well feigned sea-sickness, that he was suffered to remain in the hold of the bark till they arrived at Hull, and in that time he carefully destroyed all his papers, that were not fit to be disclosed.

On their arrival at Hull, lord Digby assumed the appearance of so wretched a creature, that he was put under a guard, and sent to some obscure corner for repose; while colonel Ashburnham, who was the only prisoner they thought worth looking after, was carried to the governor, and placed under surer custody.

Though he had hitherto escaped being known, lord Digby was sensible that he could not long conceal himself, where so many were acquainted with his person: he knew moreover, that, however unreasonably, there was no man in the kingdom more odious to the parliament than himself: from that quarter, therefore, he could expect no mercy, nor had he greater reason to anticipate favor from Hotham, who professed that he was in the number of his greatest enemies. But his lordship was a man of great presence of mind; no one was less dismayed by difficulties, and few of more singular fortunes. During the whole course of his life, says lord Clarendon, his stars were used to lead him into and out of the greatest difficulties and dangers; and on this occasion they shewed their wonted influence. In broken English, which might well have become any Frenchman, he made one of his guard to understand that, "if he could speak privately to the governor, he would discover some secrets of the king's and queen's, which would highly advance the service of the parliament." This intelligence being immediately conveyed to sir John Hotham, he sent for the supposed foreigner, who, though in the presence of several other persons, without any disorder, gave such an account of himself, that he made them believe he had seen much of the French service, and that he had come over recommended to the king for some command, if he should have occasion for soldiers.

After entertaining the company with such discourse, lord Digby addressed himself to the governor, and told him, "that, if he might be admitted to privacy with him, he would discover somewhat which he would not repent of knowing." But Hotham was not altogether trusted by the parliament: he knew that some about him, and particularly his own son, were even then spies on his conduct; and therefore, to avoid jealousies, he only retired with the prisoner to a large window in a distant part of the room, and there desired him to say what he thought fit.

Lord Digby, perceiving that he should have no greater secrecy, asked Hotham, in English, whether he knew him? to which the other with surprise answered, "No." "Then," said his lordship, "I shall try whether I know sir John Hotham; and whether he be in truth the same man of honor that I have always taken him to be." And thereupon he told him who he was; and "that he hoped he was too much a gentleman to deliver him up a sacrifice to their rage and fury who, he well knew, were his implacable enemies."

Hotham was not less astonished than alarmed, lest others should discover the secret, and he desired him, for the present, to say no more: he should not be sorry for the trust he had reposed in him, and should find him the man he thought him; and, calling the guard to take him away, ordering them to keep a strict eye upon him, he returned to the company; and, in some confusion, told them "that this Frenchman was a shrewd fellow, and understood more of the queen's counsels and designs than a man would suspect," adding that he hoped to get more information from him.[p]

On the morrow sir John conversed with his prisoner more in private, and told him that, since he had placed himself in his hands, he would not deceive his trust, and wished him to consider how, and by what color he should so set him at liberty that he might arrive in safety where he desired; and hence he proceeded to speak of the times, and of the calamities that were likely to befall the country from the differences between the king and the parliament; regretting that he, being a man of very different principles from those who drove things to this extremity, and of entire affection and duty to his king, should now be regarded as the chief cause of the civil war that was to ensue, in consequence of his not opening the gates when his majesty presented himself before the town.

---

[p] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 547.

Than lord Digby, no one knew better how to cultivate the advantage that this discourse presented, or to work upon those passions which were predominant in the man. He pathetically lamented, that a handful of evil-minded persons should have been able to involve him and many others in their dark counsels, though known to be alike clear in their intentions, and loyal at heart: he regretted that they should have been engaged in the prosecution of designs which they must abhor, and which must terminate in their ruin: he represented in the most glowing colors, the prospects of the king's success: he enlarged upon the glory which must await the man who would avert the calamities that were in view: "the king and people," he said, "would join in rewarding him with honors: his name would be handed down to posterity as the preserver of his country;" and, in fine, he so wrought upon the mind of sir John Hotham, that he even contemplated the delivery of Hull to the king, provided he would appear before it with such a force as would excuse him for doing so. But this, like most of the affairs of the unhappy Charles, terminated in disaster: new officers were sent down by the parliament to assist in defending the place; and at length sir John and his son were seized, and sent to the Tower, under charges of high-treason.[q]

Sir John Hotham was brought to trial, and condemned to death, by a court-martial, in the month of December 1644, "for betraying his trust, and adhering to the enemy; for refusing to supply lord Fairfax with ammunition; for scandalous words against the parliament; for endeavouring to betray Hull to the king; for corresponding with the queen, and for seeking to make his escape."[r]

Captain Hotham was also a member of the house of commons, and had vigorously embarked with the revolutionary party in all their worst designs: he had even been sent by the parliament as a spy over his father, and to share with him the command of Hull; and he had continued firm in their interests till the appointment of lord Fairfax, on whom the parliament at last conferred the superior rule of the place, and to whose order the pride and stubbornness of Hotham's nature would not allow him to submit. An alteration then became visible in his conduct: he considered that the services of his father and himself to the parliament had not been duly rewarded: disappointment created disgust, and he determined to desert the ruinous cause in which he had engaged, and to return to that duty and allegiance in which he was bound to his sovereign. With this view he opened a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, but it was discovered, through the treachery of a servant, and, with his father, he was committed to the Tower. He was tried at the guild-hall, by a council of war,[s] and, though he defended himself with great courage and ability, he was sentenced to die upon the scaffold.[t]

---

[q] Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 477.

[r] Whitelock's Mem.

After many endeavours on the part of the house of lords to save, particularly the father's life, sir John was appointed to die on the 31st of December, and his son on the day following; but as the former was on his way out of the Tower to the adjoining hill, where the multitude had assembled, and where the scaffold, the coffin, and the executioner were in readiness,[u] an order came from the house of lords to further suspend his execution for four days; an exercise of authority at which the commons were so highly incensed, that they made an order "to all ministers of justice, that no reprieve should be granted, nor allowed for any person, against whom sentence of death was pronounced, without the consent of both houses of parliament; and that if it passed only the house of peers, it should be looked upon as void, and that execution should not be thereupon suspended."[x]

In consequence of this reprieve, captain Hotham was beheaded before his father, on the day appointed for his death. "He met his fate," says lord Clarendon, "with courage, reproaching the ingratitude of the parliament, and their continuance of the war, and adding that, as to them, he was innocent, and had never been guilty of treason."[y]

On the next day sir John was brought to the scaffold; for the commons, determined to support their authority, sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower for that purpose, superseding the reprieve granted by the upper house.[z] He was attended by no better comforter than the celebrated Hugh Peters, and his execution was a most shocking scene: his spirits were greatly broken, and, in a state of desperation, he committed his neck to the block.

---

[s] Heath's Chronicle.

[t] Ibid. Whitelock. Clarendon.

[u] Heath's Chron. Whitelock.

[x] Clarendon, vol. ii, p. 477.

[y] Clarendon.

The feelings which influenced sir John Hotham were then gaining ground in various parts of the nation. Many sensible and good men, when they saw the real motives of the revolutionary leaders, and the calamities that were about to ensue, heartily desired to regain the favor, and to devote themselves to the service of their king. Such were colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth; sir Hugh Cholmley, governor of Scarborough, and SIR ALEXANDER CAREW, who had the charge of St. Nicholas Island, near Plymouth ; and this latter was one of the first persons imprisoned in the Tower and put to death for deserting the cause of the parliament. He had from the beginning sided with the most violent, and, on the siege of Plymouth being raised, he was made governor of the strong fort and island of St. Nicholas, commanding the entrance to that harbour.[a] But when the king's forces began to prevail in the west, he resolved to redeem his errors; and opened a correspondence with some of his old friends in Cornwall; through whom he offered to surrender his charge to the king, upon an assurance of his majesty's pardon, and a full remission of former offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, instantly gave him every satisfaction on these points, but through his own over-wariness in waiting for his pardon to pass the great seal, his design and treaty were discovered, through the treachery of one of his own servants. Sir Alexander was put under safe custody in the Tower, where he remained till the latter end of the following year,[b] when he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill.[c]

Contemporaneous with the Hothams and other prisoners, whose stories we have last noticed, were COLONEL MONK, the LORD MACQUIRE, and COLONEL MAC MAHON. The former, who was afterwards duke of Albemarle, and the renowned instrument of

---

[z] Clarendon.

[a] Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.

[b] Clarendon.

[c] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 121.

King Charles the Second's restoration, was among the king's forces recalled from Ireland on the cessation of hostilities, in 1643. Having landed in Wales in November in that year, the greater part of this force was marched to the siege of Nantwich, but they were there surprised by Fairfax, the parliamentary general, and Monk had the misfortune to be among the prisoners.[d] From that time he remained in very hard durance in the Tower for near three years, when he regained his liberty by accepting a command in Ireland, under the parliament;[e] an employment which gave birth to all his glorious services to the king and kingdom.

Macquire and M'Mahon were leaders in bringing about the Irish rebellion, and were both seized in Dublin on the night of its breaking out. They were brought prisoners to London, and remained in the Tower till August 1644, when they contrived to cut open the door of their chamber, and, by swimming across the ditch, escaped.[f] The parliament issued a proclamation, offering a hundred pounds to any that would bring them alive or dead, and they were at last discovered by the lieutenant of the Tower and sir John Clotworthy, at a private house in which the French agent lodged,[g] and who was suspected to have been instrumental in their escape.

They were both tried before commissioners of oyer and terminer, and being found guilty of high treason, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered — a sentence which they accordingly suffered at Tyburn.

It would be an endless task to notice all the prisoners who were committed to the Tower by the parliament and by the army during that melancholy period which preceded the decapitation of the king. Among them were the MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER and SIR ROBERT PEAKE, taken at the storming of Basing-house, in 1645; and on the ascendancy of the army, in 1647, MR. SERJEANT GLYNN and SIR JOHN MAYNARD were sent thither;[h] as were SIR JOHN GAYRE, lord mayor of London, one of the sheriffs, three aldermen, and several others, who were known to be hostile to their measures. At the like period also, JUDGE JENKINS, the EARL OF CLEVELAND, SIR LEWIS DIVES, SIR JOHN STOWEL, and other royalists, were confined there;[i] and, during many years of these troubles, the Tower was likewise the prison of BISHOP WREN.[k] But to the stories of the DUKE OF HAMILTON, the earls of Holland and Norwich, lord Capel, and sir John Owen, is attached more general interest.

---

[d] Heath's Chron., p. 53.

[e] Ibid. p. 123.

[f] Whitelock, p. 100.

[g] Whitelock, p.104.

[h] Heath's Chron. p. 143.

The duke, who had come into England with the command of the Scots army, was taken at Uttoxeter by the forces under Cromwell, after a disgraceful retreat, in the latter end of August 1648; the earl of Norwich and lord Capel were made prisoners on the melancholy surrender of Colchester, in the same year; and sir John Owen was deprived of his liberty soon after, for supporting the cause of his king.

Shortly after the decapitation of the unfortunate Charles, a new high court of justice was appointed for their trial,[l] and, although the duke of Hamilton could scarcely be regarded in any other light than as a prisoner of war, he was the first arraigned before this tribunal. He insisted, however, on the independence of the kingdom of Scotland: it was governed, he said, wholly by its own laws; and he being a subject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof. The parliament of Scotland, having thought it necessary to raise an army for the relief of their king, had appointed him to lead it into England: it was not lawful for him to refuse its command; and, whatever misfortune he had undergone in the execution of that duty, he was, by the law of nations, only liable to be treated as a prisoner of war. To this it was answered, "that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland were not called in question, nor violated, by the course of these proceedings: they were not trying him as duke of Hamilton, but as earl of Cambridge; by the acceptance of which title he had become a subject of England, and, as such, he was charged with rebellion and treason, of which they adjudged him guilty."

The EARL OF HOLLAND, in the early days of the revolution, had supported the parliament in all its measures; he had rendered many services to their cause, and had suffered for his opposition to the court; but, stirred at last by jealousy and discontent, he joined with the duke of Buckingham and others in the cause of their imprisoned king. They reared the royal standard at Kingston-upon-Thames; but were there surprised and routed, before their troops were organised. The earl of Holland fell into the hands of the enemy at St. Neots, in Huntingdonshire, where he remained a prisoner till, by order of the parliament, he was removed to a strict custody in Warwick castle, and thence to the Tower, preparatory to his trial.

---

[i] Heath's Chron. p. 155.
[k] Ibid. p. 230.
[l] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 204.

The Earl of Norwich, when brought before the court, behaved with great submission, and, says Clarendon,[m] "with all those addresses as were most like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections, spoke of his obligations to the crown, to shew that he was bound by every tie of gratitude to the service of his prince. He was born, he said, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and, from his cradle, was bred up in the court; during the reign of James he was the servant of that king, as he also was of prince Henry, and afterwards of his late majesty.[n] These considerations should excuse the course he had taken, and he hoped would be accepted, as sufficient grounds for the sparing of his life."

Lord Capel, of a nobler spirit, appeared undaunted: he would not submit to their jurisdiction. "In the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, he said, the lawyers and gownmen had nothing to do with him: he insisted, that the law of nations exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it were not inflicted within so many days; and that time had long expired. He urged also the declaration which Fairfax, the general, had made to him and the rest of the prisoners, after the death of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, on the surrender of Colchester, that no other lives should be in danger; and he also insisted, that if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he ought to be tried by his peers; which was his right by the laws of the land:"[o] but all his arguments were overruled.

Sir John Owen, when brought before this tribunal, shewed all the characteristic braveness of his country: he told them, "that he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught to obey the king: he had served him faithfully during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the high sheriff endeavouring to oppose him, chanced to be killed, which he might have avoided if he had stayed at home." [p] He made no craving for their mercy, and, when condemned with the others to lose his head, he gave them thanks, adding, that his only fear was that they would have hanged him: "it was a very great honor," he said, "for a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords." [q]

---

[m] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 205. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid. p. 206.

After their trial, these distinguished prisoners were carried to St. James's, to await their execution, which was appointed to take place two days afterwards; and, in the interval, the friends and relatives of duke Hamilton, the earls of Holland and Norwich, and lord Capel, left no way untried to save their lives. Their petitions to the parliament were all read in order, and excited considerable debate. Those for the duke were rejected by a large majority. For the earl of Holland great interest was used not only by the earl of Warwick, his brother, but by the presbyterians, to a man.[r] "They urged," says Clarendon, "his merit towards the parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how much he had suffered in the court for his affection to them: his age and infirmities, which would not allow him long to enjoy that life they should give him; and the consideration of his wife and children, which were numerous. But these arguments stirred up others to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the services he had done; to tax his vanities, and his breach of faith." [s] Cromwell spoke with more than ordinary animosity against him, and there appeared a majority of three or four voices for his death.[t]

The case of George lord Goring, then earl of Norwich, was the next considered. He had passed a jovial life, and the cheerfulness and generosity of his disposition had made him generally beloved: yet his escape was a very narrow one. The house was equally divided on his fate, and only the casting vote of Lenthal, the speaker, saved his life.[u]

---

[p] Clarendon, p. 206.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Ibid. 207.

[s] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 207.

[t] Ibid.

[u] Ibid. Heath's Chron. p. 228.

Lord Capel, shortly after his removal from Windsor Castle to the Tower, had, by a wonderful chance, escaped from that fortress.[x] Having a cord and other requisites secretly conveyed to him, he let himself down from his chamber, and then over the outer wall into the ditch; but there, had he not been a head taller than most other men, he must have perished. The water and mud came up to his chin; the distance was great to the opposite side, and, if some friends had not been there to assist him, his exhausted spirits must have yielded. They carried him to the Temple, where he remained two or three days in safety, till the anxiety of those interested in his fate induced him to remove from a place of so great resort. A friend, who was worthy of his confidence, provided a lodging for him in Lambeth Marsh, and, calling for him in an evening, they passed the river in a boat from the Temple; but, in going over, it was supposed that their conversation gave the waterman cause to suspect. He watched them to the house, and then went and bargained for his discovery.[y] His lordship being accordingly seized, was returned on the next day to the Tower, and his betrayer, though rewarded by the parliament, became the scorn and contempt of every body, and lived afterwards in shame and misery.[z]

When his wife's petition in his behalf was read, many members spoke in his favor: they urged his virtues, and the candor with which he had acted: he had never deceived them, nor pretended to be of their party, but had always declared himself the resolute supporter of the king. Even Cromwell bore testimony to his merits: he professed to have much kindness and respect for him; yet, in conclusion, he said, "that his affection to the public much outweighed his private friendship, and he could not but tell them, that the question now was, whether they would preserve the bitterest and most implacable enemy they had: he knew the lord Capel very well: he knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; and, as he had great courage, industry, and generosity, so he had many friends who would always adhere to him, and, as long as he lived, whatsoever condition he might be in, he would prove a thorn in their sides. He, therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, should give his vote against the petition."[a] Ireton spoke against him with no common hatred, as of a man who struck terror to his heart; and very many were swayed by a superstitious argument, that had been urged against the duke of Hamilton, "that God was not pleased that he should escape, because he had put him into their hands again, when he was at liberty."[b] After a long debate, the petition in his favor was rejected by a majority of three or four voices.[c]

---

[x] Clarendon, vol. iii. pp. 207-8. Heath's Chron. 226-7. Ludlow's Mem., p. 110.

[y] Clarendon, ut supra.

[z] Heath's Chron. p. 227.

No petition having been presented for sir John Owen, Ireton rose and told the house, "that great endeavours and solicitations had been used to save the lords: but that there was another condemned person, a commoner, for whom no man had spoken, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them: and, therefore, he desired that sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the house itself;"[d] a motion which met with but little opposition, and he was spared.[e]

For the execution of the three condemned lords, a platform was erected in the New Palace-yard, and thither the prisoners were guarded from St. James's, on the 9th of March 1649. They were severally led through the hall from sir Robert Cotton's house.[f] The duke was the first to appear in this terrific scene: he seemed almost to the last to cherish hopes of a reprieve, through the influence of his brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh; but, when his lordship told him that all his exertions had failed, he ascended the scaffold with seeming composure.[g] In his speech he complained of the injustice that was done him: he said, "that he was about to die for obeying the laws of his country, which, had he not done, he must have been put to death there."[h]

The earl of Holland succeeded next to this bloody theatre: his long illness had rendered him feeble, and he was unable to speak much to the people.[i] He died very penitently, justifying his first and last action for the king.[k]

---

[a] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 208. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 111. [e] Ibid. Heath's Chron. p. 228. [f] Ibid. p. 229.

[g] Heath's Chron. p. 229. [h] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 209. [i] Ibid.

[k] Heath's Chron. p. 229.

Lord Capel walked through Westminster-hall, saluting his friends and acquaintance with a serene and undaunted countenance, accompanied by his friend Dr. Morley, who had been with him from the time of his sentence.[l] "He wore a sad-coloured suit, his hat cocked up, and his cloak thrown under his arm."[m] On ascending the platform he bowed, and, looking very fiercely about, asked, "whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on?" And being told that they were uncovered, he gave his hat to his servant, and then, with a clear and manly voice, said, "that he was brought thither to die for doing that in which he gloried: he had been born and bred under the government of a king, whom he was bound in conscience to obey; under laws to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a church which he thought the best in the world: to neither of these had he ever violated his faith, and he was now condemned to die against all the laws of the land." With equal courage he asserted the rights, and vindicated the cause of his late sovereign, whom they had put to death, and whose innocent blood he prayed to God to forgive the nation: "he recommended to them the present king as their true and lawful sovereign,—a prince endowed with all those virtues which could make a nation happy;" and he forcibly urged them "to return to their duty, and submit to his government, as the only means of saving from destruction themselves, their posterity, and the protestant religion." After a short time spent in prayer, his lordship submitted himself with the greatest Christian courage to that fatal stroke which deprived loyalty of its noblest champion, and the nation of its truest friend.

Such was the fate of lord Capel! and few men ever fell in the cause of their country more generally beloved, or more deeply and more lastingly lamented. "He was endowed with a noble fortune; blessed with a wife admired for her beauty and her virtues; and he had a numerous issue, in whom were his greatest comfort and delight: so that no man enjoyed more domestic felicity, and he was so much the more happy in that he was sensible of the favor of heaven in having been blessed with it; and yet the king's honor," continues lord Clarendon, "was no sooner violated, and his power invaded, than he threw all those enjoyments aside, and, though he had no other obligations to the crown than those which his honor and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune, from the beginning of the troubles, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest danger; and continued to the end, without even making one false step. In a word, he was a man that, whoever shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued when he shall hear that his courage, his virtue, and his fidelity, are laid in a balance with and compared to those qualities in lord Capel." [n]

---

[l] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 209.

[m] Whitelock's Mem. p. 388.

In the same month the parliament degraded from his office, and committed to the Tower, **Sir Abraham Reynardson**, then lord mayor of London. On his being commanded to proclaim the act for abolishing kingly government, he had the honor and spirit to disobey: he and his lady disdainfully refused to acknowledge their authority; and, upon report thereof by alderman Atkins, a member of their house, the parliament voted that he should be disfranchised, imprisoned in the Tower for two months, and be fined two thousand pounds.[o]

In the same year, colonel John Lilburn, Walwayn, Prince, and Overton, leaders of a new faction known by the appellation of "Levellers," were taken and committed to the Tower; and, it was voted that they should be kept apart, as close prisoners. Lilburn, after remaining some time in the Tower, was brought to trial at the Guild-hall. He made a bold and able defence, and was not only acquitted by his jury, but was shortly afterwards elected into the common-council of the city; though the parliament interfered, and voted him incapable of that or any other office, and not long afterwards sentenced him to banishment.[p]

December 18th, in the same year, Mr. Penruddock, an agent of prince Charles, was taken and committed to the Tower, to be kept a close prisoner.[q]

In 1650, the principal prisoners in the Tower, of whom we find mention, were colonel Eusebius Andrews, sir John Gell, and captains Benson and Ashley. They were all implicated in a plot against the parliament. COLONEL ANDREWS, an old loyalist, was tried by the high court of justice, in August; and, notwithstanding his bold and able defence, denying the authority of the court, he was condemned to suffer as a traitor, and was accordingly beheaded a few days afterwards on Tower-hill.[r] He died with a firmness and courage worthy of the cause he advocated.

---

[n] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 211.

[o] Heath's Chron. p. 231. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 393.

[p] Heath's Chron. p. 255.

[q] Whitelock's Mem. p. 434.

SIR JOHN GELL, who is known to the world not only as a parliamentary general, but by the narratives he has left us of his actions during the civil wars, was brought before the same tribunal about the middle of September, and, after several hearings, was found guilty of a misprision of treason,[s] for which he was adjudged to forfeit his estate, and be imprisoned for life:[t] but was released two years afterwards.[u] Benson was hanged at Tyburn;[x] and Ashley was also condemned; but, as he had only subscribed the engagement, and not acted in the alleged conspiracy, was pardoned by the parliament.[y]

In 1651, for another conspiracy against the parliament, George Cooke esquire, of Gray's Inn, was apprehended, and committed to the Tower;[z] and about the same time the LORDS BEAUCHAMP, BELLASIS, and CHANDOS, were committed by the council of state, "upon suspicion of designing new troubles."[a] Shortly afterwards the Tower became the prison of LORD EDWARD HOWARD OF ESCRICK, and also of the celebrated presbyterian minister, Love. Lord Howard, a peer of the realm, had been returned to serve in parliament for the city of Carlisle; but, being convicted of bribery, he was dismissed the house, and sent to confinement in the Tower,[b] and fined ten thousand pounds.[c]

Love, who, in the time of the late king, had boldly preached against peace, and shewn himself one of his most daring enemies, was now detected in a correspondence with the Scots. After being brought two or three times before the high court of justice, in Westminster-hall, he was adjudged guilty of high treason, and condemned to death.[d] Several petitions were presented in his favor, and though the presbyterians employed their utmost zeal to save his life, yet, in spite of all their opposition, he was beheaded on Tower-hill, where he died without any symptom of repentance for the many miseries he had helped to bring upon his country.[e]

---

[r] Whitelock's Mem. p. 468. Heath's Chron. p. 270.

[s] Heath, ut supra. Whitelock, pp. 472, 473.

[t] Heath's Chron. p. 338.

[u] Heath. Whitelock, p. 474.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Whitelock, p. 490.

[z] Heath's Chron. p. 284.

[a] Whitelock's Memorials.

[b] Heath's Chron. p. 289.

[c] Ludlow's Mem., p. 129.

In the same year, after the battle of Worcester, the Tower was made the prison of the Earls of Crawford, Lauderdale, Kelly, and Rothes, Generals Middleton and Massey, and many other distinguished Scots, who had come with the king into England;[f] and of General Lesley and others surprised and taken by the army of General Monk, as they approached for the relief of Dundee.[g] Many of these, after remaining a considerable time in the Tower, were removed to Windsor Castle, and were prisoners there till the restoration of their king;[h] but Middleton and Massey escaped, and thereby saved themselves from the judgment of a new high commission court, which was specially appointed for their trial.[i]

Middleton was known to be a man of great honor and courage, and much the best officer the Scots then had;[k] and the hatred of the parliament was proportionable to his high character. In the beginning of the war he had served them; but on the new modelling of the army, and the dismissal of the earl of Essex, he had quitted their service; and on this ground it was thought that they might more plausibly proceed against him for his life, than they could against the other prisoners.[l]

Massey, after he had escaped from the disasters of Worcester, and travelled some days, was unable to proceed, owing to his wounds; and being near the seat of the earl of Stamford, under whom he had served as his lieutenant colonel in the beginning of the war, and being well known to the countess, he resolved to throw himself upon her protection, rather than her husband's. The lady had charity to cure his wounds, but not enough of courage to conceal and protect his person; and, as soon as he was fit to be removed, he was sent as a prisoner to join his fellow-countrymen in the Tower.[m] But the presbyterian influence was still great: their zeal was unabated, and, in enterprises of this nature, was very powerful: their rigid appearance of sanctity aided and almost ensured their success; and they had persons every where ready to obey their orders, even among those who were not avowedly of their party. As the time approached for Middleton's trial, their ardor increased for his safety; and, having contrived to acquaint him with their plans, he escaped out of the Tower, and was concealed by his friends in London, for a fortnight or three weeks, till the first heat of inquiry was over; he then stole away to France, and joined the king at Paris; and, within a few days after, Massey had the like good fortune, "to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell, who thirsted for the blood of these two persons."[n]

---

[d] Whitelock, pp. 495, 496, 497. [e] Ibid. 503. [f] Heath's Chron. pp. 301, 303. [g] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 140. [h] Heath's Chron. p. 301. [i] Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebel. vol. iii. p. 347. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid.

In September 1652, the Marquis of Worcester was added to the number of distinguished prisoners then confined in the Tower. The wants and distresses which he had suffered abroad had driven him to return to his distracted country; and he was shortly after seized in London, and committed to the Tower,[o] where he suffered a long imprisonment.

In 1654, a plot, said to be formed against the protector's life, was made a ground for filling the Tower with persons who were suspected of being adverse to that usurper's cause. Among these were, colonels sir Gilbert and John Gerrard, Charles Gerrard their brother, Jones, Tudor, and Somerset Fox; and, lastly, John and William Ashburnham, Vowel a schoolmaster, the earl of Oxford, Philip Porter, Finch, Wiseman, Bayly, and sir Richard Willis.[p] John Gerrard, Vowel, and Fox, the principals in this pretended treason,[q] were tried and condemned "for holding correspondence with Charles Stewart; and for having a design against the protector's life, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the king."[r]

Mr. Gerrard, a young gentleman of good family, who had served in the king's army, was charged with "having been at Paris, and having there spoken with the king;" which he confessed, but declared, "that he went thither on business concerning himself," which he explained, and said, "that when he had despatched it, and was to return for England, he desired the lord Gerrard, his kinsman, to present him to the king, that he might kiss his hand; which he did in a large room, where were many present; that when he asked his majesty, whether he would command him any service into England, the king bade him to commend him to his friends there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, and not engage in any plots; which must prove ruinous to themselves, and could do him no good."[s] Evidence, however, was brought to prove that they had been present with some other gentleman in a tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it would be to kill the protector, and at the same time to seize upon the Tower; and that if, at the same time, the king were proclaimed, the city of London would presently declare for his majesty, and nobody would oppose him."[t] Fox, by promise of life, was brought to confess the guilt, thereby involving the other two;[u] and on this evidence they were condemned to be hanged — a sentence which was executed upon Vowel; but Cromwell was prevailed upon to shew greater respect to Gerrard, who died by the axe the same afternoon, upon Tower-hill.[x]

---

[m] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 347. [n] Ibid. [o] Heath's Chron. p. 327.
[p] Ibid. p. 358. [q] Ibid. p. 360. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 383. [r] Clarendon.

"The former was a person," says lord Clarendon, "utterly unknown to the king, and to any person entrusted to him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preserved in the list of those who shewed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their lives for the crown." He expressed a marvellous contempt for death; which, he said, he suffered without committing any fault. He professed his duty to the king, and his reverence for the church, and earnestly and pathetically advised the people to return to their fidelity to both; which, after all their sufferings, they would be obliged to do. He particularly addressed himself to the soldiers, reproaching them for having prostituted themselves to serve the ambition of a worthless tyrant, whom he conjured them to forsake, and to return to the service of their king.[y] After devoutly commending his majesty and the kingdom, and himself, to God in prayers, he ended his life with a Christian resolution.

[s] Clarendon.

[t] Ibid. p. 384.

[u] Heath's Chron. p. 360.

[x] Clarendon, ut supra.

[y] Ibid.

Gerrard, when brought to the scaffold, was not permitted to speak to the people, but ineffectually pressed to discover all the secrets of this conspiracy, for which he was brought to die: he told them, "that if he had a thousand lives, he would lose them all to do the king any service, and was now willing to die upon that suspicion; but that he was innocent of what was now charged against him."[z] On being again denied the liberty of addressing the people, he resolutely laid his neck upon the block; and this spectacle was immediately followed in the same place by the execution of Don Pantaleon Sa, a knight of Malta, and brother to the Portuguese ambassador, who, in a fray, had killed a gentleman in the new exchange.[a]

In the beginning of 1655, the Fifth-monarchists and the Cavaliers were both becoming formidable to the commonwealth; and, to check the power of the latter, Cromwell ordered that several officers should be seized and cashiered, and MAJOR-GENERAL OVERTON was sent to prison in the Tower;[b] and others committed in the same year were Maynard, Twisden, and Windham, three eminent counsel, who had been retained for Mr. Coney, a merchant, whom the commissioners of the customs had sent to prison for refusing to pay duties.

In the same year also, generals Penn and Venables were committed. The disastrous issue of their expedition to the West Indies had raised general indignation, but it burned in no one's bosom as it did in that of Cromwell; and, on their return, he had them conveyed to these prisons, to satisfy the expectations of the people.[c]

In 1657, the case of Miles Syndercombe is the most worthy of notice. He was a resolute stout man, who had formerly been much in the protector's favor, but who had now joined with a party for his destruction, "and had, twice or thrice," says lord Clarendon, "by unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he had made sure to kill him." On the discovery of this plot, Cromwell was congratulated by the parliament; pamphlets were spread abroad, detailing all its monstrous contrivances, and Syndercombe was tried and condemned; though he resolutely denied his guilt, retorted the plot, and with much boldness interrogated the court about it;[d] to the last refusing to sacrifice any of his associates. As his carriage at and after his trial had given reason to suppose that he looked for a party in the army to attempt his rescue, the protector gave particular charge for his being strictly guarded in the Tower; and, at the time appointed for his execution, those troops in which he could most confide were stationed on Tower-hill, the place where he was appointed to be hanged. But, when his keepers went to call him in the morning, the prisoner was found dead in his bed; and, though his body, tied to a horse's tail, was ignominiously dragged to the scaffold, and there buried, with a stake driven through it, the protector was unable to clear himself of the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice.[e]

---

[z] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 383.

[a] Ibid. Heath's Chron. p. 361.

[b] Heath's Chron. p. 336.

[c] Ibid. p. 276. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 454.

The dread of assassination, added to the many conspiracies which were forming for the subversion of his power, seemed daily to increase an unusual gloom, which was spreading over Cromwell's mind; and the year 1658 began with additional precautions for his safety. COLONEL RUSSEL, SIR WILLIAM COMPTON, SIR WILLIAM CLAYTON, and some others, were arrested and sent to the Tower;[f] and, shortly afterwards, many others were also committed, among whom were Mr. Henry Mordaunt, brother of the earl of Peterborough, MR. STAPELEY, COLONEL MALLORY, and DR. HEWETT, an eminent divine, who were all implicated in a design for raising forces in Kent and Sussex to receive and aid the king.

MR. MORDAUNT was the first brought before this tribunal. He was a brave man, of shining talents, and possessing a loyal and ardent spirit, which, on his return from Italy and France, the theatre of his education, pressed him forward in every enterprize for the service of the king. He had been one of the most active leaders in this plot, and had not only sought, but had been the bearer of a commission from the king to Mr. Stapeley, appointing him to command a regiment of horse, which was to be raised in Sussex; and this principal charge they were able to prove against him; but, by the zealous interference of his wife, a part of the court was gained over to acquit him. Mallory, after once escaping and being retaken, remained in the Tower till the restoration of the king; but Dr. Hewett, whose greatest crime was sending money to his expatriated sovereign, and aiding some of his officers, had worse fortune; he was condemned and beheaded on Tower-hill, together with another old and devoted loyalist, who was also imprisoned in the Tower, and tried at the same bar.

---

[d] Heath's Chron. p. 385.

[e] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 504.

[f] Heath's Chron. p. 402.

This was SIR HENRY SLINGSBY, of an ancient family, and in the first rank of gentlemen in Yorkshire, where he had great influence among the people. For many years he represented his county in parliament, where he sat till the troubles began; "and, as he had no relation to nor dependence upon the court, it was known that his conscience alone induced him to abhor the violent and undutiful proceedings of that assembly. He was a man of but few words, but of a solid and sober judgment; and, when he saw that he could no longer stay in their councils, he retired into his county, where he joined with the first who took up arms for the king; and, when the war ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the crown."[g] At his trial, he scorned to deny his affection for his sovereign, but acknowledged and justified his loyalty. Great intercession was made to save him, but it was ineffectual; and, when brought to the scaffold, he gloried in the course he had taken, and rejoiced that he was to die for being an honest man.

In the same year the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM was committed,[h] and between the death of Oliver Cromwell, which immediately followed, and the restoration of Charles the Second, the Tower was filled with many other distinguished persons, the most forward in supporting his cause. Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the earl of Berkshire, Mr. Ernestus Byron, Mrs. Sumner, and Mr. Harlow, were sent thither,[i] for forwarding the designs of that determined loyalist, Mr. Mordaunt; and, shortly afterwards, on the failure of the insurrection in Cheshire, the lords

---

[g] Clarendon, vol. iii. pp. 487-8.

[h] Whitelock, p. 674.

[i] Heath's Chron. p. 424.

Falkland and De la Ware, the earl of Chesterfield, lord viscount Falconbridge, lord Bellasis, lord Charles Howard, and lord Castleton, were committed to the same place,[k] as was their leader, sir John Booth, after his defeat near Northwich; [l] and Mr. Brook, a member of parliament, for having joined with him, was deprived of his seat in the house, and committed to the Tower on charges of high treason: [m] but most of them were some time afterwards released, on giving security to the council of state; [n] though their lands were ordered to be sold.[o]

In January 1659-60, the parliament committed to the Tower sir Robert Pye and major Fincher, "for tendering to the speaker[p] a declaration from the county of Berks for a free parliament;" and in March colonel John Lambert was committed to the Tower, as were sir Arthur Haslerigge, and colonel Ralph Cobbet, major Richard Creed, and some others of the fanatical part of the army, who had joined him.[q]

These were the last persons of note committed to that fortress before the happy return of King Charles the Second; and, from this period, we must proceed with merely a brief catalogue of the many persons that have been confined in these prisons; our notices of whom will be chiefly introduced from the original warrants of commitment, which, from the year 1660, in nearly a perfect series, are preserved in the Tower.

1660. January 9th.—Henry Wansey, for high treason.

February 8th.—Colonel John Read, for high treason.

May 19th.—Colonel Thomas Harrison, for high treason. He was one of the late king's judges. He was tried and drawn upon a hurdle from Newgate to Charing-cross, where he was hanged and quartered.[r]

May 25th.—Mr. Gregory Clement. He was a citizen, and merchant of London, who, by trading to Spain, had raised a very considerable estate. "He was chosen a member of the parliament about the year 1646, and discharged that trust with great diligence, always joining with those who were most affectionate to the Commonwealth; though he never was possessed of any place of profit under them. He was one of the commissioners for the trial of the king, and suffered the like death as Harrison."[s]

---

[k] Heath's Chron. p. 425. Whitelock, p. 684.

[l] Clarendon's Hist. vol. iii. p. 527. Whitelock, p. 683. Heath's Chron. p. 426.

[m] Whitelock, p. 683.

[n] Heath's Chron. p. 430. Whitelock, p. 689.

[o] Whitelock, p. 693.

[p] Ibid. p. 694.

[q] Whitelock, p. 700.

[r] Heath's Chron. p. 466.

May 30th.—Colonel John Jones and colonel Bamfield: the council ordered the continuance of Bamfield's custody. Jones, who was one of the late king's judges, was executed on the 17th of October following.

June 3d.—Francis Corker, clerk.

June 13th.—Colonel Hercules Hunks, colonel Robert Phair, captain William Hewlet, and Mr. John Coke, for high treason. Hewlet was accused as the person who cut off his majesty's head; and Coke, who had filled the station of chief justice of Ireland, was appointed by the high court of justice as solicitor for the king's trial, and had accordingly preferred the impeachment against him.[t]

July 9th.—The marquis of Argyle, the marquis of Antrim, sir Arthur Haslerigge, and sir Henry Vane, for high treason. Haslerigge died in the Tower, and Vane was beheaded.

11th.—Colonel Francis Hacker, for high treason, having guarded the king at the time of his trial, and brought him to the place of his execution; for which he was hanged.

13th.—Colonel Axtell, on suspicion of treason, and Thomas Scot, for high treason; the former having commanded the guard at the king's trial, and forced the soldiers to cry out "justice and execution;" and the latter having been one of the judges. These were also executed.

August 25th.—Colonels Martin, Downes, and Lilborne, John Carey, esquire, colonels Smith, Peter Temple, and Weare, alderman Tichborn, colonel Harvey, Hardress Waller, William Heveningham, Simon Mayne, Vincent Potter, colonel Adrian Scroop, Gilbert Millington, Fleetwood, Temple, Garland, and alderman Penington, regicides.

August 31st. Hugh Peters, on suspicion of high treason. He was also hanged, drawn, and quartered.

September.—John Rye to close confinement, for seditious and treasonable practices; Edmund Ludlowe, esquire, called colonel

---

[s] Heath's Chronicle.

[t] He was executed Oct. 16.

Ludlowe, for treasonable actions; and — Thomson, esquire, for high treason. Ludlowe is well known for the prominent figure he made in most of the political affairs of his time, and equally so by his entertaining, though somewhat prejudiced memoirs, written during his exile in Switzerland, after king Charles's restoration.

November 20th.—John Lenthal, esquire.

December.—Major-general Overton to close imprisonment, for high treason; William Kenwrick, on suspicion of high treason.

1661.—Lord Munson, sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop. They were brought to the bar of the house of commons, "where their estates were declared to be confiscated; they were degraded from all titles and arms of gentility, and further sentenced to be drawn from the Tower through the city of London to Tyburn, and so back again, with halters about their necks, upon sledges, and to be imprisoned for life." [u]

1662.—In March, Miles Corbet, colonel Okey, and colonel Barkstead, three of the king's judges. They were sentenced to the same death that had already been suffered by most of the other regicides. Soon afterwards, lord Warreston, who had been taken prisoner in France, was also committed.

November.—Sergeant Seabrooke, colonel Twistleton, and colonel Swallow, for treasonable designs.

1663-4 . William Adcock, Goodman, George Wither, Edw. Bagshaw, Richard White, George Elton, colonel John Jones, Paul Hobson, Henry Nevil, colonel Hutchinson, colonel Salway, captain Martin Beckman, John Dodington, John Webb, Robert Danvers, Kennedy, Robert Johnson, Samuel Goodwin, Daniel Collingwood, for sending a challenge to the duke of Buckingham, Thomas and Silas Sebro, John Downing, the earl of Middlesex, Richard White, Robert Walters, Charles Carr, Robert Atkinson, captain Bockman, and Davyes.

March 31st.—Discharges, under the royal signature, appear for Elton, Bagshaw, Mildmay, Fleetwood, Chapman, and Garland, regicides; April, for Paul Hobson, Gregory, and Hutchinson; and July 14th, for Robert Atkinson, to be disposed of in various ways; and, September 29th, for James Hamilton to go at liberty.

---

[u] Heath's Chron. p. 501.

1665.—March 30th. Colonel John Russel, lord O'Brien, William Russel esquire, and Charles duke of Richmond, "for fighting contrary to his majesty's laws."—April 12th. Thomas Marchand, for seditious practices.—May. Lord Morley, for fighting contrary to the laws; and Rice Vaughan esquire, for high treason.—June 5th. Colonel Nathaniel Rich, for treasonable practices.—July. Arnold and Elias Beake, for holding correspondence with his majesty's enemies; John Man, alias Dawson, close prisoner, "for treasonable actions, and for escaping out of prison from Appleby;" and the sieur Cuncy.—August. Ireton, to close imprisonment, "for dangerous and seditious practices;" Thomas Medlicott, colonel Henry Duckenfield, Rose, William Boteler, and John Doberon, for treasonable practices.—September. Henry Tucker, Richard Sandford, Owen Baxter, captain John Stente, and cornet Richard Windsmore, for treasonable practices; Isaac Taylor, for miscarriages in Guinea; William Gouldbee, John Rathbone, and William Lea, for treasonable practices: Rathbone was executed, "Lea escaped in the plague time," and Gouldbee was acquitted, as appears by endorsements of the warrants; sir John Towers, accused of counterfeiting the king's hand, was removed to Newgate for trial.—November 16th. John Beeche and William Saunders, for treasonable practices; the former was discharged, the latter executed.—December. Robert Goodhall, for treasonable practices; Roger Jones, for treasonable practices, being concerned in the late plot in the county of York, and outlawed by proclamation; and Thomas Dell the father, and Thomas the son, for treasonable practices, and for endeavouring the escape of Jones; major Gouge, for treasonable practices; Charles Bayley was a prisoner in the same year, as appears by various orders respecting him.

1666.—January. Nathaniel Desborow, to close confinement, for treasonable practices, and for correspondence with his majesty's enemies; Clement Ireton, for rescuing Henry Darwey out of custody of an officer who was conveying him to the Tower.—February. Edward King, for being found at large, under an heabeas corpus, and for refusing to give security; and major George Dewy, for treasonable practices.—May. Captain John Grice, John Beech, and Mr. Goldby; John Pengelly, for treasonable words spoken by him. — July 29th. John Desborough, formerly called major-general, and Adam Baynes.—August 3d. Hame or Hume, committed to the dungeon in the Tower, for dangerous designs, and for refusing to tell his name.—September 14th. Captain Adam Banes, close prisoner, for dangerous and seditious practices.—October. Beaumont Hastings, for assaulting and abusing lord Morley and Mounteagle, a peer of the realm; and Thomas lord Butler, of Moor-park, for challenging the duke of Buckingham to fight.—November 14th. Stephen Thompson esquire, for stealing and conveying beyond the seas the sole daughter and heiress of sir Edmund Aleyn, deceased, she being an infant.—December. Matthew Rose, for assisting in the escape of John Gregory out of Sandown Castle; John Baptist Coureur, a subject of the French king, for dangerous and seditious practices; and Henry marquis of Dorchester, for quarrelling and using ill language to the duke of Buckingham during a conference between committees of both houses of parliament.

1667.—January. The sieurs Fourdin and Choisin, for dangerous and seditious practices; Dr. Heyden, " for treasonable and seditious practices, and for refusing to answer upon his examination," sent to the dungeon; Dr. John Heydon and Joane Chidley, for dangerous and seditious practices; and Thomas Garrett and Adam Lowe, close prisoners, for riots and misdemeanours.—February 12th. John Weste, John Stower, Samuel Ride, Richard Sheans, David Barsington, and George Hopwood, " for riot, in breaking the prison of the Marshalsea, and rescuing the prisoners therein;" Peter Long, Thomas Taylour, and William Mason, to close confinement, for serving his majesty's enemies at sea; and George Dorrell, for carrying away the longboat and other things belonging to his majesty's ship, " the House of Brunswick;" and Henry North, close prisoner, for treasonable and seditious practices.—June. George duke of Buckingham, " for treasonable and seditious practices;" Peter Pett, to be kept close prisoner, for treasonable and seditious practices, and misdemeanours; and there are various orders respecting John Mason, Henry Oldenburg, and —— Birkeat, prisoners in this year.

From 1668 to 1678 no commitments appear; but, in 1670, we find William Farrington, clerk, discharged, on giving security for his "not preaching in any assembly, private conventicle, or meeting of the people, contrary to the laws of the realm." In the follow year various orders respecting Robert Perrot, John Humes, sir Thomas Modiford, Samuel Hartley, prisoners; in 1672, respecting Edward Heming, Philipp Holland, Mr. Howard, Christian Ruthven, —— Payne, and Daniel Van Overskeld, prisoners; and, in 1674, concerning Mr. Walkendonock, Mr. Sare or Sas, and Edmund Everard, also prisoners.

1678.—October. Lord Petre, for high treason; lord viscount de Stafford, lord Bellasis, colonel Roper, and his son, and —— Ratcliff, to be removed to the Tower from the King's-bench, whither they had been committed by the lord chief justice Scroggs, for high treason; sir William Goring and sir John Gage from the King's-bench, with an order that they and the lord Arundel of Wardour "be kept close prisoners, separate and apart, without pen, ink, and paper;" and also, on the same day, lord Castlemaine of Ireland removed from the Gate-house at Westminster to the Tower, "for high treason of the highest nature, to be kept safe and close prisoner."—November. John Carroll, esquire, "accused before the house of commons by Titus Oates, of high treason, for attempting to destroy the king's person, and to subvert the government," to be kept in safe custody; sir Jonathan Trelawney, knight, a member of the house of commons, committed by the house.—December 6th. Sir Henry Tichborne, a popish recusant, by order of the house of commons. There are also orders in the same year respecting Michael Mallett, esquire, and lord Trelauney, prisoners.

1679.—January 21st. An order of the privy council, his majesty being present, for the lord Ashton to be visited by the lady Southcott, of Westham, and other friends, as named, and to have the liberty of the Tower, but no conversation with any prisoner there.—April. William earl of Powis, William viscount Stafford, William lord Petre, Henry lord Arundel, and John lord Bellassis, committed upon charges of high treason, by order of the house of lords; Thomas, earl of Danby, being charged by the house of commons with high treason, rendered himself into custody of the usher of the black rod, and was sent to the Tower; and Sir William Andrews, removed from the Gatehouse to the Tower, " being engaged in the horrid conspiracy against the person of his majesty."—May 20th. Sir Anthony Deane and Mr. William Pepys committed by warrant of the house of commons.—July 18th. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, for high treason.—November. Roger, earl of Castlemaine, for high treason; and countess of Powis, for high treason, in conspiring the death of the king. Among a variety of orders respecting the above-named lords and others, prisoners, there appear the following.—April 8th. For the lords in custody to have counsel at their trials, to plead as to matter of law, but not in matter of fact; such counsel to have free access to them, as also any other persons, so as the lieutenant of the Tower do give the house next morning an account of such persons as have been with them the day before, if the house sit, and, if not, to the secretary of state."—May 28th. For the lieutenant of the Tower to permit no lords to visit the prisoners, without licence from the board; and that no commoners do visit them without leaving their names in a book for that purpose; and the lieutenant, every week, to cause a list of such names to be sent to the clerk of the counsel, to be laid before the board."

1680.—July 9th. Essex Strode esquire, high-bailiff of Westminster, for employing his under-bailiffs forcibly to break open the doors of the envoy extraordinary from his royal highness the duke of Savoy.—October 28th. Sir Robert Canne, knight, committed by warrant of the speaker of the house of commons; and among various orders respecting the five imprisoned lords are the following:—October 24th. For the prisoners to retrench their families to the number of six servants each; and, that those be all protestants.—November 12th. For the lieutenant of the Tower to keep the five lords prisoners from corresponding with each other.—December 7th. For the relations and friends of lord Stafford to have free access to him in the Tower. He was then under sentence of death; and, on the eighteenth of December, he was delivered, by authority of the king's writ, to the sheriffs of London, in order to his execution.

1681.—January 28th. Sir Robert Peyton, for challenging the speaker of the house of commons, committed by warrant of the privy council.—March 11th. Edward Fitz Harris, esquire, for high treason, in imagining, devising, and compassing the deposing and killing the king; committed by warrant of the privy council, to be kept a close prisoner.—June 12th. William lord Howard, baron of Escrick, committed for high treason, in compassing the death of the king, and levying war against him; and, by warrant under the royal signature, he was to be kept "close prisoner, none to speak or have access to him, except one servant, to be shut up with him."—July 28th. A warrant was directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, to allow him to see his children and others, and to have pen, ink, and paper; and by another, dated the 9th of August, he was to conduct him into the county of Oxon, and there to deliver him to the sheriff.—June 29th. John Rouz, for high treason, in compassing and imagining the death of the king; and Stephen Colledge, for high treason, to be kept close prisoners, and separate.—July 2d. Anthony, earl of Shaftesbury, for high treason, in compassing the death of the king, &c.; with a warrant, under royal signature, for keeping him and lord Howard close prisoners, and apart from each other, only suffering their wives and children to have access to them.—July 8th. Edward Whitaker, for compassing the death of the king, &c.; to be kept a close prisoner, and none to have access to him.—August 15th. John Wilmore, for conspiring the death of the king, &c.; to be kept close prisoner; none to have access to him, nor to have use of pen, ink, and paper.

1683.—June 26th. Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, sheriffs of London, committed by warrant of the privy council, upon information of the lord mayor and divers witnesses, "for promoting and encouraging a most enormous riot within the said city."

1684.—June 6th. Edward Grove, late of Hampton, in New England, where he was convicted and condemned for high treason, in levying war against the king, sent to England by

Edward Cranfield, esquire, lieutenant governor of New Hampshire, and now committed to the Tower till his majesty's pleasure be further known; Algernon Sidney, esquire, for high treason, in compassing the death of the king, and in conspiring to levy war against his majesty, for which he was executed in November following; William lord Russel, major John Wildman, and John Trenchard, esquire, for the same offences.—July. Aaron Smith, Charles lord Brandon, Henry Booth, esquire, and John Braman, esquire, for the same offences.

1685.[x]—June 25th. Archibald Campbell, son to the late duke of Argyle, upon suspicion of dangerous practices against the state, &c.; he was discharged October 19th following.—June 26th. Major John Gladman, William Forrester, esquire, and Francis Rolles, upon like suspicions.—July 2d. Richard Ingoldsby and major Beake, on the like suspicions; and, on the 9th, the children of the late duke of Monmouth.[y]—July 13th. James duke of Monmouth, "for high treason, in levying war against the king, and assuming a title to the crown." This misled and unfortunate prince, after the disastrous issue of the battle of Sedgemore, was taken at Holtbridge, in Dorsetshire, and thence conveyed to Ringwood, in Hampshire. Here the prisoner wrote a penitent and submissive letter to the king, humbly imploring the preservation of his life, and begging for liberty to be admitted to his majesty's presence. To the queen dowager, who appears to have been his almost only friend, and through whose intercession he obtained admittance to his uncle, he also wrote the following letter from the same place:—

"Madam, From Ringwood, the 9th of July.

"Being in this unfortunate condition, and having none left but your majesty that I think may have some compassion for me, and that for the last king's sake, makes me take this boldness to beg of you to intersed for me. I would not desire your majesty to do it, if I wear not from the botom of my hart convinced how I have been disceaved into it, and how angry God Almighty is with me for it; but I hope, madam, your intersesion will give me life to repent of it, and to shew the king how realy and truly I will serve him hear after. And I hope, madam, your majesty will be convinced, that the life you save shall ever be devoted to your service; for I have bine and ever shall your majesty's most dutiful and obedient servant,

---

[x] For the year 1684, and part of the following, none of these interesting documents are preserved.

[y] November 17th.—A warrant, under the royal signature, was directed to the lieutenant, for delivering the two sons of the late duke of Monmouth into the hands of Samuel Hancock, esquire; and on the 12th of August, an order appears, for the late duchess of Monmouth to dispose of the body of her daughter, who is now dead, in the Tower.

"To the Queen Dowager. MONMOUTH."[z]

Two days after this last letter, Monmouth and lord Grey were conducted towards London, where they arrived on the thirteenth; and on the same afternoon, the duke was brought into the king's presence; rather, perhaps, to gratify that monarch's curiosity, than from any right feeling.

On coming before his majesty, the unhappy captive fell presently at his feet, and confessed he deserved to die, but conjured him, with tears in his eyes, not to use him with the severity of justice, but to grant him a life which he would ever be ready to sacrifice for his service. He mentioned the example of several great princes who had yielded to the impressions of clemency on like occasions, and who had never afterwards repented of those acts of generosity and mercy; concluding in a most pathetic manner, "Remember, sir, I am your brother's son, and if you take my life, it is your own blood that you will shed." "But," says Mr. Fox, "James's nature did not revolt; his blood did not run cold at the thoughts of beholding the son of a brother whom he had loved, embracing his knees, petitioning, and petitioning in vain, for life. He was inexorably determined, within a short forty-eight hours, to consign him to an ignominious death;" and, after some questions, he dismissed him with a species of insult.

Monmouth, when he saw that there was nothing meant by this interview but to gratify the queen's enmity, seemed to recover his wonted spirit, and, rising from the king's feet with an air of dignity, he was carried directly to the Tower. On the same afternoon an order was given for the Lord Privy Seal and the duchess of Monmouth to have access to him; on the next day the lieutenant was informed of his majesty's commands, "that the late duke of Monmouth and late lord Grey should each of them have a servant, but to be shut up with them; that the bishop of Ely will acquaint the late duke of Monmouth that he is to die to-morrow, and that if he desires to see his children, it may be allowed, they going with the bishop of Ely, and coming away with him;" and on the same day various other orders were issued for the bishop of Ely to have access to him, at such times as he shall desire it;—that the Lord Privy Seal and the late duchess "have access to the late duke at such times, either to-day or to-morrow morning, as they shall desire the same;"—for lord Arundel of Wardour to have access to him; and "for any persons to see the said late duke, whom the Lord Privy Seal, or bishop of Ely, shall think fit."

---

[z] Lansdown MSS. No. 1236 (122).

The cruelly short interval of only two days between his commitment and his execution was not sufficient even for the worldly business he wished to transact, and the duke wrote again to the king, desiring some short respite, but this was peremptorily refused; and on the 15th of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, he was taken in the lieutenant's carriage to Tower-hill, the place appointed for his death. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step, attended by the bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, who had been with him all night, and his spiritual assistants. The concourse of spectators was incalculable, and it has been said, that never was the general compassion more affectionately expressed. The sighs, tears, and groans, which the first glance of this heart-rending scene produced, were soon succeeded by a universal and awful silence; a respectful attention, and affectionate anxiety to hear every syllable that should pass the lips of the unhappy sufferer.[a] He said, "that he came thither to die, and that he should die a protestant of the church of England." Here he was interrupted by his assistants, who, during the whole of their attendance upon him, evinced far less of that mild and christian feeling than was to have been looked for from divines of their eminent character. They disturbed his last moments by forcing him into a long and teasing controversy, which is hardly credible; and the sheriff, in his turn, thought fit to question him with all the unfeeling coarseness of a vulgar mind.[b] But the duke preserved his temper: he mildly told them, "that he died very penitent, and then referred them to a paper, which he had signed that morning, declaring that it was very much contrary to his opinion that he was proclaimed; that the late king had told him he was never married to his mother, and expressing a hope that his present majesty would not let his children suffer on this account."[c] The prelates here renewed their importunities; but in spite of all, he still preserved his placid temper. "He was sure," he said, "that he was going to everlasting happiness, and considered the serenity of his mind, in his present circumstances, as a certain earnest of the favor of his Creator. His repentance must be true, for he had no fear of dying; he should die like a lamb, and his present fortitude was owing to his consciousness that God had forgiven him his past transgressions; of all which generally he repented with all his soul."[d]

---

[a] Fox's Memoirs of James II.

He was now pressed to tell the soldiers that he stood a sad example of rebellion, and to entreat the people to be loyal and obedient to the king; but Monmouth replied, in a tone more peremptory than before he had been provoked: "I will make no speeches: I come to die." Turning to the executioner, he expressed a hope that he would do his work better now than in the case of lord Russel; he felt the axe, which he feared was not sharp enough, and then laid down his head. The executioner struck the blow, but so feebly, that Monmouth lifted up his head and looked him in the face, as if to upbraid him; but said nothing. The poor man struck again and again, without success;[e] he then threw down the axe, and declared he could not do it. He was threatened by the sheriff, and again attempted it in vain; and, horrible to think of, it was not till the fifth stroke that the head of the unhappy Monmouth was severed from his body.

July. Thomas earl of Stamford, and Charles Gerard esquire, commonly called lord Brandon, for high treason, in conspiring the death of the late king; and Henry lord Delamere, to close custody, for levying war against the king.—September. Sir John

---

[b] Fox's Memoirs of James II. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid.

Cockran, and Mr. John Cockran, his son, for high treason, &c.; and sir Robert Cotton, to close custody, for dangerous and treasonable practices. — October. John Crew Offleigh, for high treason, in conspiring to levy war against the king; sir Robert Cotton, of Cheshire, for high treason; and John Hampden, esquire, charged with the like offence, "in conspiring to raise a rebellion against the late king."— November 18th. Mr. John Cook, a member of parliament, committed to the House of Commons, "for his indecent and undutiful speech, in reflecting on the king and the said house," on the occasion of the king's answer to the address of the house against a standing army; and various orders shew that captain Anthony Buys, and Mr. Edmund Prideaux, and James Barton, and John Fernely or Farnlow, were confined in the Tower in the same year; the two latter of whom were transferred to Newgate.

1688.—June 8th. The lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol, were committed to the Tower, "for contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel against his majesty and his government." They were conveyed to the Tower by water, and the people crowded everywhere to the river's side, greeting them with the loudest acclamations for their constancy and courage. Their lordships were allowed to attend the evening service in the Tower chapel after their arrival within that fortress; and it was thought a singular coincidence, and a consolatory one in their situation, that, by the course of the church, the second lesson was 2 Cor. vi. "Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed: but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments," &c. — September. Sir Bevill Skelton, being recalled from France, on his arrival in London was committed to the Tower, for exceeding his instructions; but was soon released, and shortly afterwards made lieutenant of that fortress.— December 12th. George lord Jefferies, lord chancellor, committed by warrant of privy council, which is endorsed, "dyed 19th April 1689, 35 minutes past four in the morning." — 24th. Charles Hailes and Obadiah Walker, "for high treason, in being reconciled to the church of Rome, and for divers other dangerous practices, high crimes, and misdemeanours."

1689.—January 10th. Sir Thomas Jenner, Philip Burton, and Richard Graham, committed to close prison, by warrant signed "William Henry, prince of Orange."— May. Lord Forbes and the earl of Castlemain, "for dangerous and treasonable practices." —Colonel Robert Lundy, sir John Fenwick, and Mr. Peter Shackerly, upon suspicion of dangerous and treasonable practices. — James earl of Salisbury, James earl of Aran, Henry earl of Peterborough, William lord Montgomery, Charles Hales, esquire, sir Edward Hales, sir Thomas Jenner, Obadiah Walker, Richard Graham, Philipp Burton, Roger earl of Castlemain, Arthur lord Forbes, John Fenwick, colonel Robert Lundy, captain Peter Shackerly, and Richard viscount Preston, on suspicion of high treason. — July. Thomas Cholmondeley and Pierce Mostyn, esquires; sir Charles Cleaver, sir Robert Hamilton and Nathaniel Hooke, on the same charges as the preceding. — September 24th. Elizabeth Hanham, widow, on suspicion of high treason. — October 26th. Sir Edward Hales and Obadiah Walker, for high treason, in being reconciled to the church of Rome, and for divers other dangerous practices, high crimes, and misdemeanours.—28th. Henry earl of Peterborough, committed by the house of lords, for departing from his allegiance, and being reconciled to the church of Rome; and on the same day, the earl of Salisbury by the house of lords, and the earl of Castlemain by the house of commons, for high treason, in being reconciled to the church of Rome, &c. — November. Edward lord Griffin, for holding correspondence with their majesties' enemies; Richard viscount Preston, "for high misdemeanour, in claiming to be a peer of the realm by his pretended patent;"— a patent granted by king James the Second, dated at Versailles, on the 21st of January; and captain George Churchill, for requiring and taking money for convoys.

1690.—January 9th. Francis Cholmondeley, esquire, a member of the house of commons, committed by the house for his contempt, in refusing to take the oaths of allegiance, &c.—March 6th. Mathew Crone, alias Long, committed to close custody, for high treason, in levying war against their majesties and the government. June 24th. Colonel John Butler, Edward lord Griffin, lord Forbes, major George Matthews, lieutenant-colonel Knyvet Hastings, and the earl of Yarmouth, for high treason, in abetting and adhering to their majesties' enemies.—26th. Charles Hatton, esquire, for high treason, in publishing a treasonable libel, tending to the deposing of their majesties.—July. Bernard Howard, esquire; Roger earl of Castlemain; and lord Ross, for high treason. Arthur earl of Torrington, for high crimes and misdemeanours; and sir John Gage and sir Walter Vavasour, for high treason, &c.—October 15th. Arthur earl of Torrington, by the commissioners, for executing the office of lord high admiral, "for that, having the command of their majesties' fleet during the engagement on the 30th of June last, between their majesties' fleet and the fleet of the French king, he did withdraw and keep back, and did not do his utmost to endamage the enemy, and assist their majesties' ships, and the ships of the States General of the United Provinces, their majesties' known friends and allies, being then actually joined with their majesties' said fleet in the said engagement, and distressed by the enemy in his view."— In the same year, Mr. Stafford, the earls of Newburgh, Clancarty, Tyrone, and others, were also prisoners in the Tower, as appears by the following orders. —July 7th. For a physician to visit Mr. Stafford in the presence of the physician of the Tower.—11th. For lady Stafford to visit her son, Mr. Stafford.—July 16th. For the countess of Newburgh to visit lord Newburgh.—30th. For Mr. Robins to be admitted to his lordship.—October 16th. For lady Clancarty and others to visit lord Clancarty; and, on the 31st, for the countess of Clancarty and her four daughters to have access to the earl of Clancarty, her son.—27th. For lord Decies, lady Anglesey, and Christopher North, with a physician, to have access to the earl of Tyrone; and, on the first of November, another order, signed by the king, for delivering the body of Richard, earl of Tyrone, "deceased of a natural death," while a prisoner in the Tower, to be disposed of by his relations.

1691.—January 2d. Richard viscount Preston, for high treason, "in imagining and compassing the death of the king and queen, being apprehended as he was going into France, there to procure an invasion of this realm, by the French king, their majesties' enemy;" and John Ashton, gentleman, and captain Edmund Elliott, on like charges. They were engaged in the Jacobite plot, and Ashton was executed.—4th. Thomas lord Morley and Mounteagle committed by the house of lords, "for having given such a protection as is contrary to the orders of the house."—5th. Henry earl of Clarendon, "for high treason, in imagining and compassing the death and deposition of the king and queen, and framing and contriving heads for a declaration to be made by the late king James, to be sent into the realm of England to seduce their majesties' subjects from their allegiance, and to allure them to adhere to the late king, and endeavour his restitution to this kingdom;" and July 31st, George lord Dartmouth, for high treason, in adhering to their majesties' enemies. In this year also, as is shewn by the following orders, there were other persons confined in the Tower. "For the marchioness of Antrim to have access to major-general Maxwell."—August 2d. For lord Cahire to be brought to the secretary of state's office, to be bailed.—September 1st. For Mr. Sheppard to have access to major-general Dorrington; and, on the ninth of December, for Mr. Dorrington to have the liberty of the Tower, and for his friends and relations to visit him.—November 16th. For the duchess dowager of Norfolk "to have access to Mr. Maxwell, and to stay with him three days, by command of the king."

1692.—May 5th. John earl of Marlborough, committed by the council, for high treason, in abetting and adhering to their majesties' enemies; in the same year also, lord Brudenell, the earl of Huntingdon, sir Robert Thorold, Charles lord Mohun, and colonel Langston, were prisoners, as appears by various orders respecting them. Lord Mohun, was charged with the death of William Mountford, the celebrated comedian who was killed in a quarrel concerning Mrs. Bracegirdle, an eminent actress.

1693-4.—February 16th. Lord viscount Falkland, a member of the house of commons, committed by an order of the house; and, on the same day, Henry Guy, esquire, also a member of parliament, committed by the same authority, for taking a bribe of two hundred guineas.—March 7th. James Craggs, one of the contractors for clothing the army, "for refusing to produce his books of account, thereby obstructing the inquiry of the house into the disposal of the public money."—May 22d. Colonel John Parker, for high treason, in adhering to their majesties' enemies.[f]—July 31st. Bartholomew Walmesley, esquire, for high treason, in levying war against their majesties.—August 11th. Sir Thomas Stanley, for high treason, in adhering to their majesties' enemies.—September 12th. Caryl lord viscount Mollineux, sir Rowland Stanley, sir Thomas Clifton, and sir William Gerard, for high treason, in levying war against their majesties, &c.; and, on the same day, Peter Leigh, esquire, for high treason, in adhering to their majesties' enemies.—September 29th. William Dicconson, esquire, for high treason, for levying war against their majesties, &c.

1694-5.—Mr. Pauncefort Tracy, agent to colonel Hastings's regiment, "for obstinately refusing to answer to a matter of fact demanded by the house of commons, and thereby violating the privilege, and contuming the authority of the said house, and the fundamental constitution thereof."

1696.—January 15th. Charles earl of Monmouth, committed by the house of lords, "for having had a share and part in the contrivance of the papers delivered into this house by the lady Mary Fenwick, and for the undutiful words which were sworn before this house to be spoken by him of the king."—March 2d. Henry Buckley, esquire, for high treason.—21st. Thomas earl of Ailesbury, for high treason, in compassing and intending the death and destruction of the king.—April 15th. James Griffin, for high treason.—10th. Sir Philip Constable and Arthur lord Forbes, upon suspicion of high treason; and Mr. William Tempest, for high-treason.—25th. Mr. Henry Browne, for high treason.—June 19th. Sir John Fenwick, baronet, for high treason. He was engaged in the great plot formed in the preceding year for assassinating the king; and, by virtue of a bill of attainder, was beheaded on Tower-hill, in January 1697.

---

[f] Colonel Parker escaped, as did lord Clancarty; for which, and the ill usage of general Dorrington, lord Lucas, then governor of the Tower, was several times called before the council.

1697.—January 1st. Thomas lord Kerry, and brigadier Richard Ingoldsby, for sending a challenge to the lord chancellor of Ireland—4th. John Knight, esquire, a member of the house of commons, for false endorsement of exchequer-bills.—10th. Charles lord Mohun, committed by the house of lords;—and 25th. Charles Duncombe, esquire, member of the house of commons, to close prison, for having contrived and advised the false endorsements of the exchequer bills, and paid the same into the receipt of the exchequer for excise, although they had never passed through that revenue.

1699.—January 16th. Sir Richard Leving, for being the author of several scandalous aspersions upon four of the commissioners for Irish forfeitures; signed, Thomas Littleton, speaker.—March 22d. Charles lord Mohun, by order of the house of lords, for the murder of Richard Coote, esquire; and Edward earl of Warwick and Holland, for the same offence.

1700.—February 28th. John Parkhurst and John Paschall, esquires, commissioners of the prizes, committed by the house of commons for not delivering in their accounts.—March 6th. William Cotesworth, committed by the house of commons, for bribery, in procuring himself to be returned member for the borough of Great Grimsby; and 18th, Samuel Shepherd, esquire, the elder, also committed by the house of commons, for bribery, &c., in procuring elections of members of parliament for Bramber, Wotton Basset, Malmesbury, and Newport, in Hampshire.

1703.—April 23d. Several French officers, prisoners of war, and their servants.

1712. January 17th. Robert Walpole, esquire, late secretary at war, committed by the house of commons, "for breach of trust on two contracts for forage for troops quartered in North Britain."

1715.—Nicholas earl of Scarsdale committed; and on the 11th of October, a writ of habeas corpus cum causâ was issued, "for him to be brought before Robert Price, esquire, one of the barons of the exchequer, at his chamber in Serjeant's Inn." The earl of Oxford charged with giving information to the King of France, and earl Powis and sir William Wyndham for favoring the Pretender, were also committed; and in the same year the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, and lords Kenmuir, Widdrington, and Nairn, for their attachment and services to the Stuarts. The earl of Derwentwater and lord Kenmuir were beheaded, but the earl of Nithsdale and lord Wintoun escaped; the former through the heroic and extraordinary perseverance of his countess. After exertions almost incredible: after petitioning in vain, throwing herself at the king's feet, and imploring his mercy without effect, she resolved on attempting his escape only the day before that appointed for his execution, and this she accomplished with most surprising address, in a woman's clothes.

1716.—August 27th. Kennet lord Duffin, for high treason.

1717.—December 4th. William Shippen, esquire, "for speaking words highly dishonorable to and unjustly reflecting on his majesty's person and government."

1720.—February 27th, earl Coningesby, for a libel on the lord chancellor, relative to the vicarage of Leominster.

March.—Sir George Caswall, and John Aislabie, esquire, committed by warrant of the speaker of the house of commons.

1722.—July 30th. Captain Dennis Kelly, for high treason, in compassing and imagining the death of the king.—August. Thomas Cockrane, for high treason, by warrant signed, "Roxburghe," to be kept a close prisoner; and 24th, Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, for high treason, "in being deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable conspiracy, by traitorously consulting and corresponding with divers persons, to raise an insurrection within this realm, and to procure foreign forces to invade this kingdom; and intending to raise a rebellion at the time of the elections; and when the king went to Hanover; and at the breaking up of the camp." A bill of attainder having passed against him, in the month of May 1723, an order was directed to the constable of the Tower on the 17th of June following, for delivering the body of the bishop of Rochester to the captain of his majesty's ship Aldborough, in order to his banishment. He remained in exile till his death, which happened at Paris in February 1732.[g]—September. Charles earl of Orrery, for high treason;

---

[g] See Pope's Works.

Chistopher Layer, esquire, for high treason, in compassing and imagining the death of the king; and William lord North and Gray, for high treason. Layer, during his imprisonment, was kept in very heavy irons, and was taken with them on to the bar of the King's bench. He was found guilty, and, after twice being reprieved, was executed, in January 1723.—October. George Kelly, on suspicion of treason, and Thomas duke of Norfolk, on the like charge.

1723.—Dr. John Friend, and John Plunkett, for high treason.

1724.—January 21st. Edward earl of Suffolk, for granting protections in breach of standing orders of the house of lords.

1725.—Thomas earl of Macclesfield, for high crimes and misdemeanours.

1727.—March 9th. John Strachan, on suspicion of high treason.

1745.—December. James Macdonald and James Voghler; Archibald Stewart, esquire, late provost of Edinburgh, on suspicion of high treason; and eight officers taken in a French privateer.

1746.—May 27th. William earl of Kilmarnock, George earl of Cromartie, and lord Balmerino,[h] for high treason.—June 17th. The marquis of Tullibardine, John M'Kensie, commonly called lord M'Leod, and William Murray, esquire, for high treason.—August 13th. Sir John Douglas.—November 11th. Doctor Peter Barry; and December 18th, Lord Lovat: all for high treason; as was Charles Ratcliff, esquire, younger brother of the late earl of Derwentwater, in the same year.

Of these celebrated characters, who, it is well known, were committed to the Tower on account of the Scotch rebellion in 1745, the earl of Kilmarnock, lord Balmerino, lord Lovat, and Ratcliff, were beheaded on Tower-hill; and their names terminate, it is hoped for ever, the long list of executions, of which, for so many ages, that noted spot had been the usual scene. The two former having been tried and found guilty by their peers, were brought to end their lives on the 18th of August 1746.

As they were conducted from their prisons, the earl met and embraced his fellow-sufferer, saying, "My lord, I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition." At the outer gate of the Tower they were received by the sheriffs, and thence through deep lines of military, they moved in solemn procession to a house near the scaffold, where their friends were admitted to see them. They were in separate apartments, which were hung with black; the earl of Kilmarnock being attended by the Rev. Mr. Foster, a dissenting minister, and the Rev. Mr. Hume, a relation of the earl of Hume; and the lord Balmerino by the chaplain of the Tower, and another clergyman of the church of England.

---

[h] See page 117.

The earl, in his apartment, spent about an hour in devotion with Mr. Foster; after which lord Balmerino was admitted to converse with him: on entering, he thanked his lordship for the favor of the interview, and then asked if his lordship knew of any order signed by the prince (meaning the Pretender's son) to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden? And the earl answering, "No;" lord Balmerino replied, "Nor I either; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murders." The earl said, "He did not think this a fair inference; for he was informed, by several officers, after he was a prisoner at Inverness, that such an order, signed George Murray, was in the duke's custody." "George Murray!" said lord Balmerino; "then they should not charge it upon the prince." He then took his leave, and with a nobleness of soul embraced the earl, concluding, "My lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I cannot pay this reckoning alone: once more, farewell — for ever!"

The earl, with those present, then kneeled down, and joined in a prayer delivered by Mr. Foster; after which, and taking some bread and a glass of wine, he expressed a desire that lord Balmerino might precede him to the scaffold; but, on being told that this could not be, as he was named first in the warrant, he seemed satisfied, and saluting his friend, said, "that he should make no speech; but desired the ministers to assist him in his last moments." They then proceeded to the platform. In person, his lordship was tall and graceful, his countenance mild, and his complexion naturally pale, but rendered more so by indisposition: he was dressed in a black suit: his demeanor manifested great contrition; and, on his first appearance, the multitude shewed the deepest signs of commiseration and pity. At the same time, struck with the various appalling objects around him,— the immense concourse of people — the block — his coffin — the executioner, and the instrument of death, his lordship turned to Mr. Hume, and, raising his hands and eyes, exclaimed, "Hume, this is terrible!" but he said it without a change of voice or countenance.

After a short prayer, which concluded with an invocation for his majesty king George, and the royal family, the earl took a final leave of his friends; and, the necessary preparations having been made, his head was severed from his body by a single blow of the axe.

The lord Balmerino was a different character: he was a perfect Scotch soldier — blunt and undaunted, sincere and generous. In person he was very plain, with a figure strong and rather clumsy, and possessing but little of the air of a polished gentleman. According to an ancient usage of the place, the lieutenant of the Tower, on delivering his prisoners to the sheriff for execution, concluded with "God bless king George!" to which the earl assented, by a respectful bow. But not so with Balmerino! He, with a stern voice, and yet a sterner look, rejoined, "God bless king James!" While the melancholy scene passed by of Kilmarnock's execution, and after he had solemnly recommended himself to the mercy of the Almighty, he conversed cheerfully with his friends, took some refreshment, and requested the company to drink to him "ain degrae ta haiven."

After the earl's execution, his body and head were conveyed away in a hearse; and the scaffold having then been cleaned and covered with saw-dust, so as to leave no appearance of the spectacle that had just transpired, the under-sheriff went to summon the other noble prisoner to his fate; but his lordship did not give him time to impart his message. "Is your business over with my lord Kilmarnock?" said the fearless prisoner; and on being told it was, he inquired how the executioner performed his office. The account seemed to please him: he said, "It was well done;" and turning to the company, added, "Gentlemen, I shall detain you no longer." With an unaffected cheerfulness he then embraced his friends, and proceeded to the platform; which he ascended with an air of the utmost ease. He was in a blue coat turned up with red, the regimentals that he wore at the battle of Culloden. During the whole of the preparations, his deportment evinced no symptom of fear or regret; and he several times reproved his friends for discovering either on his account. He walked twice or thrice round the scaffold; bowed to the people, and observed the block with perfect composure. With equal firmness he also noticed the coffin; and, on reading the inscription upon it,[1] he said, with an easy nod, "It is right." He then took out of his pocket a paper, which he read with an audible voice, and afterwards delivered it to the sheriff. It contained no passionate invectives; but mentioned his majesty with respect, as a prince of the greatest magnanimity and mercy; yet he did not yield those political opinions which had brought him to his present situation. The executioner was about to ask his lordship's pardon, but he interrupted him, saying, "Friend, you need not beg forgiveness of me; the performance of your duty is commendable." In preparing himself for the block, which he did with surprising calmness, he put on a plaid cap, saying, he died a Scotchman. He then turned once more to his friends, to take a last farewell; and looking round on the crowd, he said, "Perhaps some may think my behaviour too bold; but remember, sir," addressing himself to a gentleman near him, "what I now declare: it is the effect of a confidence in God, and of a good conscience; and I should dissemble, if I shewed any signs of fear." His lordship kneeled down; and, without a tremble or change of countenance, laid his neck upon the block, saying, "O Lord! reward my friends, forgive mine enemies, and receive my soul;" which were the last words of the dauntless Balmerino.

Charles Ratcliffe was the next who suffered on the same spot. He had been concerned in the rebellion of 1715, and had then saved his life by escaping out of Newgate after conviction.

---

[1] See page 118.

From that time he resided chiefly in France, till the year 1745, when the rebellion broke out in Scotland. Intending to have his share in it, he then embarked, with his son and several other Scots and Irish officers, on board the Esperance privateer; but this vessel was captured before she reached Scotland, and Ratcliffe was sent to the Tower. During his imprisonment, as well as at the bar of the King's Bench, he behaved with great haughtiness and insolence. On being proved to be the person that was convicted in 1715, he was ordered to be beheaded; a sentence which he accordingly underwent on the 8th of December.[k]

Lord Lovat was the last of these prisoners that suffered death. On the morning of his execution he awoke about three o'clock, and was heard to pray with great devotion; at five he rose, and, after taking a glass of wine and water, as he was used to do, he sat and read till seven; between nine and ten he made a hearty breakfast of minced veal, having ordered coffee and chocolate for his friends, whose health he drank in wine and water, with an appearance of great cheerfulness.

There was a custom of ancient date for the sheriffs to knock at the outermost gate of the Tower, when any prisoner was ordered for execution, and to require delivery of his body. At half past ten they came with their officers and attendants to perform this ceremony; and, shortly afterwards, lord Lovat was brought out in the lieutenant's carriage, and conveyed thence to a house near the scaffold; — that in which the earl of Kilmarnock and lord Balmerino had rested, on their being brought to the same unhappy end. Here his lordship still maintained his wonted ease, but behaved with a sedateness that became his situation: after spending a few minutes in prayer, he conversed freely with his friends; he delivered a paper to one of the sheriffs, telling them that he should not make any speech, and that they might give the word of command when they pleased. Owing to his age and infirmity, his lordship was scarcely able to stand, and he was supported to the scaffold by two warders. He expressed surprise at so vast a concourse of people, to see, as he said, "the taking off of an old grey head:" he bowed to the spectators; looked at his coffin, and, on reading the inscription upon it, he said, "It is right;" adding, from Horace, "dulce et decorum pro patriâ mori." He told those who were upon the scaffold, "that he was about to die in a good cause, for which his family, for ages past, had been engaged; that he had never done injury to any private person, nor had he baulked any public cause. On seeing one of his friends dejected, he put his hand upon his shoulder, saying, "Cheer up thy heart man: I am not afraid: why should you?"

---

[k] Memoirs of Ratcliffe, pp. 27—30.

Having looked at the axe, and presented the executioner with ten guineas, he saluted his friends, and prepared himself for the last awful ceremony. He laid himself down with great resolution, and, after a moment's prayer, gave the signal. His head was severed from his body by a single blow; and thus, in his eightieth year, ended the earthly existence of a man, whose course from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age, would present such a tissue of failings, that charity forbids our taking a review of his life, and calls upon us to let his offences lie hidden with his dust.

1760.—February 13th. Earl Ferrers was committed. He was tried and convicted by his peers, for the murder of Mr. Johnson, his steward; and was hanged at Tyburn.

1762.—John Wilkes, esquire, member of parliament for the borough of Aylesbury. He was committed for a libel on the king, printed in the forty-fifth number of the periodical paper called the North Briton; and, for its republication, he was afterwards expelled the house.

1774.—Ald. Crosby, lord mayor of London.

1775.—October 23d. Stephen Sayre, esquire, for treasonable practices.

1780.—June 9th. Lord George Gordon, for high treason, as the author of the great riots in this year in London; for which he was tried, but acquitted.—October 6th. Henry Laurens, for high treason; and—November 6th. The earl of Pomfret, for having sent a challenge to the duke of Grafton.

1781.—Francis Henry De la Motte, for high treason.

1794.—John Martin, by order of the court of King's Bench, and—May 10th. Reverend Jeremiah Joyce, John Horne

Tooke, Augustus Bonney, John Richter, John Lovett, John Thelwall, and Thomas Hardy, for high treason; and in June Stuart Kyd, on like charges.

1795.—September 18th. Robert Thomas Crossfield, on charges of high treason. He was implicated in a design to assassinate the king, and was accordingly tried, but acquitted.

1798.—March 6th. Arthur O'Connor, John Alley, John Binns, and James O'Coigly, committed for high treason, for maintaining a traitorous correspondence with the French Directory. They were tried at Maidstone; where the latter was found guilty and condemned. He was executed at Penenden-heath. The others were acquitted.

June 10th. Lord Thanet, committed by the court of King's Bench, for striking a blow in court, at the time of the assizes at Maidstone; for which he was sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, to be confined in the Tower for twelve months, and to find securities for seven years.

1799.—Baron de Jagerhorn Spurila, for treasonable practices; and, John Bonham, and the honorable Valentine Brown Lawless, "on suspicion of high treason."

1810.—April 6th. Sir Francis Burdett, baronet; by order of the house of commons.

1817.—February 14th. James Watson, Thomas Preston, John Hooper, and John Keens; by warrant of the privy council, on charges of high treason;—and, April 28th. Arthur Thistlewood, for the like offence.

1820.—March 3d. Arthur Thistlewood, James Ings, John Harrison, William Davidson, James Wilson, John T. Brunt, Richard Tidd, and John Monument, committed by warrant of the secretary of state, for high treason. Of these persons, who were the Cato-street conspirators, the seven first were removed from the Tower to Newgate, and Monument was admitted as king's evidence. Thistlewood, Ings, Davidson, Brunt, and Tidd, were tried and executed, and Harrison and Wilson, who pleaded guilty to their indictments, were sent abroad for life.

THE OFFICE OF CONSTABLE.

THE office of constable of the Tower has always been regarded as one of great honor and importance, and has generally been conferred on men of a rank and influence in the country corresponding with the high station and authority they possessed.

In early records we find this officer sometimes called constable of London;[l] instances also occur of his being denominated "constable of the sea,"[m] and "constable of the honor of the Tower;"[n] and he seems not only to have been invested with the custody of this important citadel, but to have occasionally exercised a command over the capital, and to have enjoyed privileges and jurisdictions on the river Thames of a very extensive and peculiar kind.

In the reign of king John mandates appear, directing the constable to allow or restrain merchants in their departure from the port of London; to permit others, having the king's licence, to export wool, or other prohibited merchandize; not to suffer ships to depart without taking sufficient security that they shall not go into the countries of the king's enemies;[o] to prevent forestalling of provisions coming towards the capital, either by land or water;[p] to compel those who bring fish in ships to London for sale, to take the same to Queenhithe;[q] to restrain ships of the Cinque Ports from carrying corn out of the kingdom; and the like.

---

[l] Rot. Claus. 8 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 9. Ibid. p. 2. m. 2 et 11. Ibid. 25 Hen. III. m. 3 et 19.

[m] Ibid. 5 Hen. III. m. 12.

[n] Ibid. 46 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 1.

[o] Vide Rot. Claus. 16 Joh. m. 2, &c.

[p] Ibid.

[q] Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. III. m. 14. et Ibid. 11 Hen. III. m. 15.

The constable is also stated to have had, from time immemorial, various customs and profits in right of his office, accruing from certain merchandizes coming past the Tower by water to the city of London.[r] From every boat coming to the city laden with rushes, such a quantity as a person could hold between his arms was to be placed for him upon the Tower wharf; — from every boat accustomed to bring oysters, muscles and cockles to the said city, one maund to be laid upon the said wharf; — from every ship laden with wine from Bourdeaux, or elsewhere, coming to the said city, one flagon from before, and another from behind the mast; — every ship, barge, boat, or other vessel, which by storm and wind should be loose, or with cords and cables broken, without any one on board to govern her, should float between London bridge and Gravesend, was to be taken by the constable of the Tower, or his officers, and applied to his use; — swans coming under London bridge towards the sea, or from the sea towards the said bridge, belonged to the said constable; — and all manner of horses, oxen, cows, pigs, and sheep, falling from the said bridge into the Thames, which the said constable or his servants could take; as well as every such animal swimming through the said bridge to the Tower, which could be taken by the constable or his servants; — for every foot of such animals feeding within the ditches of the Tower aforesaid, he was entitled to one penny; — and every cart, empty or laden, that should fall into said ditches, was the forfeiture and fee of the said constable.[s]

The constables received also various other rents and profits, which they accounted for at the Exchequer, arising from certain tenements within the precincts of the Tower, belonging to the crown; — for herbage growing on Tower-hill; — for the liberty of drying skins in East Smithfield within the Tower liberty; — an ancient custom of six shillings and eight pence by the year for boats of London, called "stalebotes," fishing in the water of Thames, between the Tower and the sea, for fish called "sprot;" and for every stranger's boat, fishing there in like manner, eight shillings; — twelve pence, by ancient custom, from every ship carrying herrings from Yarmouth to London, and twelve pence from every foreign merchant bringing herrings; and a custom of two pence from every person going and returning by the river Thames on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James.[t]

---

[r] See Appendix to first edition.

[s] Ibid.

Prisoners confined in the Tower were also a great source of profit to the constable. Of every duke committed, he had a fee of twenty pounds; of every earl so committed, twenty marks, "for the suite of his yrons;" of every baron, "for the suite of his yrons," ten pounds; and of every knight, "for the suite of his yrons," one hundred shillings, as well as allowances for the diet of themselves and their attendants, according to their rank, &c.;[u] and besides these and many other privileges and emoluments, the constable of the Tower received an annual fee, which varied in early times from fifty to a hundred pounds, and allowance of wax, wine, and other necessaries for the use of his household.

The first person who bore the office of constable of the Tower appears to have been Geoffrey de Mandeville; on whom it is said to have been conferred by King William the Conqueror, as a reward for his distinguished services against Harold in the battle of Hastings. From his time, the many distinguished persons who have enjoyed this important office, are noticed in succession in the first edition of this work; as are also the lieutenants and other officers of the fortress, with their respective duties; and an account will also there be found of the various liberties and privileges which belong to the Tower, as an ancient palace.

---

[t] Compot. Joh. de Crumbewell, constab. Turr. ann. 1—14 Edw. II.; et Magn. Rot. ann. 2, 8, 11, 19 Edw. III., &c. in Scaccar.

[u] See Appendix to 1st Edit. p. xcvi.

[x] Rot. Claus. 1 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 23.

INDEX.

Able, Dr. Thomas, inscription and account of, 160.
Abergavenny, George lord, imprisoned and released, 358.
Adcock, Wm., imprisoned, 590.
Ailesbury, Thos. earl of, impr., 604.
Aislabie, John, imprisoned, 606.
Alexander, son of the earl of Mar, imprisoned, 281.
Alley, John, imprisoned, 613.
Andrews, colonel Eusebius, imprisoned and beheaded, 580, 581.
—— sir William, imprisoned, 594.
Antrim, marquis of, imprisoned, 589.
Apsley, sir Allan, buried, 120.
Aran, James earl of, imprisoned, 601.
Arden, Edward, imprisoned and hanged, 489. 490.
—— Mary, imprisoned, 489.
Argyle, marquis of, imprisoned, 589.
Arnold, sir Nicholas, 449.
Arundel, earl, inscriptions and account of, 135. 143.
—— earl of, a pris., 73. 407. 465. 490. 497. 531. 543. 544; beheaded, 36.
—— Henry lord, imprisoned, 593.
—— lord, of Wardour, imprisoned, 593.
—— Philip earl of, buried, 117.
—— Ph. Howard earl of, prisoner 88.
—— Richard Fitz Alan earl of, imprisoned and beheaded, 296, 297.
—— sir Thomas, imprisoned and beheaded. 73. 407. 418, 419.
Ashburnham, John, imprisoned, 583.
—— William, imprisoned, 583.
Ashley, captain, imprisoned, 580.
Ashton, John, impr. and executed, 603.
Aske, Robert, imprisoned, 377.
Askew, Anne, imprisoned, tortured, and burnt, 393, 394.
Astle, Thos., keeper of the records, 253.
Athol, earl of, imprisoned, 280, 287.
Atkinson, Robert, imprisoned, 590.
Atterbury, Francis, bishop of Rochester, imprisoned, 606.
Audley, Mervin lord, imprisoned and beheaded, 546.
Axtell, colonel, impr. and executed, 589.

Bacon, lord chancellor, a prisoner, 531.
Bagshaw, Edward, imprisoned, 590.
Bailey, Charles, inscriptions, &c., 145, 146. 171.
Balfour, sir William, lieutenant, 92.
Baliol, king of the Scots, impr., 280.
—— Edward, son of, imprisoned, 281.
Balmerino, lord, prisoner, 117. 609.
Bamfield, colonel, imprisoned, 589.
Banes, captain Adam, imprisoned, 592.
Banister, imprisoned, 465.
Barkstead, colonel, imprisoned, 590.
Barney, Kenelm, imprisoned, 482.
Barry, Dr. Peter, imprisoned, 607
Barsington, David, imprisoned, 592.
Barton, James, imprisoned, 600.
Basill, Theodore, a prisoner, 419.
Bates, Thos., impr. & hanged, 527, 528.
Bath and Wells, bishop of, imprisoned, 459; account of, 600.
Battista, Giovani, inscription of, 204.
Baxter, Owen, imprisoned, 591.
Bayly, Charles, a prisoner, 583. 591.
Baynes, Adam, imprisoned, 592.
Beauchamp, lord, imprisoned, 581.
—— sir John, imprisoned and beheaded, 295, 296.
Beauchamp Tower, described, 131-174.
Beake, Arnold, imprisoned, 591.
—— Elias, imprisoned, 591.
—— major, imprisoned, 596.
Beckman, captain Martin, impr., 590.
Bedingfield, sir Thomas, impris., 563.
Beeche, John, imprisoned, 591, 592.
Belknap, sir Robert, imprisoned, 294.
Bell Tower, described, 130.
Bellasis, lord, imprisoned, 581. 588. 593, 594.
Benson, capt., impr. and hanged, 580.
Bergavenny, Edward lord, 152.
Berkshire, the earl of, imprisoned, 564.
—— his daughter, imprisoned, 587.
Berkstead, sir John, lieutenant, 95.
Berners, sir James, imprisoned and beheaded, 295, 296.
Beveridge, William, prisoner, 153.
Bigod, Hugh le, constable, 15.
Bilson, Leonard, prisoner, 87.
Binns, John, imprisoned, 613.
Birkeat, a prisoner, 593.
Bishops imprisoned, 561, 562.
Blake, John, impris. and hanged, 294.
Blois, Charles de, duke of Britanny, prisoner, 27. 289.
Blood, colonel, attempt to steal the crown, &c., 191.
Bloody Tower, account of, 257.

Blount, sir Michael, buried, 119.
—— sir Richard, buried, 119.
Blunt, sir Christopher, impr., 516; beheaded, 517, 518.
Bockman, capt., imprisoned, 590.
Boleyn, queen Anne, imprisoned and beheaded, 67. 116. 367.
Bolingbroke, Roger, imprisoned and hanged, 311, 312.
Bonham, John, a prisoner, 613.
Bonney, Augustus, imprisoned, 613.
Booth, Henry, imprisoned, 596.
—— sir John, imprisoned, 588.
Borough, sir John, keeper of the records, 235.
Boteler, William, imprisoned, 591.
Boucicaut, marshal, imprisoned, 307.
Bourne, Dr. a prisoner, 87.
Bowyer, Robert and William, keepers of the records, 225. 233. 235.
Bowyer's Tower, described, 175.
Boxall, Dr., a prisoner, 87.
Bradford, John, imprisoned, &c. 419.
Brakenbury, sir Rob., constable, 55—57.
Braman, John, esq., 596.
Brandon, Chas., lord, impris., 596. 599.
Bray, lord, account of, 453, 454.
Brembre, sir Nicholas, imprisoned and hanged, 293, 294.
Brereton, Wm. a prisoner, 367. 374.
Bret, Alexander, hanged, 446.
Brick Tower, described, 176.
Bristol, earl of, a pris., 531. 544. 563.
—— bishop of, impris., and acc. of, 600.
Broad Arrow Tower described, 202.
Bromley, sir Henry, imprisoned, 508.
Brook, George, impris. 519; beheaded, 521.
—— Mr., imprisoned, 588.
Browne, Dr., a prisoner, 87.
—— sir G., impris. & exec., 331—333.
—— Henry, imprisoned, 604.
Brudenell, lord, a prisoner, 603.
Brunt, John T., impris. and exec., 613.
Brus, David, king of Scotland, impris., 287.
Buckingham, duke of, impris., 587.
—— Edward duke of, imprisoned and beheaded, 356—358.
—— George duke of, imprisoned, 592.
Buckley, Henry, esq., imprisoned, 604.
Bulmar, Ralph, a prisoner, 163.
Bulmer, sir John, imprisoned, 377.
—— lady, imprisoned and burnt, 377.
Burchet, Peter, 158.
Burdett, sir Francis, imprisoned, 613.
Burgh, Hubert de, earl of Kent, account of, 268. 276.
—— sir William, imprisoned, 294.
Burley, sir Simon, imprisoned and beheaded, 34. 295.
Burton, Philip, imprisoned, 601.
Butler, col. John, imprisoned, 602.
Butler, Thomas lord, imprisoned, 592.
Buys, Anthony, imprisoned, 600.
Bygot, sir Francis, imprisoned, 377.
Byron, Ernestus, imprisoned, 587.
—— sir John, lieutenant, 92.

Cahire, lord, a prisoner, 603.
Calais, governor of, and others, impris., 288.
Campbell, archd., impris., and discharged, 596.
Campian, impris. and put to the rack, 486.
Canne, sir Robert, knt., impris., 594.
Canterbury, archbp. of, impris., 78. 600.
Canterbury, Laud, archbp. of, impris., &c. 556. 561.
Capel, lord, impris., 574; execution and character, 579, 580.
Carew, sir Alexander, imprisoned and executed, 565. 572.
—— sir Gawen, a prisoner, 438. 449.
—— sir Nicholas, impris. & exec., 378.
Carey, sir John, imprisoned, 294.
—— John, esq., imprisoned, 589.
Carlisle, bishop of, imprisoned and released, 299, 300.
Carnwath, earl of, imprisoned, 606.
Carr, Charles, imprisoned, 590.
Carrick, earl of, imprisoned, 287.
Carroll, John, esq., imprisoned, 593.
Cassells, earl of, imprisoned, 70.
Castlemain, earl of, impris., 593. 601.
Castleton, lord, imprisoned, 588.
Caswall, sir George, imprisoned, 606.
Cesse, Guychard de, imprisoned, 309.
Chamberlain, sir L., lieutenant, 73.
Chamberlayne, Geo., a prisoner, 87.
Chandos, lord, imprisoned, 581.
Cheke, sir John, prisoner, 77.
—— account of, 451.
Chesterfield, the earl of, imprisoned, 588.
Chichester, bishop of, imprisoned and account of, 407. 419. 600.
—— Richard Sampson bishop of, a prisoner, and released, 379.
Chidley, Joane, imprisoned, 592.
Chirk, lord Mortimer of, impris., 284.
Choisin, sieur, imprisoned, 592.
Cholmley, chief justice, a prisoner, 77.
Cholmondeley, Francis, impris., 601.
—— sir Richard, buried, 118.
—— Thomas, imprisoned, 601.
Churchill, capt. George, impris., 601.
Chute, sir Walter, a prisoner, 531.
Clancarty, the earl of, imprisoned, 602.
Clarence, George duke of, impris., tried, and put to death, 48. 326—329.
Clarendon, Henry earl of, impris. 603.
Clarke, Thomas, inscriptions of, 150.
Clayton, sir William, imprisoned, 586.
Cleaver, sir Charles, impris., 601.

Clement, Gregory, impris. and hanged, 588, 589.
Cleveland, the earl of, impris., 574.
Clifford, sir Robert, imprisoned and executed, 331—333.
Clifton, lord, a prisoner, 531. 542.
—— sir Thomas, imprisoned, 604.
Cobbet, col. Ralph, imprisoned, 588.
Cobham, lady, imprisoned, 307.
—— lord, prisoner, 90. 305. 307. 438. 446. 465. 519. 523.
Cobham, Thomas, 161.
Cockran, Mr., imprisoned, 600.
—— sir John, imprisoned, 600.
Cockrane, Thomas, imprisoned, 606.
Coke, John, imprisoned, 589.
—— sir Edward, a prisoner, 531. 543.
Coleton, John, account of, 164.
Colledge, Stephen, imprisoned, 595.
Collingbourn, his imprisonment and execution, 331—333.
Collingwood, Daniel, imprisoned, 590.
Compton, sir William, imprisoned, 586.
Comyn, John, imprisoned, 280.
Coningesby, earl, imprisoned, 606.
Constable, sir Philip, imprisoned, 604.
—— sir Robert, imprisoned, 377.
CONSTABLE TOWER, described, 201.
Conyers, sir John, lieutenant, 93.
Cook, sir Anthony, a prisoner, 77.
—— Dr., prisoner, 161.
—— John, imprisoned, 600.
Cooke, George, esq., imprisoned, 581.
Cooper, sir Anthony Ashley, 95.
Copley, Anthony, imprisoned, 519.
Corbet, Miles, imprisoned, 590.
—— sir Richard, prisoner, 77.
Corker, Francis, imprisoned, 589.
Cotesworth, William, imprisoned, 605.
Cottington, lord, constable, 92.
Cotton, sir Robert, imprisoned, 600.
Coureur, John Baptist, impris., 592.
Courtney, lord, released, 78.
Crags, James, a prisoner, 604.
Cranfield, Edward, esq., impris., 596.
Crawford, earl of, impris., 309. 582.
Creed, major Richard, impris., 588.
Croft, sir James, constable, 76.
Crofte, sir James, imprisoned, &c., 438. 447—449.
Cromartie, George earl of, impris. 607.
Cromwell, lord, imprisoned, 508.
—— Thomas earl of Essex, memoir of, 380—386; beheaded, 385; his character, 387—390.
Crone alias Long, Mathew, imprisoned, 601.
Crosby, Alderman, imprisoned, 612.
Crosfield, Robert Thomas, imprisoned, 613.
Cuffe, Henry, imprisoned and hanged, 516.
Cuffyn, Edward, prisoner, 152.
Culpepper, a prisoner, 390, 391. 438.
—— T., inscription of, 107.
Cuncy, sieur, imprisoned, 591.

Dacres, lord, a prisoner, 73.
Danby, Thomas earl of, impris., 594.
Daniel, John, prisoner, 202.
Danvers, sir Charles, impris., 88, 89. 508; beheaded, 517.
—— Robert, imprisoned, 590.
Darcy, John, constable, 27.
—— lord, prisoner, 67.
—— beheaded, 377.
Dartmouth, George lord, impr., 603.
Davidson, William, imprisoned and executed, 613.
Davison, secretary, a prisoner, fined £10,000, 497.
Davyes, captain, imprisoned, 590.
Dawson, John, alias Man, impr., 591.
Deane, sir Anthony, imprisoned, 594.
Delamere, Henry lord, impr., 599.
De la Motte, Francis Henry, impr., 612.
De la Ware, lord, imprisoned, 588.
Dell, Thomas, imprisoned, 591.
Derham, a prisoner, & hanged, 390, 391.
Derwentwater, the earl of, imprisoned and beheaded, 606.
Desborough, John, imprisoned, 592.
Desborow, Nathaniel, imprisoned, 591.
Despenser, Hugh le, 20.
DEVEREUX TOWER, described, 174.
Devonshire, earl of, a pris., 419. 438. 446.
Dewy, major George, imprisoned, 592.
Dicconson, William, esq., impris. 604.
Digby, sir Everard, knt. imprisoned and hanged, 528.
Diggs, sir Dudley, imprisoned, 544.
Dingley, Thomas, impris. and beheaded, 378, 379.
Dives, sir Lewis, imprisoned, 574.
Doberon, John, imprisoned, 591.
Dodington, John, imprisoned, 590.
Dorchester, Henry marquis of, 592.
Dorrell, George, imprisoned, 592.
Dorrington, major-general, 603.
Douglas, sir John, imprisoned, 607.
—— lord, imprisoned, 287.
—— Margaret, a prisoner, 377.
—— William de, imprisoned, 281.
Downes, colonel, imprisoned, 589.
Downing, John, imprisoned, 590.
Draper, Hugh, carving and account of, 205.
Duckenfield, col. Henry, impris., 591.
Dudley, Edmund, account of, 354, 355; imprisoned and beheaded, 356.
—— lord, imprisoned, 314.
—— lords Ambrose, Robt., and Henry, prisoners, 77. 143; released, 83.
—— sir Andrew, prisoner, 77.
—— lord Guildford, executed, 434, 435.

Dudley, sir Andrew, a prisoner, 449; released, 83.
Duffin, Kennet lord, imprisoned. 606.
Du, Llewellin ap Madoc, imprisoned and executed, 301.
Duncombe, Charles, imprisoned, 605.
Durham, Tunstall, bishop of, impris., 407—419.
—— Tunstal, bishop of, released, 78.

Edward, prince of Scotland, impris., 281.
Edwards, Talbot, 122. 191.
Elliott, capt. Edmund, impris., 603.
Elliot, sir J., impris., 544, 545; dies, 546.
Elizabeth, princess, imprisoned, 81. 438. 443. 448.
Elsing, Henry, keeper of the records, 235.
Elton, George, imprisoned, 590.
Elways, sir Gervase, imprisoned, 535; tried, 536; execution, 537, 538.
Ely, bp. of, impris., 52. 87. 331. 458. 600.
Epsom, sir Richard, imprisoned, 354; beheaded, 356.
Escrick, William lord Howard, baron of, imprisoned, 595.
Essex, earl of, prisoner, 88, 89.
—— Cromwell earl of, imprisoned, 67.
—— Robert Devereux earl of, buried, 117; account of, 504—506; impris., 506; liberated, 507; again impris., 508; his trial, 508—512; exe., 513—516.
—— Thos. Cromwell earl of, buried, 116.
Eton, Richard, keeper of the records, 233.
Everard, Edmund, a prisoner, 593.
Eu, count of, impris., 26. 41. 287. 307.
Exeter, bishop of, imprisoned, 459.
—— marchioness of, imprisoned, 378.
—— marquis of, imprisoned, 67. 377; executed, 378.

Fairfax, sir Thomas, constable, 94.
Fakenham, Dr., a prisoner, 87.
Falconbridge, lord viscount, impris., 588.
Falkland, lord, imprisoned, 588. 603.
Fane, T., inscription of, 107.
Farrington, William, discharged, 593.
Fawkes, Guy, impris. & hanged, 527—528.
Feckenham, Dr., imprisoned, 459.
Felton, John, imprisoned, 545.
Fenwick, sir John, imprisoned and beheaded, 601—604.
Ferneley, John, imprisoned, 600.
Ferrars, lord, released, 427.
Ferrers, earl, impris. and hanged, 612.
Fife, the earl of, imprisoned, 27. 287; released, 288.
—— Murdoch earl of, impris., 303.
Finch, imprisoned, 583.
Fincher, major, imprisoned, 588.
Fitz-Geffrey, John, imprisoned, 280.
Fitzgerald, Thomas, prisoner, 159.
Fitz-Harris, Edward, esq., impris., 595.
Fleetwood, imprisoned, 589.
Fleming, lord, prisoner, 70.
Flint Tower described, 175.
Fontaine, the abbot of, impris., 377.
Forbes, Arthur lord, impris., 601. 604.
Forrester, William, imprisoned, 596.
Fortescue, sir Adrian, imprisoned and beheaded, 378, 379.
Fortore, John de, imprisoned, 281.
Foull, Thomas, prisoner, 151.
Fourdin, sieur, imprisoned, 592.
Fox, Somerset, imprisoned, 583.
Foxley, William, sleeps 14 days, 70.
France, John king of, prisoner, 28. 289; released, 291.
—— Philip dauphin of, prisoner, 28. 289; released, 291.
Franklin, a prisoner, 535.
Fraser, sir Simon, imprisoned and executed, 281, 282.
French officers imprisoned, 605.
Friars Preachers, prior of, impris. and hanged, 361.
Friend, Dr. John, imprisoned, 607.
Frisby, Roger, impris. and hanged, 301.
Fulthorp, sir Roger, impris., 294.

Gage, John, inscription of, 203.
—— sir John, imprisoned, 593. 602.
Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, his character and imprisonment, 401. 407; released, 419.
Gardner, sir Thomas, imprisoned, 563.
Garland, imprisoned, 589.
Garnet, memoir of, 529; exec., 530.
Garret, Thomas, imprisoned, 592.
Gascoigne, sir Thomas, impris., 594.
Gates, sirs Henry and John, prisoners, 77—79.
—— sir Henry, released, 427.
—— sir John, impris. and beheaded, 420. 425. 426.
Gayre, sir John, imprisoned, 573.
Gell, sir John, imprisoned, 580, 581.
Gerard, Charles, esq., imprisoned, 599.
—— sir William, imprisoned, 604.
—— impris., 529; put to the torture, and escapes, 530.
—— Charles, impris., 583; beheaded, 584, 585.
—— colonel John, imprisoned, 583.
—— sir Gilbert, imprisoned, 583.
—— sir Thomas, imprisoned, 465.
Gilmore, James, 151.
Gladman, major John, impris., 596.
Glencarne, earl of, imprisoned, 70.
Gloucester, duchess of, 311.
Glynn, Mr. serjeant, imprisoned, 573.
Goddard, Robert, prisoner, 87.
Goldborne, James, prisoner, 87.
Goldby, Mr., imprisoned, 592.

Gomuegines, the lord of, impris., 292.
Goodhall, Robert, imprisoned, 591.
Goodman, imprisoned, 590.
Goodwin, Samuel, imprisoned, 590.
Gordon, lord George, impris., 612.
Goring, sir William, impris., 593.
Gouge, major, imprisoned, 591.
Gouldbee, William, imprisoned, 591.
Graham, David Fitz-Patric de, impris., 280.
Graham, Richard, imprisoned, 601.
Grant, John, impris. and hanged, 528.
Gray, lord, a prisoner, 70. 607.
Grey Friars, seven brethren of, impris. and hanged, 301.
Grey, lady Catherine, her imprisonment and death, 87. 459, 460.
—— lady Jane, 77—81. 157; account of, 417. 428. 438.
—— lord, pris., 90. 407; liberated, 417.
—— lord John, a prisoner, 438. 449.
—— lord Thomas, a pris., 438; beheaded, 81. 447.
—— lord Thomas, of Wilton, impris., 519; led to the scaffold and pardoned, 521, 522; dies in prison, 523.
Grice, capt. John, imprisoned, 592.
Griffin, Edward lord, impris., 601, 602.
—— James, impris., 604.
—— prince of Wales, his imprisonment and death, 276, 277.
—— son of Owen Glendour, impris., 301, 302.
Grove, Edward, imprisoned, 595.
Guildford, Dudley lord, exec., 434, 435.
Gurney, sir Richard, impris., 564.
Guy, Henry, esq., a prisoner, 603.
Gybbs, Mr., 449.
Gyfford, G., inscriptions, 144.

Hacker, col. Francis, imprisoned and hanged, 589.
Hailes, Charles, imprisoned, 600.
Hales, Charles, esq., imprisoned, 601.
—— sir Edward, imprisoned, 601.
Hall, imprisoned, 489.
—— John, imprisoned, 483.
Hame or Hume, imprisoned, 592.
Hamilton, duke of, imprisoned, 574; executed, 578.
—— sir Robert, imprisoned, 601.
—— sir Stephen, imprisoned, 377.
Hampden, John, esq., imprisoned, 600.
Hanham, Elizabeth, imprisoned, 601.
Hardy, Thomas, imprisoned, 613.
Harlow, Mr., imprisoned, 587.
Harper, sir George, a pris., 438. 449.
Harrington, John, 449.
Harris, Robert and Rowland, keeper of the records, 233.
Harrison, John, imprisoned, 613.
—— col. Thomas, impris. & hanged, 588.
Hartley, Samuel, a prisoner, 593.
Harvey, col., imprisoned, 589.
Haslerigge, sir Arthur, impr., 588, 589.
Hastings, Beaumont, imprisoned, 592.
—— lieut. col. Knyvet, impris., 602.
—— lord, imprisoned, 77.
—— beheaded, 51.
—— lord, seized & put to death, 330, 331.
Hatton, Charles, esq., imprisoned, 602.
Hay, W., esq., keeper of the Records, 253.
Heming, Edward, a prisoner, 593.
Heneage, Thomas and Michael, esqrs., keepers of the records, 233.
Hengham, Ralph de, chief justice, and other judges, imprisoned, 280.
Henry VI., account of his imprisonment, allowances, and death in the Tower, 314 to 325.
Herle, imprisoned, 482.
Hertford, earl of, a prisoner, 87; account of, 459, 460.
Heveningham, William, imprisoned, 589.
Hewett, Dr., imprisoned, 586.
Hewlet, Capt. Wm., imprisoned, 589.
Heydon, Dr. John, imprisoned, 592.
Hobart, imprisoned, 545.
Hobson, Paul, imprisoned, 590.
Holland, earl of, imprisoned, 574; executed, 578.
—— Philipp, a prisoner, 593.
—— and Warwick, E. earl of, impris., 605.
Hollis, imprisoned, 545.
—— Denzil, a prisoner, 91.
Holmes, George, esq., buried, 122.
Holt, sir John, imprisoned, 294.
Hooke, Nathaniel, imprisoned, 601.
Hooper, John, imprisoned, 613.
Hopton, sir Ralph, imprisoned, 562.
Hopwood, George, imprisoned, 592.
Hoskins, John, a prisoner, 531.
Hotham, Capt., impris. and beheaded, 565. 570, 571.
—— sir John, account of, imprisoned, and beheaded, 565. 572.
Howard, Mr., a prisoner, 593.
—— Bernard, esq., imprisoned, 602.
—— Catherine, buried, 116.
—— queen Catherine, beheaded, 69; imprisoned, beheaded, &c., 390, 392.
—— lord Charles, imprisoned, 588.
—— Henry, a prisoner, 87.
—— lord Edward, of Escrick, imprisoned, 581.
—— lady Mary, imprisoned, 587.
—— lord Thomas, imprisoned, 67. 377.
—— Wm., his impris. and death, 392.
—— lord Wm., baron of Escrick, imprisoned, 595.
Hume, John, impr. & pardoned, 311, 312.
Humes, John, a prisoner, 593.
Hunks, col. Hercules, imprisoned, 589.

Huntingdon, earl of, impris. 77. 603; beheaded, 299.
Hussey, lord, impris. and beheaded, 377.
Hutchinson, col., imprisoned, 590.

Inch, Martyn John de, imprisoned, 280.
Ingoldsby, Richard, impris., 596. 605.
Ings, Jas., imprisoned and executed, 613.
Ireton, Clement, imprisoned, 591.
Isley, sir Henry, a pris. & hanged, 438. 446.
—— Thos., impris. and hanged, 438. 446.

James, prince of Scotland, impr., 302, 304.
Jefferies, Geo., lord chancellor, imprisonment and death, 600.
Jenkins, judge, imprisoned, 574.
Jenner, sir Thomas, imprisoned, 601.
Jervaux, the abbot of, imprisoned, 377.
Jesuits imprisoned, 484.
Jewel Tower described, 176.
Jews, imprisoned and hanged, 279.
Johnson, Robert, imprisoned, 590.
Jones imprisoned, 583.
—— colonel John, imprisoned and executed, 589, 590.
—— Roger, imprisoned, 591.
Jourdayn or Jourdemain, Margery, imprisoned and burned, 311-312.
Joyce, Rev. Jeremiah, imprisoned, 612.

Keens, John, imprisoned, 613.
Kelly, capt. Dennis, imprisoned, 606.
—— earl of, imprisoned, 582.
—— George, imprisoned, 607.
Kenmuir, lord, impr. & beheaded, 606.
Kennedy, imprisoned, 590.
Kenwrick, William, imprisoned, 590.
Kerry, Thomas lord, imprisoned, 605.
Keyes, Robert, imprisoned and hanged, 527, 528.
Keyle, John, prisoner, 87.
Kildare, Gerald earl of, buried, 115.
Kilmarnock, earl of, prisoner, 117. 608.
King Edward imprisoned, 591.
—— Edward IV. holds his court, 70.
———— V. imprisoned; and critical inquiry as to his and his brother's supposed murder, 50 to 60.
—— Henry VI. imprisoned, 45.
———— released, 46.
———— dies in the Tower, 47.
—— Richard II. imprisoned, 36. 297.
—— resigns his crown, 37. 298.
—— his body brought to the Tower, 40.
—— sir Wm., knight, his letters respecting queen Anne Boleyn, 369, 370, 371. 375.
Kingston, sir Anthony, account of, 450, 451.
Knight, John, esq., imprisoned, 605.
Knights Templars imprisoned, 283.
Knivets, prisoners, 438, 446.
Kyd, Stuart, imprisoned, 613.

Lake, sir Thos., a prisoner, 531. 542.
Lallarde, Arthur, a prisoner, 87.
Lambard, William, esq., keeper of the records, 233.
Lambert, colonel John, imprisoned, 588.
Langston, colonel, a prisoner, 603.
Lanthorn Tower described, 207.
Lauderdale, earl of, imprisoned, 582.
Laurens, Henry, imprisoned, 612.
Lawless, Valentine Brown, a pris., 613.
Layer, Christopher, imprisoned and executed, 607.
Lea, William, imprisoned, 591.
Leigh, Peter, esq., imprisoned, 604.
Lemon, Robert, esq., buried, 122.
Lennox, countess of, imprisoned, 131.
—— earl of, imprisoned, 87. 459; released, 460.
Lenthal, John, esq., imprisoned, 590.
Lesley, general, imprisoned, 582.
Leving, sir Richard, imprisoned, 605.
Lilborne, colonel, imprisoned, 589.
Lilburn, colonel John, imprisoned, 580.
Lincoln, bishop of, imprisoned, 87. 458.
Lisle, Arthur viscount, imprisoned, 69.
—— viscount, his imprisonment and death, 392, 393.
Locton, John, esq., imprisoned, 294.
London, bishop of, prisoner, 77.
—— Ridley bishop of, prisoner, 78.
Long, Mr., imprisoned and fined, 546.
—— Peter, imprisoned, 592.
—— Mathew, alias Crone, impr., 601.
Longchamp, bishop of Ely, custos of the Tower, 8.
—— is besieged by prince John, and surrenders it, 9.
Lopez, Roderic, a prisoner, 497. 502; account of, and execution, 502, 503.
Lovat, Simon lord, 117. 608. 611.
Love imprisoned, 581; account of, and execution, 581, 582.
Lovett, John, imprisoned, 613.
Loudon, lord, imprisoned, 546; account of, and release, 546—548.
Lowe, Adam, imprisoned, 592.
Lucas, lord, constable, 98.
Lucy, Richard de, constable, 7.
Ludlowe, Edmund, imprisoned, 589.
Lumley, lord, imprisoned, 465.
—— William, imprisoned, 377.
Lundy, colonel Robert, impris., 601.
Lunsford, sir Thos., lieutenant, 92.
Lyon, J., a prisoner, 206.
Lysons, Samuel, esquire, keeper of the records, memoir of, 253—256.

Macclesfield, Thos. earl of, impr., 607.
Macdonald, James, imprisoned, 607.

M'Kensie, John lord, imprisoned, 607.
Mac Mahon, colonel, imprisoned and executed, 572, 573.
Macquire, lord, imprisoned and executed, 572, 573.
Magdalen, king Richard's chaplain imprisoned, 299, 300.
Mallet, judge, imprisoned, 563.
—— Michael, esq., a prisoner, 593.
Mallory, col., imprisoned, 586.
Man, John, alias Dawson, impris., 591.
Mandeville, Geffry de, constable, 616.
Mannoc, imprisoned, 390.
Mansel, John, 17.
Mantels, prisoners, 438. 446.
Mar, Alex. son of the earl of, imp., 281.
Marchand, Thos., imprisoned, 591.
Margaret, queen of Hen. VI., a pris., 325.
Marish, or Mariscis, William de, impris., 278; hanged, 279.
Markham, sir Griffin, imprisoned, 90. 519; brought to the scaffold and pardoned, 521, 522.
—— sir John, lieut., 73.
Marlborough, John earl of, imprisoned, 603.
Martin, col., imprisoned, 589.
—— John, a prisoner, 161.
Mason, John, a prisoner, 593.
—— William, imprisoned, 592.
Massey, general, imprisoned, 582.
Mather, Edmond, imprisoned, 482.
Matthews, major George, impris., 602.
Mauneé, impris., 309.
Maxwell, lord, imprisoned, 70.
—— major-general, 603.
May, sir Algernon, keeper of the records, 251.
Maynard, imprisoned, 585.
—— sir John, imprisoned, 573.
Mayne, Simon, imprisoned, 589.
Medlicott, Thomas, imprisoned, 591.
Meners, Alex. de, imprisoned, 280.
Merrick, sir Gilley, imprisoned and hanged, 516.
Middlesex, earl of, imprisoned, 590.
Middleton, general, imprisoned, 582.
Mildmay, sir Henry, imprisoned, 590.
Millington, Gilbert, imprisoned, 589.
Mitchel, sir Francis, a prisoner, 543.
Modiford, sir Thomas, a prisoner, 593.
Mohun, lord Charles, a pris., 603, 605.
Mollineux, lord viscount Caryl, impris., 604.
Monk, col., imprisoned, 572.
Monmouth, Chas. earl of, impris, 604.
—— James duke of, buried, 117; his impr. and letter to the queen, 596, 597; account of, 597, 598; execution, 599.
Monson, sir Thomas, impris., 535; tried and discharged, 539.
Montague, Charles, a prisoner, 77.
Montague, lord, impr., 67, 358; beheaded, 377, 378.
—— of Boughton, a prisoner, 566.
Montague, marquis, 152.
—— Mr., imprisoned, 564.
Monteagle, lord, imprisoned, 508.
Monteith, earl of, imprisoned, 27. 280.
—— executed, 288.
Montgomery, Wm. lord, impris., 601.
Monument, John, imprisoned, 613.
Moody, Michael, a prisoner, 206.
Moore, Mr., imprisoned, 545.
Moravia, Andrew de, imprisoned, 280
Mordant, lord, impris. and fined, 529.
Mordaunt, Mr. Henry, impris., 586.
More, sir Jonas, buried, 121; impris., 66; buried, 116; account of his imprisonment and death, 358—363; his character, 363—366.
Morham, Thomas de, imprisoned, 281.
Morley, lord, imprisoned, 591.
—— Thomas lord, imprisoned, 603.
Mortimer, lords, imprisoned, 23—25.
—— lord, impr., 283; escapes, &c., 284.
Morton, sir Wm., imprisoned, 564, 565.
Mostyn, Pierce, imprisoned, 601.
Mounteagle, lord, imprisoned, 88.
Mowbray, lord, imprisoned, 561.
Munson, lord, imprisoned, 590.
Murray, earl of, imprisoned, 309.
—— John earl of, imprisoned, 285; released, 287.
—— William, imprisoned, 607.
Myagh, Thos., inscription of, 150.

Nairn, lord, imprisoned, 606.
Nevil, Christopher, a prisoner, 531.
—— Henry, imprisoned, 590.
—— sir Edw., imprisoned, 358; beheaded, 377, 378.
Nevill, Geo., archbp. of York, impr., 325.
—— sir Henry, released, 519.
—— Ralph, lord constable of the Tower, 296.
Neville, Marmaduke, a prisoner, 134.
—— Chas., a prisoner, 134.
Newburgh, the earl of, imprisoned, 602.
Nicholas, major, 95.
Nithsdale, earl of, imprisoned, 606.
Norfolk, duke of, released, 78.
—— Thomas duke of, imprisoned, 87. 132. 607; buried, 117.
—— Thomas Howard duke of, impris., 393; his character, 399; saved by Henry the Eighth's death, 400, 401; released, 419; imprisonment, letters, and execution, 461. 468. 478. 480.
Norris, Henry, a prisoner, 367. 374.
North, Henry, imprisoned, 592.
—— William, lord, imprisoned, 607.
Northampton, earl of, his letter concerning sir Thos. Overbury, 533, 534.

Northampton, marquis of, prisoner, 77. 79. 423. 427. 438.
Northumberland, Henry earl of, impris., 90. 529.
—— Henry Percy earl of, impris., 88. 491 ; dies by his own hand, 492.
—— John, duke of, 143. 162 ; bur., 117.
—— John Dudley duke of, prisoner, 77. 79 ; account of, 420—425.
Norwich, earl of, imprisoned, 574.

O'Brien, lord, imprisoned, 591.
O'Coigly, James, impris. and exec., 613.
O'Connor, Arthur, impris., 613.
Offleigh, John Crew, imprisoned, 600.
Okey, colonel, imprisoned, 590.
Oldcorn, imprisoned, 529 ; hanged, 531.
Oldenburg, Henry, a prisoner, 593.
Oliphant, lord, prisoner, 70.
O'Neale, Daniel, imprisoned, 564, 565.
ORDNANCE OFFICE, account of, 210.
Orleans, duke of, a pris., 41. 307 ; ransomed, 308.
Orrery, Charles earl of, impris., 606.
Overbury, sir Thomas, impris., 90. 531 ; account of, 531—533 ; death by poison, 533.
Oversheld, Daniel Van, a pris., 593.
Overton, impris., 580.
—— major-general, impris., 585—590.
Owdal, Francis, pris., 163.
Owen, sir John, impris., 574.
Oxford, the earl of, impris., 314. 531. 544. 583. 605.

Page, Francis, inscription, 163.
—— William, impris., 484.
Paget, lord, pris., 73. 407 ; his character and imprisonment, 417. 418.
Palmer, Mr., a prisoner, 561.
—— sir Thomas, impris. and beheaded, 77. 79. 407. 420. 425, 426.
Parker, col. John, imprisoned, 604.
Parkhurst, John, impris., 605.
Parry, William, impris., 492 ; his confession, 493—495 ; trial and execution, 495-496.
Partridge, sir Miles, impris. and executed, 75. 407—418.
Paschall, John, impris., 605.
Pates, Dr., prisoner, 87.
Payne, —— a prisoner, 593.
Peake, sir Robert, impris., 573.
Pembroke, the earl of, impris., 561.
Pengelly, John, impris., 592.
Penington, alderman, impris., 589.
Penn, general, impris., 585.
Penruddock, Mr., impris., 580.
Pepys, William, impris., 594.
Percy, Henry, impris., 314. 465.
—— Ingram, inscription of, 162.
—— sir Thomas, prisoner, 90. 377.
Perrot, sir John, a prisoner, 497 ; account of, 497. 501 ; trial and death, 501, 902.
—— Robert, a prisoner, 593.
Peterborough, bishop of, imprisoned, and account of, 600.
—— Henry, earl of, imprisoned, 601.
Peters, Hugh, impris. and executed, 589.
Petre, William lord, imprisoned, 593.
Petrie, Henry, esq., keeper of the records, 257.
Pett, Peter, imprisoned, 592.
Petyt, W., esq., keeper of the records, 252.
Peverel, Thomas, prisoner, 134.
Pexall, Ralph, keeper of the records, 233.
Peyton, sir Robert, imprisoned, 595.
Phair, col. Robert, imprisoned, 589.
Philip, dauphin of France, impris., 289.
Pilkington, Thos., impris., 595.
Plunkett jun., imprisoned, 607.
Pole, Geffrey, prisoner, 152.
Polhill, David, esq., keeper of the records, 253,
Pomfret, the earl of, imprisoned, 612.
Poole, Arthur and Edmund, prisoners, inscriptions and account of, 153—157.
Porter, Philip, imprisoned, 583.
Potter, Vincent, imprisoned, 589.
Powis, countess of, imprisoned, 594.
—— earl, imprisoned, 605.
—— William earl of, imprisoned, 593.
Preston, Rd. viscount, impr., 601, 602.
—— Thomas, imprisoned, 613.
Prideaux, Edmund, imprisoned, 600.
Prince, imprisoned, 580.
Prynne, William, esq., keeper of the records, memoir of, 245—251.
Pye, sir Robert, imprisoned, 588.

Radclyffe, Egremont, account of, 166.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, impris., 88. 90. 106. ; tried, 519, 520 ; released, 523 ; again impris., 524 ; execution, 525 ; character, 525—527.
Rame, Wm., inscription of, 149.
Randolf, Nicholas, imprisoned, 280.
Ratcliff, —— imprisoned, 593.
—— Chas., impr. and beheaded, 607. 611.
Rathbone, col., a prisoner, 97.
—— John, impris. and executed, 591.
Read, col. John, a prisoner, 583.
RECORD TOWER described, 212.
RECORDS, account of, 214—257.
REGALIA, account of, 176.
Reynardson, sir Abraham., impr., 580.
Rich, col. Nathl., imprisoned, 591.
Richmond, Chas. duke of, impr., 591.
Richter, John, imprisoned, 613.
Ride, Samuel, imprisoned, 592.
Robinson, sir John, constable, 95.
Rochester, Fisher bp. of, impris , 66 132.
—— F. Atterbury, bp. of, impris., 606.

Rochester, John Fisher bishop of, impr. and beheaded, 358, 359; buried, 116.
Rochford, lady, 390—392; beheaded, 69; buried, 116.
—— lord, imprisoned, 67; account of his imprisonment and death, 367—374.
—— George lord, buried, 116.
Rogers, sir Edward, a prisoner, 438.
—— sir John, 449.
Rolles, Francis, imprisoned, 596.
Rolls, master of, imprisoned, 280.
Rolston, imprisoned, 465.
Rookwood, Ambrose, imprisoned and hanged, 528.
Rooper, Thomas, inscription of, 152.
Roper, col., imprisoned, 593.
Rose, imprisoned, 591.
—— Matthew, imprisoned, 592.
Ross, earl of, imprisoned, 280.
—— John Lesley bishop of, account of, 480. 482.
—— lord, imprisoned, 602.
Rothes, earl of, imprisoned, 582.
Rouz, John, imprisoned, 595.
Rudston, R., inscription of, 107.
—— Robert, a prisoner, 438. 446.
Russel, colonel, imprisoned, 586.
—— colonel John, imprisoned, 591.
—— William, esq., imprisoned, 591.
—— William, lord, imprisoned, 596.
Ruthven, Christian, a prisoner, 593.
Rutland, earl of, prisoner, 88, 89. 508.
Rye, John, imprisoned, 589.
Ryval, the abbot of, imprisoned, 377.

Saint Albans, Francis Bacon viscount, a prisoner, 543.
—— Asaph, bishop of, imprisonment and account of, 600.
—— Paul, Val. earl of, a prisoner, 291.
—— Peter ad Vincula, chapel of, 113.
Salesbury, sir John, imprisoned and hanged, 295, 296.
Salisbury, Margaret countess of, impr. and beheaded, 378, 379. buried, 116.
—— James earl of, imprisoned, 601.
Salmon, T., inscription of, 171.
Salt Tower described, 205.
Salway, colonel, imprisoned, 590.
Sampson, Richard, bishop of Chichester, a prisoner and released, 379.
Sandford, Richard, imprisoned, 591.
Sands, lord, imprisoned, 88, 89. 508.
Sandys, doctor, a prisoner, 77.
Sare or Sas, Mr., a prisoner, 593.
Saunders, Francis, a prisoner, 87.
—— Wm., impr. and executed, 591.
Say, lord, imprisoned and murdered, 313.
—— James, lord, imprisoned, 41.
Sayre, Stephen, esq., imprisoned, 612.
Scales, lord, defends the Tower, 43.
Scarsdale, Nicholas earl of, impr. 605.
Scot, Thos., impr. and executed, 589.
Scotland, Baliol king of, impr., 280.
—— Edward, his son, imprisoned, 281.
—— David Brus king of, imprisoned, 27. 287; released, 288.
—— James king of, released, 41.
—— James prince of, impr., 302—304.
—— hostages for the king of, kept in the Tower, 310.
Scroop, colonel Adrian, imprisoned, 589.
Seabrooke, serjeant, imprisoned, 590.
Sebro, Silas, imprisoned, 590.
—— Thomas, imprisoned, 590.
Sedbar, Adam, abbot of Joreval, inscription, 160.
Seintlow, sir William, a pris., 438. 449.
Selden, John, esq., keeper of the records, memoir of, 235—245; impr. 545.
Selengen, sir Thomas, imprisoned and executed, 331—333.
Seymour, Thomas lord, of Sudeley, imprisoned, 407; beheaded, 412.
—— sir William, a prisoner, 91.
Shackerley, Peter, imprisoned, 601.
Shaftesbury, Anthony earl of, impr. 595.
Sheans, Richard, imprisoned, 592.
Shelley, sir John, imprisoned, 299.
Shepherd, Samuel, imprisoned, 605.
Shippen, William, imprisoned, 606.
Shore, Jane, a prisoner, 52; account of, 331—333.
Shute, Samuel, imprisoned, 595.
Sidney, Algernon, esq., imprisoned and executed, 596.
Singe, Wm., keeper of the records, 233.
Singleton, Hugh, impr. and pard., 484.
Skelton, sir Bevill, imprisoned, 600.
Slingsby, sir Henry, imprisoned and beheaded, 587.
Smalle, Edward, 151.
Smeton, Mark, a prisoner, 367—374.
Smith, Aaron, imprisoned, 596.
—— colonel, imprisoned, 589.
Somerset, countess of, her trial, 539; pardon, 541.
—— duchess of, impr., 73. 407. 417—419.
—— duke of, imprisoned and released, 313. 314.
—— earl of, his trial, 539; release from the Tower, 541.
—— Edward duke of, imprisoned, beheaded, &c., 73. 75. 407. 413—417; buried, 117.
Somerville, John, imprisoned, and found strangled in Newgate, 489, 490.
—— lord, a prisoner, 70.
Southampton, earl of, imprisoned, 88, 89. 465. 508; released, 518, 519.
Southwell, Thomas, canon of Westminster, imprisoned, 311; died, 312.
Spurila, baron de Jagerhorn, a pris., 613.

Squire, Edward, imprisoned, 497; account of, and hanged, 503, 504.
Stafford, sir Henry, imprisoned, 354.
—— lord viscount, imprisoned, 593.
—— Mr., imprisoned, 602.
—— William viscount, imprisoned, 593.
Stanhope, sir Michael, a prisoner, 73.
Stanley, lord, imprisoned, 331.
—— sir Rowland, imprisoned, 604.
—— sir Thomas, imprisoned, 465. 604.
—— sir William, beheaded, 63.
Stapeley, Mr., imprisoned, 586.
Stente, captain John, imprisoned, 591.
Stewart, Archibald, imprisoned, 607.
Story, Dr. John, inscription and account of, 147.
Stoughton, John, a prisoner, 204.
Stourton, lord, impr. and fined, 529.
—— Charles lord, imprisoned and hanged, 450. 454—457.
Stowel, sir John, imprisoned, 574.
Stower, John, imprisoned, 592.
Strachan, John, imprisoned, 607.
Stradlinge, sir Thomas, a prisoner, 87.
Strafford, earl of, a prisoner, 92.
—— Thomas Wentworth earl of, impr., 549; trial, execution, and account of, 549—556.
Strathern, Robert de, imprisoned, 281.
Strode, Essex, esq., imprisoned, 594.
Stuart, lady Arabella, a prisoner, 90.
Stubs, Mr., imprisoned, and his right hand cut off, 484.
Sudley, Thomas Seymour baron, buried, 117.
Suffolk, countess of, a prisoner, 531. 542.
—— duke of, a prisoner, 77. 419. 429. 438; beheaded, 81. 444, 445.
—— earl of, a prisoner, 531. 542.
—— Edward, earl of, imprisoned, 607.
—— William de la Pole duke of, imprisoned and put to death, 312.
Sumner, Mrs., imprisoned, 587.
Surrey, earl of, imprisoned, 333.
—— Henry Howard earl of, imprisoned, 395; his character and death, 396.
Swallow, colonel, imprisoned, 590.
Syndercombe, Miles, imprisoned, 585.
Syward, Richard, imprisoned, 280.

Tankerville, count de, impris., 26. 287.
Taylor, Isaac, imprisoned, 591.
Taylour, Thomas, imprisoned, 592.
Temple, colonel Peter, imprisoned, 589.
Tempest, Nicholas, imprisoned, 377.
—— William, imprisoned, 604.
Thanet, lord, imprisoned and fined, 613.
Thelwall, John, imprisoned, 613.
Thirlby, doctor, a prisoner, 87.
Thistlewood, Arthur, imprisoned and executed, 613.
Thomas, William, account of, 447.
Thompson, Stephen, esq., impris., 592.
Thomson, ——, esq., imprisoned, 590.
Thorold, sir Rob., a prisoner, 603.
Thorp, Wm. de, chief justice of the common pleas, imprisoned, 291.
Throckmorton, Francis, imprisoned and hanged, 490, 491.
Throgmorton, sir Nich., impr. 438. 449.
Tichborn, alderman, imprisoned, 589.
Tichborne, Henry, imprisoned, 593.
Tidd, Rd., imprisoned and executed, 613.
Tooke, John Horne, impr., 612, 613.
Topham, Rd., esq., keeper of the records, 252.
Torrington, Arthur earl of, impr., 602.
Tower, foundation and general history, 1—99.
—— local description, 100—266.
—— office of constable of, 614; customs and profits of his office, 615, 616.
Towers, sir John, imprisoned, 591.
Tracy, Pauncefort, impr., 604.
Trelauney, Mr., imprisoned, 562.
—— lord, a prisoner, 593.
Trelawney, sir Jonathan, impr. 593.
Tremayne, Edmond, 449.
Trenchard, John, imprisoned, 596.
Tresillian, sir Robert, imprisoned and hanged, 294.
Tucker, Henry, imprisoned, 591.
Tudenham, sir Thos., imprisoned and beheaded, 314.
Tudor, imprisoned, 583.
—— Owen, imprisoned, 310.
Tullibardine, marquis of, impr., 607.
Turbevile, Dr., prisoner, 87.
Turner, Mrs., a prisoner, 535; trial and execution, 535, 536.
Twisden, imprisoned, 585.
Twistleton, col., imprisoned, 590.
Tyrell, sir William, imprisoned and beheaded, 314.
Tyrrel, William, a prisoner, 135.
Tyrone, the earl of, imprisoned, 602.

Valence, Thomas, a prisoner, 87.
Valentine, imprisoned, 545.
Van Oversheld, Daniel, a prisoner, 593.
Vane, sir H., impr. and beheaded, 589.
—— Ralph, imprisoned and executed, 73. 407. 418, 419.
—— Thomas, a prisoner, 438.
Vavasour, Walter, imprisoned, 602.
Vaughan, Cuthbert, a pris., 438. 449.
—— Rice, esq., imprisoned, 591.
Venables, general, imprisoned, 585.
Vendosme, count de, imprisoned, 41. 307; released, 308.
Vere, lord Aubrey de, imprisoned and beheaded, 314.
Vernon, a prisoner, 419.
Vienne, John de, imprisoned, 289.

Voghler, James, imprisoned, 607.
Vowel, imprisoned, 583; hanged, 584.

Usk, Thomas, impr. and hanged, 294.

Wales, Llewellin prince of, impr. 14.
Walkendonoch, Mr., a prisoner, 593.
Walker, Obadiah, imprisoned, 600, 601.
Wallace, Wm., impr. and executed, 281.
Waller, Hardress, imprisoned, 589.
Wallop, Robert, imprisoned, 590.
Walmesley, Bartholomew, esq., imprisoned, 604.
Walpole, Robert, esq., imprisoned, 605.
Walters, Robert, imprisoned, 590.
Walwayn, imprisoned, 580.
Wansey, Henry, a prisoner, 588.
Warbeck, Perkin, account of, 335—342; observations thereon, 342—354.
Warner, sir Edward, a pris., 438. 449.
Warreston, lord, imprisoned, 590.
Warwick, earl of, imprisoned and banished, 36. 296, 297.
—— Edward Plantagenet earl of, imprisoned and beheaded, 61. 333—335.
—— John Dudley earl of, a prisoner, 77; inscription, 143.
—— and Holland, Edward earl of, imprisoned, 605.
Watson, James, imprisoned, 613.
—— Dr. Thomas, a prisoner, 87.
Weare, colonel, imprisoned, 589.
Webb, John, imprisoned, 590.
Wentworth, a prisoner, 531.
—— Thomas, earl of Strafford, a prisoner, 549; trial, execution, and account of, 549—556.
West, John, imprisoned, 592.
—— William, lord de la Warre, imprisoned and tried, 450—453.
Westminster, abbot of, a prisoner, 87. 282.
Weston, imprisoned and executed, 535.
—— sir Francis, a prisoner, 367. 374.
Whitaker, Edward, imprisoned, 595.
White, Richard, imprisoned, 590.
White Tower described, 102. 113.
Widdrington, lord, imprisoned, 606.
Wigmore, lord Mortimer of, imprisoned and executed, 284, 285.
Wigtoun, the earl of, imprisoned, 287.
Wilbraham, sir Roger, keeper of the records, 235.
Wildman, major John, 596.
Wilkes, John, imprisoned, 612.
Wilkinson, Oswald, imprisoned, 483.
Willis, Sir Richard, imprisoned, 583.
Willyngar, Thomas, 151.
Wilmore, John, imprisoned, 595.
Wilson, James, imprisoned, 613.
Winchester, bishop, prisoner, 87.
—— Gardner, bishop of, released, 78.
—— marquis of, imprisoned, 573.
Windham, imprisoned, 585.
Windsmore, cornet Rich., impri., 591.
Winter, Rob., impri. and hanged, 528.
—— Thos., impri. and hanged, 527, 528.
Wintoun, earl of, imprisoned, 606.
Wiseman, imprisoned, 583,
Wither, George, imprisoned, 590.
Worcester, bp. of, impri., 87. 407. 459.
—— marquis of, imprisoned, 583.
Wren, bishop, imprisoned, 574.
Wyat, sir Thomas, impri. and beheaded, 81. 438. 446.
Wyndham, sir Wm., imprisoned, 605.

Yarmouth, earl of, imprisoned, 602.
Yaxlee, Francis, prisoner, 87.
York, archbishop of, imprisoned, 52. 331. 427. 449. 458; released, 83.
—— the duke of, imprisoned, 302.
—— sir John, prisoner, 77. 87.

THE END

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

7918

OCT 19 1993